WORKERS VANGUARD

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 659

10 January 1997

Dramatic Guerrilla Action in Lima

Peru: For Workers Revolution to Smash Fujimori Dictatorship!

JANUARY 6—Since their dramatic seizure of hundreds of high-ranking government officials, diplomats and businessmen at the Japanese ambassador's residence in Lima on December 17, the leftist guerrillas of the Túpac Amaru Revolutionary Movement (MRTA) have focused worldwide attention on their cause. Having released over 400 of their hostages, some 20 members of the MRTA led by Néstor Cerpa Cartolini now hold 74 captives, including the Japanese ambassador, several police and generals, cabinet ministers and the brother of Peru's blood-drenched dictator, President Alberto Fujimori. The president himself narrowly missed being seized, having been delayed in his scheduled arrival at the house.

The MRTA's main demand is freedom for at least 400 of their comrades condemned to die a slow death in Peru's dungeons for political prisoners. In notorious Yanamayo prison, situated over 12,000 feet high in the Andes, inmates are locked in frozen, six-by-six-foot cells with little or no food, clothing or blankets and windows open to the extremely harsh elements. Denied medical care, prisoners quickly succumb to diseases such as tubercuIosis and pneumonia. International attention was drawn to the prisoners' plight following the 1995 arrest of

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Túpac Amaru: Reformists with Guns

General Strike Rocks South Korea

JANUARY 6—After a few years of relative quieseence, the militant South Korean working class has once again reared its head in a major confrontation with the giant *chaebols* (industrial conglomerates) and the eapitalist state. Close to half a million workers brought the country to a screeching halt by December 27, the second day of the largest national strike in South Korean history. Auto faetories, steel plants and shipyards were shut down solid, while transport, bank and hospital workers walked off their jobs. This followed a eall for an "indefinite nationwide general strike," issued by the independent Korean Confederation of Trade Unions (KCTU) and later endorsed by the historically pro-government Korean Federation of Trade Unions (KFTU).

The strikes were called to protest passage of anti-labor legislation, whieh threatens gains won by the South Korean proletariat in deeades of struggle against successive right-wing military regimes and most recently the government of Kim Young Sam. While the South Korean government proclaims itself a bourgeois democraey, in fact it is a virulent dictatorship. Demanding the "Overthrow of the Kim Young Sam government," tens of thousands of strikers, joined by student leftists, battled riot cops who launched tear gas volleys in Seoul on the weekend of December 28-29. In Ulsan, home to the Hyundai *chaebol*, thousands of leather-elad Hyundai workers rallied on motorcycles in a "honking protest."

AP

Mass rally of striking workers in Seoul, December 29. General strike against anti-labor law has drawn South Korean proletariat into battle against bloody, U.S.-backed Kim Young Sam regime.

National strikes have resumed following the New Year holiday period, with leaders of the KCTU vowing to extend them.

With the passage of the labor bills, and less publicized but equally ominous legislation strengthening the Agency for National Security Planning (NSP—formerly the Korean CIA), the South Korean state is gearing up to crush any challenge to its rule. International labor solidarity, particularly in Japan and the U.S., must be mobilized on behalf of the embattled South Korean working class. Japanese workers, particularly those employed in companies operating in South Korea, should organize solidarity strikes and other protest actions in defense of their Korean brothers and sisters. American workers must also fight for the withdrawal of the 35,000 U.S. troops from South Korea, whose military power props up the bloody Seoul regime and is a mortal threat to the bureaucratically deformed workers state in North Korea and to working people throughout East Asia.

The strike action shaking South Korea points to a society on the edge of social explosion. Underlining its fear of the potential power of the working class, the government passed its anti-labor laws at a secret pre-dawn session of parliament which excluded opposition politicians. Within hours, strikes began to break out. The fact that the normally pro-regime KFTU labor federation felt the need to call out its 1.5 million members indicates both the draconian character of the legislation and the growing popularity of the independent unions.

The South Korean general strike is pitting all sectors of the working class directly against the state. But worker militancy alone is incapahle of leading the workers and oppressed to victory. The brittle regime in Seoul will not likely mollify the workers by co-opting independent union leaders, or by forming some sort of popular-frontist coalition government politically tying the labor movement to the capitalist exploiters and their state.

What is needed above all else is a revolutionary leadership which can organize the proletariat in its own class interests to shatter the bourgeois dictatorship in a *fight for proletarian state power*. The

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Following Federal Court Ruling Against State Authorities

New Legal Papers Demand Freedom for Mumia Abu-Jamal

WV Photo

Mumia Abu-Jamal

Attorneys for death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal have filed new papers calling for dismissal of all charges against the journalist, MOVE supporter and former Black Panther Party leader. The brief, filed on December 27 in Pennsylvania's Supreme Court, cites a Pittsburgh federal court's ruling last month that state and prison authorities violated Jamal's constitutional rights by illegally opening and copying his confidential legal mail before and during his 1995 Post-Conviction Relief (PCRA) hearing in front of "hanging judge" Albert Saho (see "Mumia Abu-Jamal Wins Ruling Against Prison Authorities," *WV* No. 658, 27 December 1996). The Pittsburgh ruling gives judicial recognition to evidence of gross state misconduct that has marked Mumia's case from the beginning. On this basis, the new brief argues, the charges against Mumia should be dismissed.

In her ruling, U.S. District Judge Donetta Ambrose concluded that the tampering by state officials "interfered entirely" with the preparation of Jamal's PCRA petition to overturn his 1982 frame-up conviction and death sentence on false charges of killing Philadelphia policeman Daniel Faulkner. Not surprisingly, Sabo ruled against the PCRA petition, while granting a stay of execution only weeks before the scheduled execution date. Jamal's attorneys have submitted the new brief for the state Supreme Court's consideration as part of their appeal of Sabo's 1995 ruling.

As the new brief for Mumia states: "The violation of Jamal's sixth amendment right to counsel is now a matter of judicial record. That Jamal suffered 'actual injury' bearing on the preparation and filing of his PCRA Petition is also a matter of judicial record." The brief continues:

> "The federal district court found that Jamal's 'actual injury' resulted from the fact that the Commonwealth's knowing interception of Jamal's attorney-client communications led to the issuance of Jamal's death warrant before he could file his PCRA Petition. This preemptive issuance of the death warrant then provided the justification for creating a pressurized atmosphere within the PCRA court which deprived Jamal his right to a full and fair opportunity to litigate his constitutional claims."

Countering the lying assertion of Judge Sabo and the Philadelphia district attorney's office that Jamal's attorneys had "delayed" the filing of the PCRA petition, the new legal papers note that the Pittsburgh ruling "exposes the fact that the death-warrant deadline, which operated to Jamal's detriment, was the direct by-product of the Commonwealth's sixth amendment violation." As the brief's summary statement concludes:

> "Furthermore, the Commonwealth secured the added benefit of learning the detailed plans, concerns, thoughts, and strategies of Jamal's counsel. When viewed on the totality of this record, the unprecedented and unvarnished violation of Jamal's constitutional rights dictates that the charges be dismissed."

Speaking at a well-attended press conference in Philadelphia following the filing of Mumia's new brief, lead counsel Leonard Weinglass remarked, "We have reached the point now that this case is so tainted with extreme violations of prosecutorial misconduct that it should not be allowed to go forward in any court in the state." Mumia's co-counsel, Rachel Wolkenstein, who is also counsel for the Partisan Defense Committee, noted that Judge Amhrose's decision was "extremely critical." Wolkenstein explained that "it gives us further confirmation of what we have been saying: that this prosecution was politically motivated and racially biased."

Detailing the vast scope of "law enforcement and prosecutorial misconduct at every layer of this case," the brief recounts how "from the outset of the investigation, law enforcement manipulated and coerced witnesses, suppressed evidence, and even concocted a confession. The trial process was so warped as to call into question the very premise that Jamal was even accorded a 'trial'." At Jamal's 1982 trial, witnesses such as Veronica Jones were coerced by police into changing their testimony to fit the police/prosecution frame-up scenario. At a supplementary PCRA hearing in October 1996, Jones courageously came forward to present her original true eyewitness testimony, which corroborated that of four others who saw someone other than Mumia flee the scene of the shooting. For offering her powerful evidence of Mumia's innocence, Jones was dragged off the stand in Sabo's court and thrown in jail.

The entire history of the persecution of Jamal, a courageous fighter on behalf of the oppressed, underscores the fact that the cops, courts, prisons and government are joined by a thousand ties in a *system* of racist injustice. From the cop executions of youth in the ghettos and barrios to the "legal lynching" of the racist death penalty, the capitalist state exists to keep down the mass of working people and minorities in order to protect the rule of the exploiters.

This web of repression put Mumia in its sights from the time he was a young leader of the Philadelphia Black Panther Party in the 1960s, when he was targeted by the FBI's notorious "Counter-Intelligence Program" (COINTELPRO) to "neutralize" radical activists. Police harassment and surveillance continued as Jamal became a widely known journalist whose radio commentaries and articles exposed the racist reality of daily life in Philly, and later when he became a supporter of the MOVE organization. It culminated in Mumia's being falsely convicted and sentenced to death in 1982.

As part of their plan to carry out Jamal's execution, the forces of the state have sought to silence his powerful voice against injustice. The prison authorities' justification for their illegal confiscation of Jamal's legal mail was that he was "running a business," that is, writing his book, *Live from Death Row*. Despite this victimization, Mumia has continued to write—his new book, *Death Blossoms: Reflections from a Prisoner of Conscience*, has just been issued by Plough Publishing House.

The continuing state vendetta against Mumia underlines that there is no justice for the oppressed in the capitalist courts. Key to staying the executioner's hand in 1995 was the wave of international protests which gave a taste of the kind of militant struggle needed to free Mumia. As Marxists, we look to the power of social protest centered on the labor movement in alliance with all the many victims of racist capitalism. Through such struggles, the working class can and must become conscious of its role as the only social force capable of doing away with the entire system of exploitation and oppression. Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the racist death penalty!

* * *

To get involved in the fight to free Mumia Abu-Jamal, contact the Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013. To order Mumia's new book, *Death Blossoms*, write to Plough Publishing House, Farmington, PA 15437. Funds for Mumia's defense are urgently needed! Tax-deductible contributions should be made payable to the Bill of Rights Foundation, earmarked "Mumia Abu-Jamal Legal Defense," and sent to the Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, 163 Amsterdam Avenue, No. 115, New York, NY 10023-5001. ■

TROTSKY

LENIN

Italy 1920: Class Struggle and Revolutionary Leadership

A wave of revolutionary struggles swept Europe in the years following the Russian workers revolution of 1917. In Italy, workers throughout the country seized the factories in the biennio rosso *(two red years) of 1919-20. However, unlike in Russia where Lenin's Bolshevik Party led a successful struggle to overthrow the capitulist state, the Italian working class sorely lacked a revolutionary vanguard party to lead a fight for power. The defeat of the revolutionary opportunity in Italy opened the road for Mussolini's fascist brownshirts to come to power two years later. The central lesson of these historic events—the need to forge Leninist parties in intransigent struggle against the workers' reformist and centrist misleaders—was driven home by the Communist International, including in the Fourth Congress resolution on the "Italian question," from which the following is excerpted.*

At the close of the imperialist world war the situation in Italy was objectively revolutionary. The reins had fallen from the hands of the bourgeoisie. The machinery of the bourgeois State was broken. The ruling classes felt uncertain. The working masses were filled with indignation against the war and were in open insurrection in various parts of the country. Large sections of the peasantry were beginning to rise against the landlords and the State and were ready to support the working class in revolutionary struggle. The soldiers were against the war and ready to fraternize with the workers.

The objective prerequisites for a victorious revolution were at hand. The only thing missing was the most important subjective factor—a resolute, militant, conscious, revolutionary workers' party, that is, a genuine communist party, to assume resolute leadership of the masses....

The occupation of the factories by the Italian workers in the autumn of 1920 was a decisive moment in the development of the class struggle in Italy. The Italian workers moved instinctively towards a revolutionary solution of the crisis, but the absence of a revolutionary workers' party decided the fate of the working class, sealed their defeat, and prepared the present victory of fascism. Without an adequate revolutionary leadership, the working class, though at the height of its strength, showed that it was not resolute enough to seize power. Thus it happened that after the lapse of a certain time the deadly enemy of the working class, the bourgeoisie, in the person of their most energetic wing, the fascists, laid the working class low and established their dictatorship. The Italian example is of the greatest significance. Nowhere has it been more palpably demonstrated than in Italy how great is the historical rôle of a communist party for the world revolution. It has shown how the absence of such a party can turn the course of history in favour of the bourgeoisie.

It is not that in these decisive years there was no workers' party in Italy. The old socialist party had a large membership and seen from the outside a great influence, but it carried within it reformist elements who crippled its action at every step.... In all decisive situations the reformists and centrists acted as a leaden weight on the party. Nowhere was it so clear as in Italy that the reformists are the most dangerous tools of the bourgeoisie in the working-class camp. They left nothing untried to betray the working class to the bourgeoisie.

— "Resolution of the Fourth Comintern Congress on the Italian Question" (December 1922)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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EDITOR, YOUNG SPARTACUS PAGES Joe Sol

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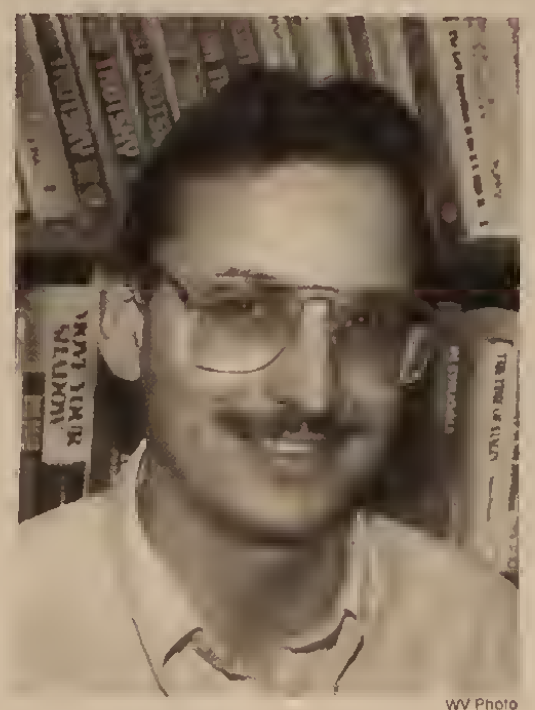
Cesar Armendariz



WV Photo

1951-1996

It is with great sadness that we announce the death of our comrade, Cesar Armendariz, at the age of 45. On December 28, a tragic car accident left Cesar with fatal head injuries; he died on December 30.

Cesar never took the easy path in life. Born in Dallas, Texas into a Hispanic family and raised in El Paso, he fought his way through the barriers of racial bigotry to become a doctor. Cesar brought a rare humanity and empathy to a profession all too often marked by egotistical career concerns.

These are the qualities that Cesar brought with him in dedicating his life to a struggle against the oppression and degradation bred by capitalism. He joined the Spartacist League in 1979. As a doctor, he worked closely with the SL's medical commission, applying meticulous effort to finding the best, most humane treatment available for comrades and their loved ones.

Along with his medical responsibilities, Cesar was a multifaceted communist activist and organizer, carrying out much of his political work in the Washington, D.C. area, where he lived for more than a decade. In the course of organizing for a successful labor/black mobilization which stopped the Klan from rallying in downtown Philadelphia in 1988, Cesar was instrumental in bringing a busload of black Howard University students—dubbed the "Frederick Douglass Brigade"—to the demonstration.

In the spring of 1990, Cesar stepped forward to become the organizer of the Washington, D.C. branch. He always paid particular attention to youth work—recruiting and training future party cadres. And he was as effective in speaking with workers as he was with youth, from distributing *Workers Vanguard* to shipyard workers in Norfolk, Virginia to bringing to the labor movement the cause of victims of racist repression. In June 1995, Cesar was instrumental in mobilizing trade unionists for a united-front protest in Washington against the impending execution of black death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal.

Cesar was deeply committed to building a party that could lead a world socialist revolution. In 1989-90, he went to Berlin as part of the International Communist League's intervention aimed at providing a proletarian revolutionary leadership in the unfolding political revolution in East Germany. Last fall, while on vacation in Texas, he took time to distribute our press in the *maquiladoras*—an important concentration of industrial workers across the border in Mexico. In all aspects of his wide-ranging work in the party, Cesar exhibited a keen understanding of the need for Leninist collectivity, always ready to solicit the opinions of his comrades.

The loss of this remarkable man is a profound tragedy. We extend our heartfelt condolences to Cesar's family, his companion Michael and all those who were so dear to him. Cesar Armendariz was a rare man who touched us with his infinite compassion, his infectious humor, his tender manner and his determination. We will honor his memory in the continuation of the struggle. A fuller appreciation of Cesar's life will appear in a future issue of *Workers Vanguard*.

A memorial meeting will be held in New York City on the afternoon of February 1. Those who wish to join us in remembering his life should call (212) 732-7861 for more information.

Peru...

(continued from page 1)

an American supporter of the MRTA, Lori Berenson, who is held in her tiny concrete cell for all but 30 minutes a day.

Fujimori has declared: "There they will rot and they will only get out dead." Facing a life sentence under such barbaric conditions, many of these leftist prisoners are driven to attempt suicide by hurling themselves against the iron bars and concrete floors. We demand: Free all victims of Fujimori's terror!

Over half of Peru's 24 million people live in desperate poverty in the countryside and in sprawling shantytowns on the edges of the cities. While almost two of every three Peruvians have no steady income, a few thousand live in untold luxury. A youth in Peru today sees a bunch of lying politicians and bloodthirsty generals brutalizing the population, while guerrillas like the MRTA appear to be the only forces standing up against them. While the mouthpiece for American imperialism, the *New York Times* (25 December 1996), claimed, "In Lima Slum, No Support for Hostage Takers," in fact many of Lima's impoverished slum dwellers have responded with a certain glee to the sight of the rich and powerful being held under the guns of the MRTA. As one Lima resident exclaimed, "The government are worse terrorists than the MRTA."

The Túpac Amaru, named after a descendent of the Incas who rose in rebellion against Spanish colonial rule in the late 1700s, is a petty-bourgeois guerrilla group inspired by the Cuban Revolution and allied throughout the 1980s with similar Latin American guerrilla organizations. Hundreds of their members have been hunted down, tortured and thrown in jail, including MRTA leader Víctor Polay. The guerrillas' bold seizure of the ambassador's residence—where among their hostages are despicable capitalist thieves and torturers who, by all reports, are being treated quite humanely—evokes strong sympathy from all those who side with the oppressed. However, the political program which engenders such desperate acts accomplishes nothing toward changing the conditions of life for Peru's impoverished workers and peasants. That requires building a Leninist proletarian party capable of leading Peru's workers and peasants in socialist revolution.

Down With the U.S.-Backed Fujimori Dictatorship!

In 1990, little-known Alberto Fujimori was elected president of Peru in part because it was expected that his Japanese ancestry would attract the financial backing of Japan Inc. And that has, in fact, occurred. Peru had the fastest-growing economy in the world in 1994 due to wage freezes instituted by the regime and massive privatization of state-owned industries, from mining and natural gas concerns to the phone company. In the process, Fujimori became one of Wall Street's favorite politicians in South America, which U.S. imperialism would like to turn into one giant "free-trade" zone.

Fujimori also intensified a relentless campaign of state terror, with his main targets guerrilla insurgencies by Shining Path (Sendero Luminoso) and the smaller leftist MRTA. Although many of Shining Path's actions have been acts of deadly terror against workers, leftists and peasants, for more than two decades the Peruvian rulers' campaign against Sendero has been wielded to wage a savage war against the mass of the population. In 1983, former interior minister General Luis Cisneros stated: "In order for the security forces to be successful...they will have to begin to kill Senderistas and non-Senderistas alike.... They will kill 60 people and maybe three will be Senderistas, but they will say that all 60 were Senderistas" (quoted in Jo-Marie Burt and Aldo Panfichi, *Peru Caught in the Crossfire* [1992]). In 1992, both the MRTA's Polay and Shining Path's Abimael Guzmán were arrested and imprisoned. But this in no way lessened Fujimori's bloody repression: in the last 18 months alone, some *500,000* people have been detained in sweeps against "terrorists."

The "dirty war" was mainly fought in the Andes, where the wholesale racist massacre of Indian peasant villages could be covered up. More recently, government-backed DINCOTE death squads have begun to operate in the capital. But with the guerrilla action in Lima, the former and current heads of the DINCOTE now find themselves hostages under the guns of the Túpac Amaru.

The Peruvian military and police have received millions of dollars of equipment, training and support each year from Washington under the guise of the "war on drugs." In remote areas like the upper Huallaga Valley, which has been a stronghold for Peruvian guerrillas, agents from the U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA) work alongside military units, supposedly looking for drug traffickers. A team of U.S. "anti-terrorist" operatives has now been flown into Lima for the hostage crisis. DEA and all U.S. forces out of Peru!

Reformist Nationalism and Guerrillaism

Throughout the 20th century, the workers and peasants of Latin America have

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Spartacus Youth Club Forum

For Workers Socialist Revolution Throughout the Americas!

From Mexico to Peru:

Guerrilla Struggle—Reformism with Guns

Speaker: Jorge Ramirez, Spartacist League

Thursday, January 16, 7 p.m.

UC Santa Cruz, Third World Lounge, UCSC Student Center

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Peru...

(continued from page 3)

been brutally exploited by U.S. imperialism. The local propertied classes—landlords, industrialists, bankers—are subordinated to and are often the paid agents of Wall Street and Washington. Only the proletariat, under the leadership of a communist vanguard party, can liberate Latin America from the chains of capitalist exploitation and imperialist subjugation through a social revolution. For such a revolution to succeed, the proletariat must mobilize behind it the peasantry, many of them deeply oppressed Indian peoples, and urban petty-bourgeois layers like small shopkeepers and student youth. Simply in order to survive, a workers revolution in any of these countries would have to struggle for its extension to the imperialist colossus of the U.S.

The mobilization of the Latin American proletariat in defense of its class interests has time and again been frustrated by its treacherous misleaders, who at every turn have sought to subordinate workers' struggles to class-collaborationist "unity" with "anti-imperialist" sectors of the national bourgeoisie. In the absence of a proletarian revolutionary leadership, disaffected young intellectuals in Latin America have often turned to the strategy of guerrillaism.

Inspired by the Cuban Revolution and the doctrines of its leading ideologist, Che Guevara, left-wing guerrilla insurgencies proliferated throughout Latin America during the 1960s. As we wrote at the time: "Sections of the urban petty-bourgeoisie and its intelligentsia struggle to lead the peasantry—itself a huge petty-bourgeois mass—against the imperialist domination of their country. But, lacking historically a decisive relationship to the means of production, the petty-bourgeoisie is impotent to close forever what Marx and Engels called the 'pre-history' of humanity" ("Theses on Guerrilla Warfare," *Spartacist* No. 11, March-April 1968).

That petty-bourgeois guerrilla movements were able to come to power and carry out social revolutions in countries like Cuba and China was a result of historically exceptional circumstances—the extreme weakness of the national bourgeois ruling class and the absence of a politically active proletariat. Even at that, these guerrilla struggles could achieve *at most* the creation of deformed workers states, ruled by nationalist bureaucracies profoundly hostile to the struggle for international socialist revolution and requiring an additional political revolution to place the workers in power (see "Cuba, Castro and Che: The Mystique of the Guerrilla Road," *WV* No. 630, 6 October 1995). Furthermore, these victories were dependent on the existence of the Soviet Union as a counterweight to imperialism. Today, in the aftermath of capitalist counterrevolution in the former USSR, the remaining deformed workers states face a greatly intensified threat of capitalist restoration.

In Nicaragua, the radical-nationalist Sandinista guerrillas came to power in 1979 by smashing the rule of the dictator Somoza, whose family owned huge swathes of the country including more than 30 percent of its arable land. Ousting the despised Somoza gave the petty-bourgeois Sandinista rulers enormous latitude, including initial support from ruined sectors of the local bourgeoisie. But once the dictator was gone, the capitalists wanted political power back in their hands—and they got it, as the Sandinistas, pursuing a utopian "mixed economy," finally handed the country over to the U.S.-backed *contra* bourgeoisie in 1990.

All guerrilla movements are based on an ideology representing disaffected petty-bourgeois elements. But from the social base of the petty bourgeoisie one can get a wide spectrum of political tendencies, depending on the circumstances, ranging from self-declared "communists" to right-wing nationalists and religious fundamentalists. In that regard, there is a wide gulf between the leftist Túpac Amaru and Shining Path, whose actions generally merit nothing but revulsion.

Shining Path, despite whatever leftist rhetoric it may espouse, is known for its pathological violence, from publicly executing prostitutes to murdering its political opponents, including MRTA militants and union organizers. Among their victims was María Elena Moyano, the popular deputy mayor of the Villa El Salvador shantytown outside Lima, who was a member of the United Left. She was raked with gunfire and her body was then blown up with dynamite. This repulsive group appears to have parallels with Pol Pot's genocidal Khmer Rouge in Cambodia, with its primitivist, anti-urban ideology, cult of personality, and gangster operations.

AP

Túpac Amaru leader Néstor Cerpa Cartolini (right) inside Japanese ambassador's residence in Lima following guerrilla takeover.

For Proletarian Revolution!

Today, with the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union and prevailing "death of communism" ideological climate, even the more left-wing of Latin America's guerrilla groups have moved sharply to the right. Just last month, Guatemala's URNG rebels made "peace" with the military butchers who, aided and abetted by the Pentagon and the CIA, have killed at least *150,000* Mayan peasants, leftists and others in the last 36 years. A treaty of "national reconciliation" was signed on December 29, offering complete amnesty to these mass murderers.

One can see a similar political motion on the part of the Túpac Amaru. When it was formed in the mid-1980s, its leaders declared as their aim "to struggle for revolution and for socialism." But in the past few years, the MRTA's demands have been simply for an end to "neo-liberal" economic policies and for a just, democratic society. In its move to the right, the MRTA has increasingly identified itself with the traditional heroes of Latin American bourgeois nationalism: Bolívar, San Martín and Martí. In a "Communiqué No. 1" released on December 17, the MRTA combined its demands for freedom for its comrades, safe passage back to the jungle and payment of an unspecified "war tax" with the ludicrous and utterly utopian demand that the Fujimori government "commits itself to change its economic course in favor of a model which aims for the well-being of the great majorities."

The Túpac Amaru is in the tradition of radical petty-bourgeois nationalism historically represented in Peru of the 1930s by the American Popular Revolutionary Alliance (APRA). In fact, MRTA leader Víctor Polay is the son of a founder of the APRA, which has long since made its peace with U.S. imperialism. As Russian revolutionary leader Leon Trotsky wrote in the late 1930s:

> "APRA is not a socialist organization in the eyes of the Marxist because it is not a class organization of the revolutionary proletariat. APRA is an organization of bourgeois democracy in a backward, semicolonial country. Due to its social type, historical objectives, and to a considerable degree, ideology, it falls into the same class as the Russian populists (Social Revolutionaries) and the Chinese Kuomintang. The Russian populists were much richer in doctrine and 'socialist' phraseology than APRA. However, that did not hinder them from playing the role of petty-bourgeois democrats, even worse, *backward* petty-bourgeois democrats, who did not have the strength to carry out purely democratic tasks in spite of the spirit of sacrifice and heroism of their best combatants."
>
> — "Ignorance Is Not a Revolutionary Instrument!" (January 1939)

While guerrilla movements like the MRTA are capable of occasionally striking out against the oppressor, the power to sweep away the murderously repressive, imperialist-backed regimes of Latin America lies with the working class of the region. As working people are increasingly ground down by imperialism and its local agents, strikes involving tens of thousands of workers have occurred in Argentina, Chile, Brazil and Colombia. What is needed are internationalist Leninist-Trotskyist parties armed with the program of permanent revolution, to lead these struggles to overthrow the neocolonial order in Latin America and extend the revolution to the United States, the belly of the imperialist beast. ■

International Day of Action for Liverpool Dockers

LONDON—The bitter, 15-month struggle by Liverpool dockers against the union-busting Mersey Docks and Harbour Company (MDHC) has inspired solidarity actions in Britain and across Europe, North America and Australia. Now the dock workers have issued a call for an international 24-hour "Day of Action" to take place on January 20. At least 15 dockers unions along with the International Transport Workers Federation have declared their support to the Merseyside Port Shop Stewards' call "to all dock workers in all ports to join an international blockade of Liverpool cargo and of shipping lines using the scab port of Liverpool."

In September 1995, some 500 Liverpool dockers were locked out by the MDHC for honouring a picket line set up by their sacked union brothers from Torside, a private contractor on the docks. The dockers have repeatedly turned down MDHC's insulting settlement "offers" of a cash payoff and a handful of jobs, demanding reinstatement of *all* the sacked workers. "Our fathers and grandfathers fought and died for jobs that we could be proud of," said one docker. "I did it for the young ones." By upholding the bedrock trade-union principle that picket lines mean don't cross, these militants received active support from dock workers in Sweden, Denmark and France this fall. And last winter, longshoremen in U.S. East Coast ports, Australia, New Zealand and Canada refused to work ships belonging to one of the struck companies.

However, the leadership of the dockers' own union, the Transport and General Workers Union (TGWU), Britain's largest, has given the workers the shaft, refusing even to sanction the strike. Prostrate before the government's anti-union laws, these misleaders now have their sights on a Labour Party victory in the upcoming general election. And with Labour leader Tony Blair determined to underline his anti-union credentials for the bosses, his backers in the TGWU bureaucracy are more committed than ever to not rocking the boat with even the slightest tremor of class struggle.

Union-busting, privatisation and "casualisation" have left the Liverpool dockers the last bastion of a once strongly unionised sector of the British working class. They must not stand alone! Truck drivers, rail workers and all transport workers should refuse to handle all shipments to and from the port of Liverpool. The TGWU should mobilise its million-strong membership for mass pickets to shut the Liverpool docks down tight, and dock workers around the world should refuse to handle diverted cargo. This kind of solidarity in action can fortify the unions against the capitalist offensive in Britain and internationally.

For international labor action to support the Liverpool dockers!

Spartacist

(Spanish Edition)

No. 27
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The new Spanish-language *Spartacist* is the first-ever publication in Spanish of a selection of key writings by American Trotskyist leader James P. Cannon, centered on factional documents of Cannon's fight to build a revolutionary proletarian party.

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South Korea...

(continued from page 1)

key to victory is the forging of a vanguard party like Lenin's Bolsheviks, who led the Russian Revolution of 1917. Armed with the Bolshevik program of international socialist revolution, such a party would champion the cause of all the oppressed, rallying deeply oppressed women, students and immigrants behind the power of the working class to seize the means of production and establish a socialist planned economy.

For Revolutionary Reunification of Korea

The last major arena of the Cold War, the Korean peninsula is divided between two states based on the rule of different social classes. In the Korean War of 1950-53, which left two to three million dead, American imperialism sought to "roll back" Communism beginning with North Korea, but was thwarted by the intervention of the Chinese People's Liberation Army supported by the Soviet Union.

With the war's end, South Korea was stabilized as a highly militarized capitalist police state. The country remained largely agricultural and fairly poor until the 1970s, when the Seoul regime attracted increasing investment from U.S., Japanese and other industrialists and financiers. North Korea, totally devastated by the war and especially by massive U.S. bombing, initially experienced a higher rate of economic development and industrialization, a consequence of both its planned, collectivized economy and Soviet aid. At the same time, North Korean workers and peasants were saddled with the grotesque Stalinist regime of Kim Il Sung and his son and successor Kim Jong Il in Pyongyang.

Nonetheless, leftist student youth and many militant workers in South Korea look favorably on the North and yearn for national reunification. Consequently, South Korea's rulers see the spectre of "communism" behind all labor and social unrest and political protest movements.

Today the North Korean economy is in crisis, deprived of its major source of foreign aid and modern technology with the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union. The working-class upheaval in the capitalist South objectively poses an opportunity to link up with the increasingly desperate North Korean workers on the basis of an internationalist perspective. A fight for the *revolutionary reunification* of Korea—socialist revolution in the South combined with proletarian political revolution in the North—would inspire working-class struggle throughout Asia, from the social powder keg of Indonesia to the industrial powerhouse of Japan to the embattled working people of China who today face the dire threat of capitalist counterrevolution.

"Democrat" Kim Young Sam vs. Korean Labor

In 1987-88, a huge wave of student-centered protest forced the military dictatorship, then headed by Chun Doo Hwan, to allow direct presidential elections which, however, were won by another general, Roh Tae Woo. At the same time, the rise of the independent labor movement, breaking with the U.S.-backed and government-connected KFTU federation, ushered in a period of enormous working-class combativity marked by recurrent strikes and factory occupations.

The South Korean capitalist rulers and their imperialist patrons decided that the façade of a "democratic" government was the best available means of restoring social peace. They turned to a prominent liberal political dissident, Kim Young Sam, whose posture of supporting labor rights would supposedly give him credibility with the workers. In 1990, Kim merged his forces with the political apparatus of Chun, Roh and the other generals; when he took over the government in Seoul in 1992 Washington hailed this as a triumph for "democracy." However, as we wrote at the time, "Kim's election is little more than a transparent 'democratic' veneer for the South Korean police state" ("Free Choi Il Bung and All South Korean Class-War Prisoners!" *WV* No. 574, 23 April 1993).

Furthermore, Kim came to power at a time when the competitive position of South Korean capitalism was weakening. Across the board, exports—the mainstay of the economy—have plummeted with the advance of other East Asian "tigers," such as Taiwan, which undersell South Korea on the world market, and with the spread of brutally exploited labor in countries like Indonesia and Malaysia.

In direct response to the demands of the *chaebols*, who want to raise their profits by driving down the workers' living standards, the new anti-labor laws allow for mass firings, layoffs and plant closures, together with speedup, elimination of safety standards and the imposition of massive amounts of unpaid overtime. Union members who are fired for any reason are barred from continued union membership, much less holding union office. Previously, as part of the agreements ending strikes, companies were forced to pay workers for the period they were on strike. The new legislation makes the "no work, no pay" principle law. Schoolteachers, historically a militant section of the working class, are prevented from organizing until 1999—even then they will be denied the right to strike.

In addition, a 1963 law banning more than one union in each enterprise is to be kept in place until 2000, thereby recognizing only the KFTU. Historically, the KFTU carved out its role as a government-linked labor federation after fighting pitched battles against strikers and organizing scabs during mass strikes in 1946-47. It has long been supported by the American AFL-CIO bureaucracy—the venal labor agents of U.S. imperialism—as well as the Korean CIA and its NSP successor.

It was the outlawed KCTU federation which launched the current general strike by calling out its 500,000 members in strategic companies like Hyundai, Daewoo, Kia, Asia and Ssangyong. Every action taken by the independent unions comes smack up against the naked power of the state. This was demonstrated the moment the KCTU was formed in 1995, when the government arrested union leader Kwon Yong Kil, placed many of the federation's leading members on the wanted list for violating labor and "national security" laws and seized their bank accounts.

To win against the giant *chaebols* requires a sweeping mobilization of workers power. United action by both labor federations is essential: that the KFTU broke out of its corporatist straitjacket is a good thing, and could mean that "labor relations" in South Korea will never be the same. But the union leaders' appeals to the International Labor Organization and the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions—set up and financed by the U.S. CIA in the 1940s—will only serve to derail working-class struggle.

While personally courageous, the leadership of the independent unions is limited to a perspective of liberal democracy. "We had expectations for Kim Young Sam. He was an opposition member, but he has stabbed us in the back," union leader Chun Sae Young told a rally of striking workers on December 28. But even as leader of the "opposition" during the strike waves of 1987-88, Kim was very clear about his loyalty to the maintenance of capitalism, railing against "violent action by workers" (*Far Eastern Economic Review*, 20 August 1987). Today, far from fighting for workers power, the KCTU leaders call for "the government to begin a new round of (genuine) democratic discussions involving all the political parties, government, employers and the unions" to enact a new labor law (*Korean Confederation of Trade Unions News*, 3 January).

Reuters

U.S. imperialist chief Clinton at Demilitarized Zone separating North and South Korea. Defend North Korea against imperialism—U.S. troops out!

For Socialist Revolution!

Over the years, the KCIA and its NSP successor have targeted labor organizers as part of the government's "purification" campaigns. A special NSP department, the Committee to Counteract Labor Insurgency, gained a reputation for brutal torture. In 1980 alone, 200 union officials were purged and more than a dozen sent to military "re-education camps."

A key weapon in the state's arsenal of repression is the National Security Law, which has been used repeatedly in attempts to destroy labor and left-wing organizations. In the first half of 1996, some 200 people were arrested under the law. Last August, in response to the most militant student demonstrations in a decade, Kim Young Sam vowed to enact new legislation that would effectively outlaw student and working-class protests. The Partisan Defense Committee/Japan issued a statement demanding the release of more than 6,000 students arrested for participating in demonstrations demanding reunification with North Korea and the withdrawal of U.S. troops.

In September, the defense minister targeted 6,000 soldiers for being "left-leaning North Korean sympathizers." Some 4,000 army reservists deserted, refusing to join in the manhunt of North Korean sailors washed ashore after their submarine went aground. Now, under the guise of combating "subversion from North Korea," Kim Young Sam's new laws fortify the NSP's authority to investigate, arrest and interrogate any opponents of the South Korean state.

The "democratization" of South Korea trumpeted by bourgeois propagandists is a cruel hoax. Today's South Korean capitalist class emerged in large part from a layer of military officers who served as the willing agents of the Japanese during their brutal 35-year occupation of Korea. Following Japan's defeat in World War II, the South Korean bourgeoisie developed under the sponsorship and military protection of U.S. imperialism. This venal ruling class is incapable of carrying out even the most basic democratic tasks. Existing on half a peninsula, with a tainted native bourgeoisie, a huge and combative proletariat and radical student milieu, and with a deformed workers state to the north across a "Demilitarized Zone" manned by tens of thousands of U.S. and South Korean troops, capitalist South Korea can only function under a deeply repressive regime.

The Trotskyist perspective of permanent revolution uniquely points the road forward: the mobilization of the proletariat at the head of all the oppressed in socialist revolution, which alone can provide a lasting answer to even the fundamental democratic tasks through putting an end to the brutal rule of capital. A revolutionary party in Korea would fight to win to its banner the doubly oppressed women workers, militant students and the growing numbers of South Asian immigrant workers.

Historically, the fate of Korea has been integrally tied to that of China, and in the modern era Japan as well. In a sense, Korea's position resembles that of Poland, which is situated between the dominant powers of Germany and Russia. This is the basis for the nationalism which is pervasive among today's Korean left. In sharp contrast, Marxist internationalists would seek to link the struggles of the Korean proletariat with those of their class brothers and sisters beyond the peninsula.

In particular, the fight for the revolutionary reunification of Korea is closely interlinked with the struggles of the Chinese workers and peasants, who face the encroaching threat of capitalist counterrevolution under the decrepit and totally corrupted Stalinist bureaucracy. A fight for power by the South Korean proletariat could spike imperialism's drive to bring back the horrors of capitalist exploitation to China, North Korea and also Vietnam, and help spark political revolutions to sweep away the ossified Stalinist bureaucratic regimes there. But even to survive, a workers revolution in South Korea would immediately have to seek its extension to the imperialist centers, above all Japan. This perspective requires the forging of internationalist Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard parties throughout the region as part of a reborn Fourth International. ■

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Proposta: Left Tail of Italian Popular Front

Spartaco

Pesce/Master Photo

Reuters

Franco Grisolia (left) of *Proposta* grouping inside Rifondazione Comunista provides left cover for Italian popular-front government of Romano Prodi (right). Above: RC leader Fausto Bertinotti.

We reprint below a translation of the leaflet distributed by the International Communist League's (ICL) Italian section, the Lega Trotskista d'Italia, at the third national conference of Rifondazione Comunista (RC) on the weekend of 14-15 December in Rome. In the best traditions of the Leninist school of party building, the leaflet polemicizes against the most left-wing elements of RC—those lashed together in a rotten bloc led by pseudo-Trotskyists around the journal *Proposta*—in an attempt to win the healthier elements to the fight to build a genuine Leninist-Trotskyist party. Almost a thousand copies of this leaflet were distributed, over 100 copies of *Spartaco* were sold and 10 conference participants subscribed to our press.

The RC conference formally stamped a seal of approval on the party's ongoing support to the popular-front government headed by Romano Prodi. Indeed, Prodi himself was in attendance in the front row of the conference, as were representatives of every bourgeois party except the fascist National Alliance and the fascistic Northern League. The historic symbol of communism—the *bandiera rossa* (red flag)—was barely in sight as RC made its bid to continue as the crucial parliamentary supporters of this bourgeois government which is viciously slashing the living standards of the workers and attacking women, youth and immigrants. This popular front is paving the road for the fascists who have taken to the streets in opposition to the Prodi government's "red austerity." Appropriately enough during the proceedings, as RC chipped away at its old veneer of "communism," the large hammer and sickle mounted at the podium came crashing to the ground!

At the conference, the right-centrists of *Proposta* played their role as the pseudo-left camouflage and safety valve for disgruntled members of RC. Marco Ferrando, the official speaker for the minority's "Motion Two," spoke for half of his 20 minutes about the need to break with the Prodi popular-front government. He described RC's role in supporting the Prodi government as being on board the train for Maastricht—the treaty dictated by the German bankers for a Europe of anti-working-class austerity. Ferrando allowed that RC occasionally pulls an emergency brake on this train, but is nonetheless on board. But the second half of his speech was devoted to swearing *Proposta*'s undying loyalty to RC. But no matter what political program was adopted by the party majority, *Proposta* made clear that in the interests of "unity" it would be the little red caboose on the Maastricht train. Thus while the *Proposta* centrists can spout left-wing rhetoric like water gushing from the fountain of Trevi, these parasites cannot live without their host organism. There is nothing the *Proposta* crowd fears more than the struggle for the political independence of the proletariat from their exploiters. That is why they consistently oppose the construction of an authentically communist Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard party.

Motion Two was overwhelmingly defeated, garnering under 15 percent of the votes. Perhaps more significantly, the party majority passed a resolution banning any organized opposition within RC. But not even this bureaucratic move could uncouple the *Proposta* caboose from RC's right-wing leadership. On the contrary, *Proposta* doubled its membership (from two to four) on the RC national political committee. The entire performance by *Proposta* at the conference brought Trotsky's article, "Centrism and the Fourth International" (17 March 1934), to living color:

> "A centrist always remains in spiritual dependence on rightist groupings, is inclined to cringe before those who are more moderate, to remain silent on their opportunist sins and to color their actions before the workers."

On 12 December, Rifondazione Comunista will hold its third national congress. The purpose of this congress, as the leadership sees it, is to consolidate the party around the policy already being carried out—active support to Romano Prodi's government of capitalist austerity—and to elect a homogeneous leadership based on this policy while disciplining the party ranks. The banner under which this congress will be held is "the struggle against sectarianism," which RC leader Fausto Bertinotti sees as an obstacle "to reaching the leadership bodies of new forces." In other words, Bertinotti wants to purge—or make housebroken—any left-wing opposition which frustrates RC's ambitions for ministerial portfolios as the "left" face of a ruthless capitalist government of anti-working-class austerity and racist anti-immigrant terror.

The political context in which the congress is being held is determined by counterrevolution in the USSR and East Europe. This has emboldened the international bourgeoisies, who would like to erase the experience of the October Revolution, and has made the Stalinist parties and the left in general cave in to the lie that "communism is dead." No longer needing to maintain a common front against the now-defunct Soviet Union, the main imperialist powers—the United States, Japan and Germany—are engaged in sharpened economic competition and ever more aggressive trade wars, which inevitably lead to shooting wars for a redivision of the world's spoils. Supporting the capitalist masters of the Europe of Maastricht (for "monetary union"), the West European governments are carrying out all-sided attacks on workers' living conditions, cutting public spending, dismantling social programs, and brutally attacking the weakest sections of the proletariat: women, youth, immigrants and minorities.

In Italy, the capitalists' dirty work is being carried out by a popular-front government, a bourgeois government

Panorama graphic

In article on Italian left, *Panorama* magazine (19 December 1996) wrote: "The left Trotskyists (*Spartaco*) speak out against Rifondazione which supports Prodi; the right Trotskyists (*Bandiera Rossa*) criticize but are for the politics of the possible."

based on a class-collaborationist coalition which ties the working class directly to the representatives of the bourgeoisie. With the active and crucial support of Rifondazione Comunista, the Prodi government—which was sought by the Party of the Democratic Left (PDS, social-democratic successor to the Italian Communist Party [PCI]), sponsored by the Bank of Italy and blessed by the Vatican—has introduced some of the harshest austerity measures in decades, imposed a super-tax for Maastricht, and reached an agreement with the union bureaucrats and the industrialists' association to impose wage controls.

But within RC, support to the government has created an unstable situation. In order to increase its influence in administering the capitalist state, RC's leadership must continuously prove its trustworthiness to the bourgeoisie: thus, Maura Cossutta's recent acknowledgement "that [former PCI leader] Berlinguer was right on the 'break' with the USSR" and Bertinotti's putting a question mark on even formal adherence to socialism and communism. At the same time, a large part of RC's base consists of the same social layers whose rate of exploitation the bourgeoisie wants to increase in its thirst for profits and on whom it seeks to impose the cost of the capitalists' crisis. A not insignificant portion of RC members—who danced under a giant red flag at RC's founding conference and mistakenly believed that this rehashed Stalinist party represented a genuine left alternative to the groveling and explicitly pro-capitalist PDS—are resisting the leadership's total capitulation.

In the current climate of a witchhunt against the left and with the Rifondazione leadership assuming direct responsibility for the government's attacks on the working class, some sections of workers and youth are turning to *Proposta*. This journal published by Marco Ferrando and Franco Grisolia has now put forward, in a bloc with the United Secretariat's Livio Maitan and others, "Motion Two" in opposition to RC's consolidation on a more explicitly right-wing program. In reality, the *Proposta* group has only a seemingly "more leftist" version of the same class-collaborationist politics carried out by the RC leadership. Far from being an alternative to the betrayals of Bertinotti & Co., *Proposta* represents an obstacle aimed at preventing the widespread discontent among RC's base from turning into revolutionary consciousness. The *Proposta* crowd excels at quoting Lenin and Trotsky out of context, the better to disguise their own opposition to the independent political mobilization of the proletariat acting as a class for itself and wielding its social power in defense of all the oppressed.

What is needed is to forge a party armed with a revolutionary *internationalist* program which fights for a workers government to expropriate the bourgeoisie. This can only be achieved through complete class independence and by fighting *against* the current reformist leaderships of the workers movement and their popular-front politics. That is what the Lega Trotskista d'Italia, section of the International Communist League, fights for.

Reuters

Workers demonstration in Milano, October 1993. Mass labor actions against capitalist austerity were derailed by reformist PDS and RC leaders seeking popular-front government.

Proposta: Tail of the Popular Front

The central point raised against the leadership by "Motion Two" is essentially to call on the party to go into opposition against the Prodi government: "The Rifondazione Comunista Party was the only force of class opposition against the Amato, Ciampi and Dini governments.... For this reason, our party has progressively gained the consensus of subordinate classes" (*Liberazione*, 24 September 1996). It is grotesque to say that RC represented "the only force of class opposition against the Amato, Ciampi and Dini governments." Just remember RC's campaign to support the "Progressives" who supported former Bank of Italy prime minister Ciampi and RC's crucial rescue operation to save the successor Bank of Italy government of Prime Minister Dini and his financial bill. This policy of supporting popular-front coalitions has not only been continuously pursued by RC but has been systematically supported by *Proposta*. When the "Progressives" who supported Ciampi stood in the 1994 elections, *Proposta* (March 1994) appealed to RC members to "participate in the front lines of the party's electoral campaign and in the crucial fight against the right" and goaded more reluctant elements to campaign for the popular front: "Important sectors of our party, even outside the second motion, are unfortunately tempted to abstain from participating in the electoral campaign. Naturally, this is an error." In the following year's elections, *Proposta* (May 1995) continued, "The fight against Berlusconi's right wing is and remains the main task of communists."

The group around Grisolia and Ferrando even went so far as to call for a vote to the Vatican's Popular Party "in particular situations where it is necessary to defeat a fascist or reactionary candidate" (*Proposta*, January 1995). Ferrando is proud to have been the one to propose this non-aggression pact with the fetid remnants of the Christian Democracy, which was created by the CIA and Vatican and ruled Italy from the onset of the Cold War to the collapse of the Soviet degenerated workers state.

Even when, before Prodi, RC was not directly involved in government policy, it always sacrificed workers' interests on the altar of class collaboration. *Proposta*'s "opposition" limits itself to arguing that it would be electorally more profitable for the party to continue this dirty work in opposition, while waiting for a "more leftist" popular-front government.

Cambio 16

African immigrants in Florence protesting racist terror. LTd'I is only group in Italy to fight for full citizenship rights for all immigrants and mass labor-centered actions to stop racist attacks.

If there are any doubts as to whether Ferrando & Co. seek an alliance with the bourgeoisie, just remember how RC's so-called "left" grabbed the opportunity in October 1995 to show the bourgeoisie that it too, and not only the majority, was completely trustworthy. When the right wing presented a motion of no confidence in the Dini government, the RC leadership was initially prepared to take responsibility to let the government fall. *It was the* Proposta *members inside the leadership who fought to win over the majority and save the government* (*Corriere della Sera*, 24 October 1995).

In order to support their appeal for a return to the class-collaborationist past in opposition, *Proposta* is forced to invent a supposedly recent qualitative "turn" in the party's politics. "The passage from opposition to being part of the government majority...marks a turn in RC's orientation, in contradiction to the reasons for our existence, the social interests that we represent, the perspective of being an alternative" (*Liberazione*, 24 September 1996).

It's pure and simple mystification to argue that RC degenerated in the last two years. From the very beginning, RC made no secret of wholeheartedly continuing the politics of the old PCI, which pursued a constant policy of class collaboration during the postwar period. And the PCI was in opposition throughout this time, since the Italian and international bourgeoisies were committed to keeping the largest Communist party in West Europe out of top government positions in this country with a militant and combative working class. But when given the opportunity, the PCI proved its loyalty to the bourgeoisie and its treachery to the proletariat—as in the 1946 popular front when, with Togliatti as Minister of Justice, the partisans were disarmed and the fascists set free [see "Resistance and Betrayal: Italy 1943-45," *WV* No. 525, 26 April 1991; and "The CIA in Cold War Italy," *WV* No. 554, 26 June 1992]. The PCI also served as loyal handmaidens to the bourgeois government from the outside, as with the 1976 "national unity" government. Acting as the bourgeoisie's bloodhounds, the PCI supported the "Special Anti-Terrorist Law" and actively collaborated with the police forces in the "anti-terrorist" witchhunt. In 1980, it stabbed the 35-day strike at Fiat in the back. These are the "glorious" Stalinist traditions RC harks back to.

Contrary to the nonsense pushed by *Proposta*, the real turn came not in Rifondazione in 1994-96 but with the Stalinist degeneration of the USSR. January 1924 marked a political counterrevolution which by 1935 had led all the Communist parties belonging to the Stalinized Communist International to adopt the policy of the popular front, which subordinated the working class to its national bourgeoisie. This was the corollary of Stalin's policy of "socialism in one country."

In France, the popular front disarmed the working class and prevented it from taking power in June 1936. The betrayal by the Stalinists and the social-democratic SFIO ultimately brought about the dissolution of the popular front, which handed power over to the Vichy regime, ally of the Nazis. In Spain, the popular front opened the road to Franco's fascist troops (supported by Hitler and Mussolini) after having bloodily repressed the heroic Barcelona uprising in

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(continued from page 7)

1937 and decimated the most combative sectors of the Spanish proletariat. In Chile, Allende smashed strikes and nominated Pinochet as a head of the armed forces who would "respect" the Constitution...one week before the bloody coup in which this butcher overthrew Allende and massacred tens of thousands of workers and political oppositionists.

In 1994, when Bertinotti proposed a "popular front such as that of Léon Blum in France and of the Spanish Republicans in the thirties or of Allende in Chile in 1973" (*Corriere della Sera*, 19 March 1994), he was doing nothing more than confirming the continuity of the tradition of those Stalinist betrayals. *Proposta* at the time called for a vote to the "Progressives." We, on the other hand, warned that the popular front in government would be anti-worker, anti-woman and anti-immigrant and that it would open the way to reaction (see *Spartaco* No. 44, September 1994).

Popular-front governments arise in situations where the bourgeoisie is so crisis-ridden that it requires the formal presence of a mass workers party in the government to keep the working class in line. That is precisely what has happened in Italy, and just as throughout history this popular-front government has dangerously opened the road to the fascists. In the autumn of 1994, Italy was rocked with a militant strike wave and student mobilizations. When fake Trotskyists like the *Proposta* crowd called for "an unlimited general strike," we exposed this rhetorie as nothing but camouflage for their "fight the right" tailing of the PDS and RC. Their aim was to replace Berlusconi with a popular-front government. In contrast, the LTd'I intervened in these struggles with a program posing the need for the working class to fight for power. We insisted that the crucial instrument to win workers to the revolutionary understanding that those who labor must rule is an authentic Leninist-Trotskyist party, whose aim is not the futile perspective of "reforming" racist capitalism but the proletarian overthrow of the whole rotten system. While exulting in calls for an "unlimited general strike," *Proposta* et al. never posed the crucial question of leadership—because their aim all along was to cynically exploit the working class as the ox to pull the cart of their parliamentary ambitions.

The PDS, RC and their left tails like *Proposta* got what they wanted: Berlusconi out and a bourgeois government—the Prodi popular-front coalition—in, supported by RC and viewed "with satisfaction" by *Proposta*. But this government is so determined to prove itself to the Italian bosses, the City of London, Wall Street and the Deutsehebank that this "popular front" is massively *unpopular* and is rapidly paving the way for fascist reaction. While the workers are told to tighten their helts by the "socialist" parliamentarians, Fini's National Alliance fascists have taken to the streets in cities all over the country to condemn the "red austerity" and Bossi's Northern League racists have unleashed a paramilitary group, the so-called "National Guard of Padania," which threatens to deport immigrants without visas.

Spartaco

Milano, March 1995: LTd'I calls for free abortion on demand, including for minors and immigrants, and for defense of doctors who perform abortions in face of vicious persecution fueled by Vatican.

La Repubblica

It is only through total class independence and by fighting for a revolutionary perspective that the proletariat can pose a credible social alternative for the impoverished layers of the petty-hourgeois masses. Contrary to this, the popular-frontist politics of RC and *Proposta* only exasperate the petty bourgeoisie and push it into the arms of the faseists, who have an easy time showing that the "left" is an ally of big capital.

Thoroughly chained politically to the bourgeois state, RC/*Proposta* wouldn't dream of mobilizing its proletarian base to combat the fascist threat. As Leon Trotsky wrote in the Transitional Program:

> "The petty hourgeois democrats—including Social Democrats, Stalinists and Anarchists—yell louder about the struggle against fascism the more cravenly they capitulate to it in actuality. Only armed workers' detachments, who feel the support of tens of millions of toilers behind them, can successfully prevail against the fascist hands. The struggle against fascism does not start in the liberal editorial office but in the factory—and ends in the street. Scabs and private gunmen in factory plants are the basic nuclei of the fascist army. *Strike pickets* are the haste nuclei of the proletarian army."

Seetions of the ICL have fought for mass mohilizations of the trade unions and oppressed minorities to smash the fascist threat in the streets. Thus, in the United States our comrades initiated powerful labor/black mobilizations that stopped the Ku Klux Klan and Nazis eold in Washington, D.C. in 1982 and in Philadelphia in 1988.

The most commonly used argument to make the working class swallow the politics of capitulating to the hourgeoisie has been to substitute for the defense of the proletariat's class interests the "need to fight the right." To this day, *Proposta* keeps on playing this little refrain. The PCI used this same kind of argument to smash the socialist aspirations of the World War II partisans and hand power baek to the bourgeoisie. As we have repeatedly insisted, in communist politics it is necessary to use class criteria and not to limit oneself to the framework of "progressives" vs. "reactionaries," "right" vs. "left." Popular-front coalitions are bourgeois governments, and the working class will never he ahle to emancipate itself if it is shackled politieally to its capitalist exploiters.

The ICL/LTd'I has always heen opposed in principle to any type of popular front, whether a right-wing or "left-wing" one, whether in government or in opposition, whether support for it is open or hidden behind "critical electoral support." For this reason, we opposed voting for either the PDS or Rifondazione in the last elections and in previous elections. As an alternative to the Ulivo (Olive Tree) coalition's rightist popular front, *Proposta* proposes a "leftist" popular front as an "alternative." But *any kind* of popular front is a betrayal of the interests of workers, minorities and all the oppressed. The October Revolution of 1917, the only victorious revolution of the working class, was made *in counterposition* to Kerensky's popular front—*a popular front much to the left of that proposed by Grisolia and Ferrando*—which issued out of the February Revolution and was supported by the Mensheviks and the Social Revolutionaries. This is how Trotsky described it in the 1930s:

> "In reality, the People's Front is the *main question of proletarian class strategy* for this epoch. It also offers the best criterion for the difference between Bolshevism and Menshevism. For it is often forgotten that the greatest historical example of the People's Front is the February 1917 revolution. From February to October, the Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries, who represent a very good parallel to the 'Communists' and Social Democrats, were in the closest alliance and in a permanent coalition with the bourgeois party of the Cadets, together with whom they formed a series of coalition governments. Under the sign of this People's Front stood the whole mass of the people, including the workers', peasants', and soldiers' councils. To be sure, the Bolsheviks participated in the councils. But they did not make the slightest concession to the People's Front. Their demand was to *break* this People's Front, to destroy the alliance with the Cadets, and to create a genuine workers' and peasants' government.
>
> "All the People's Fronts in Europe are only a pale copy and often a caricature of the Russian People's Front of 1917."
>
> —"The Dutch Section and the International" (July 1936)

Proposta: Blind Faith in the Bourgeois State

The *Proposta* group is a centrist group. One of the classic definitions of centrism is "revolutionary in words, reformist in deeds." And it is exactly on the central questions that *Proposta* goes no further than the limits of reformism, sometimes spiced with "militant" syndicalism. The program for RC presented hy "Motion Two" as an alternative to that proposed by the leadership is proof of this:

> "In this context, the communists present their own counter-budget—i.e., a proposal to overturn the class nature of the politics of the budget—which outside and against the criteria of Maastricht and of capitalist compatibility assumes as its only point of reference the needs of the working masses and proposes an alternative solution to the crisis: progressive taxation of large property, profits and earnings, aided by the abolition of banking and commercial secrets; a drastic reduction in transfers from the public sector to private enterprises...[and] the drastic reduction of military spending; the reintroduction of wage-price indexing; the progressive reduction of working hours at equal pay; a social wage for the unemployed, a broad plan to upgrade the land and the environment; a massive subsidy for the development and renewal of the South."

Proposta's "Motion Two" is old reformist garbage in a new pail. Like the German Social Democrat Eduard Bernstein, who believed capitalism would fall from a tree like an overripe fruit, *Proposta* proposes a gradual "rationalization" of the inequalities of the distribution of wealth in capitalist society, a "counter-budget" of "progressive taxation" and "cuts in military spending." But Grisolia, Ferrando and Livio Maitan were not born yesterday nor are they today's overripe fruit—they're cynical pseudo-Trotskyist charlatans who are putrid and rotten to the core.

Anyone with a basic Marxist understanding of economies knows that what is inherently unjust and unreformable in a capitalist economy is the *private ownership of the means of production*. That is the source of the fundamental conflict between social production by labor and the private accumulation of wealth and profit—labor's surplus value—by the eapitalist elass. There will be no "democratization" of capitalism nor a more equitable distribution of wealth through phony "tax the rich" schemes. To redress the fundamental inequalities of capitalist societies requires a proletarian class struggle by those who create the wealth of this society to rip it out of the hands of the capitalist exploiters and build an egalitarian socialist society where those who labor rule.

In contrast to the reformist conception of the state as proposed by *Proposta*, Lenin unambiguously explained the Marxist conception of the state in *The State and Revolution*: the state is made up of "special bodies of armed men" and is an "instrument of class *rule*, an instrument for the *oppression* of one class by another." Citing Marx and the experience of the 1871 Paris Commune, the first proletarian revolution, Lenin emphasized that "the working class cannot simply take control of the pre-existing state machinery, making it function for its own use" and that the liberation of the working class cannot occur "*without destroying* the apparatus of state power created by the ruling class." The capitalist state, "the 'special force of repression' used by the bourgeoisie to suppress the proletariat," must be replaced "by a 'special force of repression' of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie (the dictatorship of the proletariat)."

Proposta calls for a "drastic reduction in military expenditures." This classic social-democratic demand for "more butter, less guns" is counterposed to a quote from Engels published in the same *Proposta*: "Our program is an authentically

Popular-front government paves the way for growth of neo-Nazi scum who now take to the streets against "red austerity."

socialist program. Our first demand is for the socialization of all the means of production. We accept everything that a government concedes, which we don't feel minimally indebted for. We always vote against all budgets and against *every* request for money for the military" (*Proposta*, October 1996; emphasis added). *Proposta*, while declaring itself to be opposed to the professional army, saying that "armies of this kind are less *permeable* to the intervention of class forces as opposed to the traditional conscript army, and have a greater potential for international *punitive expeditions*, not to mention *internal* repression and control" (*Proposta* No. 2, December 1993; original emphasis), scandalously never says anything *against* the draft army! So much for "butter, not guns"—in the guise of "democracy" and opposition to a professional army, *Proposta* supports the conscription of youth who will be used as cannon fodder for the bourgeoisie's imperialist wars overseas and to break strikes or to evict immigrants on the home front. We Spartacists fight in the tradition of Karl Liebknecht, who raised the slogan, "Not one man, not one penny for the imperialist army!" We too fight against conscription, but if drafted we will go, and seek to win other young working-class conscripts to a political program of opposition to their own ruling class. The main enemy is at home!

Proposta's "Motion Two" also bows to the bourgeois state in dangerously subordinating the organizations of the working class—the trade unions—to state intervention under the guise of "guarantee[ing] a real representation for all the workers." They supported the 11 June 1995 referendum on the trade unions, which called for the entire population—including priests, landlords and bosses—to decide which trade unions must be recognized by the *bourgeois state* in negotiations. We are opposed in principle to bourgeois state intervention in the workers movement and fight for industrial unions to represent all the workers in a particular industry.

Proposta's Anti-Immigrant, Anti-Woman, Anti-Internationalist Pop-Frontist Politics

It is a characteristic of the popular front that—aside from how more or less "leftist" its rhetorical declarations are—it is the bourgeoisie which determines the political terms. In carrying out its frontal assault on the workers, the bourgeoisie today sees as important weakening the proletariat, dividing it along the lines of sex, skin color, nationality, age and North vs. South. Therefore, the first to pay for the capitalist crisis are immigrants, subjected to daily racist terror and the never-ending threat of deportation; women, first to be thrown out of the workplace and pushed once again into the slavery of the "domestic hearth"; youth who have no freedom and no jobs; and other minorities: homosexuals, Rom [Gypsies] and the homeless, who are systematically marginalized, deprived of their rights and repressed.

It is the absolute duty of a communist party to bring to the fore the defense of these particularly oppressed sectors of the population. Lenin maintained that the revolutionary party must be "the tribune of the people." "Motion Two," on the contrary, while presenting itself as a general political platform, says hardly anything on the question! It literally limits itself to posing "the need to fight prejudices, which also exist among workers, and to fight racist and xenophobic outbreaks." For women, it calls for "a clear demand for autonomy and self-determination, not only regarding personal choices in life and one's place in society, but also in political direction, to the point of questioning political behavior inside class organizations and the party." That's all! A couple of statements which even the Pope would accept. For *Proposta*—reared in the white, male, nationalist milieu of RC—questions such as the racist Dini decree against immigrants which was "critically" supported by RC, the daily anti-immigrant terror and deportations, the attacks on abortion rights are not worth being included in a political program; nor are such demands as separation of church and state and abolition of the Concordat [the 1929 treaty between Mussolini's fascist state and the Pope]. It's better to avoid such issues when you're joining in electoral campaigns for the Vatican's PPI or the anti-abortion Prodi or open racists like Diego Masi.

Proposta has done nothing to mobilize against racism. As detailed in a *Spartaco* leaflet [excerpted in *WV* No. 620, 7 April 1995], in February 1995 LTd'I comrades organized a successful protest in Milano when the cops tried to pull three immigrants off buses destined for an anti-racist demonstration in Rome. After LTd'I supporters organized 250 people from the buses to picket the police to demand freedom for the immigrant comrades, Grisolia—who had neither organized nor fought for the protest—went inside the police station along with other trade-union bureaucrats to bargain with the cops. The bureaucrats then tried, unsuccessfully, to "cool out" the protest; unmoved, the protesters continued their struggle until their comrades were released.

We fight for full citizenship rights for immigrants and their families and for worker/immigrant mobilizations to smash racist terror and stop deportations. Immigrants must be organized into the unions and get equal pay for equal work. Particularly here in the homeland of the Vatican, a key force for women's oppression, we call for the complete separation of church and state, we fight to smash the Concordat and to expropriate the Vatican's assets, we want the church out of the schools. The "conscientious objection" clause for doctors, one of the many concessions to the Catholic church which the PCI made in the context of its class-collaborationist politics, has practically rendered useless the partial right to abortion included in "Law 194," particularly in the South.

We fight for free abortion on demand, including for youth and immigrants. The bourgeoisie, supported by the Catholic church, is carrying out a campaign in defense of "family values"—i.e., of the institution in which the oppression of women and youth is carried out *par excellence*—and attacking any kind of behavior which puts the family in question, from the sexuality of youth to homosexuality.

We say that sexuality is a private matter in which the only question is that any relations are consensual—state and church out of the bedroom!

"Motion Two" suggests that women and immigrants "self-organize." *Proposta* calls for "support to the self-organization of these groups (women, gays, lesbians and immigrants) and for the formation of rank-and-file control committees against discrimination." This sectoralist appeal, widespread inside RC, is nothing other than a call to create ghettos where women discuss "female questions," immigrants discuss "problems concerning immigration," etc., while the "party" carries out "real politics"—which include selling out the rights of these groups. The call for "self-reliance" lets the leaders of RC and the unions off the hook for their refusal to mobilize the big battalions of the proletariat to defend such doubly oppressed sectors. Meanwhile, the bourgeoisie attacks those targets it perceives as vulnerable—such as immigrants, youth or gays—as a spearhead to break the power of the organized working class as a whole.

Calendario del Popolo

RC continues in tradition of Stalinist gravediggers of revolution. Communist Party (PCI) leader Palmiro Togliatti (second from right), PCI "lefts" Pietro Secchia (right) and Luigi Longo oversaw disarming of Italian partisans to prop up capitalist rule after World War II.

We communists recognize that women's oppression is rooted in the institution of the family, the social and economic unit which is an integral part of capitalism, the principal means for passing on the inheritance of private property. We fight for women's liberation as an inseparable part of the struggle of the entire working class against capitalism. This can only be achieved through socialist revolution and the ending of private property. For communists, the defense of the rights of specially oppressed sectors of the population is an integral part of this perspective, and it stands at the forefront of the entire party's program. We say that it is the organized working class which must mobilize to defend these sectors of the population. The "Women and Revolution" pages inside *Spartaco* are in the tradition of the experience of the Bolshevik publication, *Rabotnitsa*, and of the Communist International's *Die Kommunistische Fraueninternationale*. The *Spartaco* "Youth Pages," of which we are proud, are another proof of this perspective.

Proposta: A History of Pabloite Liquidationism

Proposta comes out of the bad political tradition of Pabloite liquidationism. Michel Pablo emerged after World War II as the leader of the decimated forces of Trotsky's Fourth International. Deeply impressionistic, he liquidated the political program and purpose of Trotsky's International. Incapable of understanding the postwar transformation of East Europe, Pablo believed that the Stalinist parties could approximate a revolutionary role, predicted "centuries of deformed workers states" and pursued a policy of deep entry into the Stalinist and Social Democratic parties. This is *Proposta*'s political heritage, and similarly, Grisolia & Co. have consistently rejected the need for an independent proletarian vanguard because they have no confidence in the working class to act consciously as a class for itself. If you give up on the revolutionary capacity of the proletariat then of course there is no need for a proletarian vanguard party.

Trotsky wrote, "Centrists talk a lot about the 'masses,' and always end up orienting themselves towards the reformist apparatus." Therefore, just like Russian *matryoshka* dolls, over the last 15 years *Proposta* has carried out "entrism" in Maitan's Revolutionary Communist League, which in turn entered Proletarian Democracy, which liquidated into Rifondazione. When *Corriere* asked Ferrando if he thought of leaving Rifondazione, his peremptory reply was, "I wouldn't dream of it!"

In 1976, the international Spartacist tendency (iSt), precursor of the International Communist League, broke relations with Grisolia and Ferrando, who were then the Bolshevik-Leninist Group of Italy (GBL), precisely over their capitulation to the popular front. This is what the GBL wrote to *Workers Vanguard*, newspaper of our American section: "It is to be noted that your organization has the bizarre position that giving electoral support to a workers party which participates or is implicated in a Popular Front, or which wants to form one, means capitulating to the Popular Front" (see *Spartaco* No. 3, 1981). We argued that the popular front is itself a bourgeois formation, which pledges in advance to "respect" the limits of capitalist property and the capitalist state. This earlier position was the precursor of *Proposta*'s support today to the Ulivo, including their appeal to vote for the openly bourgeois PPI. During the 1970s, the class collaboration expressed in "unity against terrorism" produced, among other things, the "national unity government" supported by the PCI. It was exactly to this "anti-terrorist" witchhunt which the GBL capitulated, while we called for "freedom for all jailed leftist militants."

During the Cold War campaign of the

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Chicago...

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evidence and present false testimony in the frame-up of Rolando Cruz. Cruz spent nearly a decade on death row before his conviction was finally overturned in November 1995.

Meanwhile, last month a police review board exonerated three Chicago cops who had killed a Hispanic man, Jorge Guillen, in October 1995, in a case that even the Cook County medical examiner had ruled a homicide. An outraged crowd of over 100 people packed a December 12 Police Board meeting to denounce the whitewash of the killer cops. A spokesman for Neighbors Against Police Brutality denounced the board's decision, saying, "You, too, are murderers because your decision has given other police a license to kill" (*Chicago Sun-Times*, 13 December 1996). One week later, in the most recent scandal over police corruption, seven cops in the Austin District were arrested on federal charges of conspiracy to commit robbery and extortion after shaking down undercover agents they thought were drug dealers.

Chapman/Chicago Sun-Times

Rolando Cruz, framed up by cops, spent almost a decade on death row before false conviction was overturned.

Police Suppression of Political Dissent

All throughout last summer, this apparatus of police repression was employed by city officials to suppress political protests around the Democratic convention in order not to upset Clinton's renomination. The clampdown on protests is part of the increasing attacks by the capitalist state on fundamental democratic rights in the face of the deepening gulf between the handful of filthy rich at the top and the mass of working people and oppressed.

Back in 1968, when the Democrats last met in Chicago, cops rampaged against thousands of anti-Vietnam War protesters in the full glare of the international media. At the time, tumultuous struggles against the imperialist war and racist oppression made the police attacks in Chicago impossible to ignore. This time, the bourgeois media and politicians crowed about the lack of any such turmoil. Nevertheless, the state machinery again went into high gear against demonstrators, with cops rounding up radical activists and pepper-gassing and beating protest marchers.

On August 29, Chicago cops raided sites used by the Active Resistance, a protest conference organized by local activists drawing over 700 participants. A report by the CounterMedia news service described the police raids: "Without a warrant and without arrests at either location, the police were able to successfully turn people from all over the world, terrified and without their belongings, out into the night streets." In addition, five protesters were arrested on charges of "inciting to mob action" as well as trumped-up counts of aggravated battery of police. The trial of the "DNC 5" is scheduled to begin on February 7. Also facing bogus charges are six supporters of the Progressive Labor Party (PLP) arrested during a West Side neighborhood demonstration against Clinton's axing of welfare. Repeatedly beaten by cops upon their

Martinez Monsivais/Chicago Sun-Times

Angry protest at Chicago Police Board meeting, December 12, following exoneration of cops who killed Jorge Guillen (inset).

Chicago Sun-Times

arrest, these six face charges of "armed violence" which carry a mandatory six-year sentence. We demand: Drop all charges against the DNC and PLP protesters!

Defense of the right to engage in political protest, and to organize against the racist terror of the KKK, is crucial for the labor movement, blacks, Hispanics, youth—all those who oppose the exploitation and oppression of this society. The PDC has called a united-front rally for the Anti-Klan Three for January 23, when the defendants will be back in court. Among the dozens of organizations and individuals who have already called for dropping the charges against these anti-racist activists are Chicago's Amalgamated Transit Union Local 308, International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union Local 10 in San Francisco, *Black Scholar* editor Robert Allen, and labor and left organizations internationally such as the Fire Brigades Union in Scotland and the South African Communist Party.

All out to defend the Anti-Klan Three—Drop the charges! Be there on January 23, 8:30 a.m., outside Cook County Circuit Court, 1340 South Michigan Avenue.

* * *

Send protest statements demanding that the charges against the Anti-Klan Three be dropped to: Richard Devine, State's Attorney of Cook County, Richard J. Daley Center, 55 W. Randolph Street, Chicago, IL 60602. Funds for legal defense are urgently needed! Send donations (earmarked "Anti-Klan Protesters") and copies of protest statements to the Partisan Defense Committee. Contact the PDC in Chicago at P.O. Box 802867, Chicago, IL 60680-2867, phone (312) 454-4931; or in New York at P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013-0099, phone (212) 406-4252. ■

Italy...

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1980s, Grisolia and Ferrando of the GBL (which then changed its name to Revolutionary Workers League) capitulated to the reactionary anti-Soviet drive, expressing their intent not to break with class collaboration and to maintain their links with the labor movement bureaucracy. This was at a time when the Western Communist parties, in particular the PCI, were called on to show proof of their loyalty to their bourgeoisies. Thus, the PCI condemned the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan and supported the Polish company "union" Solidarność. The predecessors of *Proposta* naturally also lined up against the USSR, screaming "solidarity with Solidarność," even as the bulk of the Italian working class refused to strike in support of the CIA and Vatican's Polish "union."

Unlike Cossuta, Bertinotti and other present-day leaders of RC, who at the time slavishly supported the Kremlin bureaucrats with their bankrupt nationalist line of "building socialism in one country," we Trotskyists asserted that the Soviet Union could be defended only through world socialist revolution. We fought for proletarian political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracy which undermined the gains of the October Revolution. This was premised on unconditional defense of the degenerated and deformed workers states against imperialist attack and internal counterrevolution. Therefore, unlike Grisolia and his ilk, we staunchly opposed capitalist-restorationist elements like Lech Walesa and Boris Yeltsin.

In 1981, when Solidarność attempted a power bid, the iSt said, "Stop Solidarność' counterrevolution!" and defended Jaruzelski's countercoup, while calling for the forging of a Trotskyist party to lead a political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracy. When the USSR intervened in Afghanistan, we said, "Hail Red Army!" and called to "Defend, complete and extend gains of the October Revolution to the peoples of Afghanistan," stressing that the Soviet Army was playing a fundamental role in defense of Afghan women against Islamic reaction. When the Kremlin bureaucrats decided to withdraw from Afghanistan, we denounced this betrayal and wrote to the Kabul government, which was encircled by the fanatical Islamic *mujahedin*, offering to organize an international brigade against the CIA's cutthroats. History has well proven who was correct. Solidarność was the motor force of counterrevolution in Poland. And in Afghanistan, the Taliban are forcing Afghan women who have survived their massacres to live secluded inside their homes, by physically attacking those women who go outside without a "chador."

Build a Bolshevik Party!

The main reason the Russian Revolution was victorious is the fact that Lenin and the Bolsheviks had in the preceding years forged a politically and organizationally cohesive party which was armed with a revolutionary program. This cohesion was achieved through continual fights against all forms of opportunism inside the workers movement. Comparing the victorious Russian Revolution of October 1917 with the defeat of the German revolution in 1923, Trotsky concluded that what the German proletariat lacked was "a party, a party and once again a party" ("The Lessons of October"). In the Transitional Program, he stressed that "The historical crisis of humanity reduces itself to the crisis of revolutionary leadership."

We fight for a new October Revolution. But there is a great disproportion between this purpose and the current political consciousness of the working class, youth and the left internationally. Across West Europe, the working class has fought back in some of the largest and most militant battles in years, yet for the first time since the Paris Commune, the masses of workers in struggle do not identify their immediate felt needs with the ideals of socialism or the program of proletarian revolution. Today, even most subjective leftists view as rather esoteric the idea that a proletarian revolution, like that successfully pursued by Lenin's Bolshevik Party in Russia in 1917, is the key to the liberation of mankind. This is due in no small measure to the crimes of the Stalinists, and the social democrats before them, who made a mockery of the program and ideals of revolutionary Marxism.

Buying into imperialist triumphalism over the "death of communism," fake-left groups like *Proposta* are rapidly repudiating even any pretense of Leninism, seeking "regroupment" in larger reformist formations together with social democrats and ex-Stalinists. Our small revolutionary international is hardly immune to the disintegrative pressures of this period of post-Soviet reaction. But unlike our centrist and reformist opponents, who wallow in their opportunism while glibly denying any internal problems, we strive to be candid in assessing the tasks and difficulties facing us.

Failure to recognize the period we are in and the necessary relationship of a small Leninist vanguard to the proletariat generates disorientation, demoralization and appetites to look elsewhere for the "answer." As Trotsky observed in his 1937 article, "Stalinism and Bolshevism":

> "Reactionary epochs like ours not only disintegrate and weaken the working class and its vanguard but also lower the general ideological level of the movement and throw political thinking back to stages long since passed through. In these conditions, the task of the vanguard is above all not to let itself be carried along by the backward flow; it must swim against the current...it must at least retain its ideological positions, because in them is expressed the dearly purchased experience of the past. Fools will consider this policy 'sectarian.' Actually it is the only means of preparing for a new tremendous surge forward with the coming historical tide."

We fight to complete the task begun by Lenin and Trotsky when they led the working class to victory in Russia in 1917—to pursue the class struggle to a victorious conclusion, with state power embodied in workers councils around the world. *Proposta* has nothing to offer women, youth, immigrants and minorities and wants to ghettoize them. We want to build a Leninist party, a "tribune of the people" which actively mobilizes the working class to fight all forms of special oppression. *Proposta* maintains that Rifondazione must be reformed. We recognize that Rifondazione Comunista is the kind of party which Lenin described as a bourgeois workers party, whose base revolutionaries seek to split away from the leadership. *Proposta* argues for a policy of class collaboration on the national terrain and leaves international questions to Sunday speechifying. We are part of a politically and organizationally cohesive international, based on the lessons of the first four congresses of the Communist International and on Trotsky's Fourth International. *Proposta* wants to tie the working class to the bourgeoisie's cart. We fight for socialist revolution throughout the entire world. Join us! ■

Geronimo...

(continued from page 12)

was in fact an informant for the LAPD. Butler answered, "No, I was acting as an informant." Yet two days later, under well-rehearsed cross-examination by the D.A., Butler tried to deny having said this.

Butler is not the only man with something to hide. The dirty hands in Geronimo's case reach high up, and all the state agencies involved are desperately trying to put a lid on the facts that persist in coming to light. The FBI, with court sanction, has refused to turn over their uncensored files to Geronimo's legal team. Kalustian, while admitting that as D.A. he should have turned information over to the defense, denies having had any information. Bowles claims he never worked with Butler and can't explain why his name appears on D.A. office documents as his contact. Clayton Anderson, the man in charge of the D.A.'s intelligence unit in the 1960s and '70s, claims Butler was a "source" but not an "informant"—and then revealed that the file on the case was *destroyed* even though everyone in the D.A.'s office knew there was an ongoing legal battle. The mutually contradictory handwashing has been so blatant that on December 31 the presiding judge, Everett W. Dickey, remarked, "It is always unfortunate when the court has to conclude that someone is deliberately lying on the witness stand."

"It All Started with the FBI"

What has emerged at the current hearing is confirmation of an all-sided collusion to frame up Geronimo because he is a fighter for black rights and above all because he organized resistance to the deep racial oppression inherent in capitalist America:

• Butler was a longtime friend of LAPD sergeant Duwayne Rice, beginning when they both worked for the L.A. County sheriff's office. In September 1969, Butler gave Rice a letter which fingered Geronimo for the murder. Rice testified in 1972 that Butler had been his informant for one week, even though Rice had earlier told the FBI that he had had a "professional relationship" with Butler for four years.

Rice had introduced Butler to his captain, Ed Henry, sometime in 1969. Henry testified last week that given what he knows now, he agrees that Butler met the definition of an agent provocateur and that he was "technically but not morally an informant." When the D.A. tried to fix this statement under cross-examination by asking whether Butler was simply trying to protect both sides, Henry said, "I don't think he cared what happened to the Panthers."

Following the delivery of Butler's letter fingering Geronimo to Rice, Butler turned over to Rice and Henry weapons that Butler claimed belonged to the Panthers. Henry told the hearing that he and Rice had gotten permission from higher-ups to file false police reports removing Butler's name as the informant.

• Butler had had *33* contacts with the FBI in the 18 months prior to and 18 months after Geronimo's indictment in December 1970. The FBI referred to Butler as "Provisional Racial Informant—Ghetto." Rice had told Kalustian before the 1972 trial, "It all started with the FBI"—a statement never disclosed to Geronimo's attorneys. Both Kalustian and Butler now finally admit that they knew that two FBI agents were present when Butler delivered his letter to Rice.

• Evidence supplied earlier this year revealed the existence in the D.A.'s office of three "Confidential Informant" cards in Butler's name and that Butler had been given an informant number. Anderson testified that only he created such cards, and that he did so only when the D.A.'s office expected ongoing and reliable information from the informant. Kalustian admitted that as district attorney he was fully aware that Butler illegally carried a concealed weapon but did nothing about it even though he knew Butler was a convicted felon.

• Former D.A. investigator Fred Willis testified that he had been introduced to Butler by another D.A. investigator in late 1969 or early 1970. Over the period of time that Willis was in contact with Butler, Willis considered him a confidential informant.

Willis had been instructed by his superiors to check with FBI agent George Akin prior to contacting Butler "because he belongs to George." Willis testified he had consulted Akin at a meeting of a group called the Los Angeles Intelligence Unit, a gathering of law enforcement agencies in Southern California which met up to four times a year to exchange information. Anderson testified that the D.A.'s office regularly passed on tips from the LAPD and FBI, and vice versa.

• For his efforts, Butler was well rewarded. Two months after Butler delivered the letter to Rice, even though Butler had been found guilty on four felony counts in the 1969 beating of one Ollie Taylor, he was kept out of state prison and instead given probation and a $200 fine. Rice wrote to Butler's probation officer that Butler was "cooperating with the police." Three days following Geronimo's conviction, Kalustian interceded on Butler's behalf to have his fine reduced. A year and a half later, Kalustian himself went to court to have Butler's criminal record cleared so that he could pursue a career as a lawyer.

Geronimo's Innocence Is Proven—Free Him Now!

As revolutionary Marxists who have fought for well over a decade in defense of Geronimo, we welcome the opportunity provided by this hearing to confront those who connived in the FBI/LAPD frame-up. While the hearing is serving to further rip the thin veil of democracy off the face of the racist capitalist "justice" system, our expectations for a favorable outcome are guarded. Even while Geronimo has been kept locked behind bars for the last quarter-century, every element of the state's "case" against him has been proven to be nothing but fabrications in the service of the FBI's deadly COINTELPRO operations. Evidence of Geronimo's innocence includes testimony that government wiretaps showed that Geronimo was 400 miles away at the time of the murder, the identification of another man by the victim's husband over a year before he saw a photo of Geronimo, and the identity of the likely real killers. Yet Geronimo has been denied parole 14 times, while four previous attempts to overturn his conviction were dumped by the courts.

In the capitalist courts, the concepts of guilt and innocence have little to do with justice and a lot to do with protecting the interests of the ruling class. This is amply demonstrated by the fact that, in a period of bipartisan efforts to beef up police powers and incarcerate ever-higher numbers of the black population, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in 1993 that new evidence of the innocence of Texas death row prisoner Leonel Herrera was not sufficient grounds to stop his execution. As "hanging judge" Albert Saho—the man who presided over the railroading of death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal—told a Philadelphia court during a 1995 hearing for Mumia, "Justice is just an emotional feeling."

Unlike Saho's kangaroo court, which has reveled in its blatant bias against Jamal and its abuse of his defense team, Judge Dickey has taken great care to preserve the trappings of impartial justice during the current hearing for Geronimo. But we understand that the courts, like the cops, are part of the state, which is not a neutral body but exists to administer the capitalist system of exploitation of the many by a few who own the wealth in this society and to punish those who, like Geronimo, dare to challenge the capitalist rulers.

In some ways, Geronimo's case bears similarities to that of Thomas J. Mooney, a Socialist trade-union organizer who was framed up in 1916 for allegedly bombing a pro-World War I demonstration in San Francisco. Mooney's intransigent opposition to the imperialist war made him the target of the union-busting, chauvinist ruling class. Mooney was sentenced to die, but an international defense campaign won a commutation of the death sentence in 1919. He remained behind bars for another two decades even though the people who kept him in prison had long since quit even pretending that he was guilty.

The government's frame-up of Geronimo, an innocent man, has repetitively been proven. Yet he has been locked away for 26 years, his entire adult life. Like the case of Tom Mooney, there is no way to rectify the vicious actions of the ruling class and its state against him—injustice has been irrevocably committed. Geronimo doesn't need a new trial; he needs his freedom. The only criminals here are the FBI, the LAPD and the district attorney's office...and their kept fink, Julius Butler.

That this current hearing to overturn Geronimo's conviction is taking place at all is testament to the substantial support on his behalf among significant layers of the California trade-union movement, black groups and civil libertarians. We must continue to fight on Geronimo's behalf by translating this opposition into an active mobilization of the power of the organized working class, to send a signal to the rulers of this country that it is not worth their while to keep this man behind bars.

The fight for Geronimo's freedom is not simply a matter of protesting injustice but of self-defense. What American Trotskyist leader James P. Cannon, the founder of the International Labor Defense, said in 1942 about the case of Tom Mooney applies equally well to Geronimo: "They kept him in prison for revenge and for a warning to others." Geronimo's freedom would be a tremendous blow against the institutionalized state repression which has been and will continue to be used against all those who struggle for the rights of working people and the oppressed. ■

L.A. Rally: "Free Geronimo Now!"

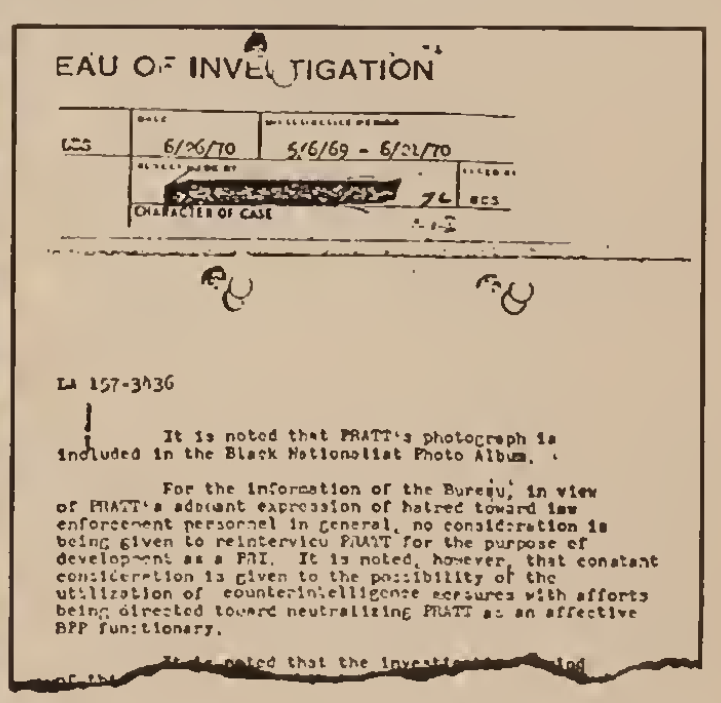
LOS ANGELES—Demanding "Free Geronimo Now!" an integrated, militant united-front protest of 50 people took place on December 17, the day after the start of a court hearing on the request for a new trial for Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt). The demonstration was held at the L.A. County Criminal Courts building, where Geronimo's 1972 frame-up trial took place.

Initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee, the protest was endorsed by a broad range of labor, minority, student and leftist organizations and individuals, including L.A. SEIU service employees locals 399 and 660, ILWU warehouse Local 6 in Oakland and the Associated Students Inc. from California State University at Long Beach. Speakers included representatives from the Four Winds Student Movement, Workers World Party, the PDC, Spartacist League and L.A. Spartacus Youth Club.

SL speaker Jane Kerrigan linked the defense of Geronimo and other victims of racist capitalist injustice with the fight for an egalitarian socialist society:

> "We seek to unite the multiracial, multiethnic working class to struggle in defense of all of the oppressed. This demonstration in defense of Geronimo ji Jaga is part of that effort.
>
> "There's a lot of groups that call for the government to give more money for education, for health, for jobs for all. Those are pretty good demands, but if you want to get the money to pay for these things, you have to smash the power of the ruling class in this country. To do that, you need a revolutionary workers party—a party that says we created all of the wealth in this society, it's ours and we're going to take it."

Kerrigan concluded, "When the working class has wrested the rule of this society from the hands of the oppressors, it will signal the beginning of the construction of a society based on human justice and freedom. Let us make sure that Geronimo ji Jaga, Mumia Abu-Jamal and all those behind bars for their defense of the working class and oppressed are around to savor that sweet day."



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6/26/70 — 5/6/69 - 6/21/70

CHARACTER OF CASE

LA 157-3036

It is noted that PRATT's photograph is included in the Black Nationalist Photo Album.

For the information of the Bureau, in view of PRATT's adamant expression of hatred toward law enforcement personnel in general, no consideration is being given to reinterview PRATT for the purpose of development as a PAI. It is noted, however, that constant consideration is given to the possibility of the utilization of counterintelligence measures with efforts being directed toward neutralizing PRATT as an effective BPP functionary.

1969 police raid on L.A. Black Panther Party headquarters. 1970 FBI document calls for "neutralizing PRATT" as part of murderous COINTELPRO vendetta against black militants.

WORKERS VANGUARD

FBI/LAPD Fink Julius Butler Exposed on Stand

Geronimo Must Go Free!

WV Photos

December 17 rally for Geronimo at L.A. courthouse.

AP

Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt)

JANUARY 6—Julius Butler—a lawyer and chairman of the board of the First AME Church in South-Central Los Angeles, who is touted as a pillar of the black community for helping to quell protest in the ghetto in the aftermath of the L.A. cops' beating of Rodney King—built his career by aiding the frame-up of a young militant fighter for black rights. Now, for the first time in the 26 years since his lying testimony secured the conviction of Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt) for a murder the government knew Geronimo did not commit, Butler has been called to account for his role as an informant for the FBI, the Los Angeles Police Department and the L.A. district attorney's office. His testimony is a central focus of a hearing that began on December 16 in Santa Ana, California to determine if Geronimo will be granted a new trial.

Butler was the prosecution's "key witness" against Geronimo in 1972, testifying that Geronimo had confessed to a murder in 1968. In early 1969, the L.A. office of the FBI had designated Geronimo, who was at the time a leader of the Black Panther Party, a "Key Black Extremist," targeting him for "neutralization" as part of its Counter-Intelligence Program (COINTELPRO) provocations against radical black activists. In December of that year, an LAPD S.W.A.T. team tried to gun down Geronimo in early morning raids on his home and on Panther headquarters. Having failed to murder him, the government then framed him up. And Butler, who had an ax to grind after being expelled by Geronimo from the Panthers on suspicion of being a fink, was the willing instrument.

While facts documenting Geronimo's innocence and Butler's role as an FBI/LAPD informant in the frame-up have been revealed over the course of the last 17 years, court after court has refused to grant Geronimo a new trial. Then last summer came the revelation that Butler was also an informant for the district attorney's office before and during Geronimo's trial. At that trial, Butler's informant status was hidden from both Geronimo's attorneys and from the jury. In response to a question from Geronimo's lawyer, Johnnie Cochran, Butler swore he was "never in the world a snitch." The D.A.'s office now claims that this unambiguous evidence of collusion in Geronimo's frame-up would have been of little significance to the outcome of the trial. But at the time, the prosecuting attorney, Richard Kalustian—afterward promoted to an L.A. Superior Court judgeship—told the trial court, "If the jury believes Julio Butler...Mr. Pratt is guilty." Three jurors have since stated that if they'd known the main witness against Geronimo was an informant, they would have voted to acquit.

Since first exposed as an informant, Butler has sought to protect his now "respectable" image as a champion of the black community by continual denials of his role as a government fink. In an interview this past spring, he claimed he was just a "liaison between the Black Panther Party and law enforcement." (Such a self-description was once used by the Kapos, those Jews who assisted the Nazis in the administration of concentration camps in the hope of saving themselves.) At the same time, Butler admitted that he had been given the money to buy a gun by the D.A.'s office. Meanwhile, Morris Bowles, a D.A. investigator who Butler claims was his "liaison," testified in the current hearing that Butler had complained to him after an exposé appeared in *GQ* that LAPD sergeant Duwayne Rice had "given him up" as an informant.

In the current hearing, confronted with page after page of FBI memos detailing Butler's FBI contacts, Butler admitted to having fingered both Geronimo and Panther leader Eldridge Cleaver to the FBI. Finally, when asked by Cochran whether he could dispute the connotation that he

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Mobilize to Defend Chicago Anti-Klan Three!

Illinois Cop Frame-Up Machine Revealed

A critical court date is approaching for three anti-Klan protesters who face trumped-up charges stemming from a demonstration against a KKK race-hate provocation in Chicago's Daley Plaza on June 29. The Anti-Klan Three were arrested after protesters thwarted a violent Klan attack against the rally, which had been initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee and Labor Black Struggle League. Last month, a Chicago Circuit Court judge granted the three defendants an evidentiary hearing, scheduled for January 23, based on a defense motion to dismiss the charges (see "New Legal Papers Document Cop Vendetta: Defend Chicago Anti-Klan Three—Drop the Charges!" *WV* No. 657, 6 December 1996).

The legal papers filed for that motion demonstrate that the prosecution of these anti-racist activists is a blatantly malicious act by the city government and Chicago Police Department aimed at justifying the cops' attack on the anti-Klan protesters. In addition, the papers show that the police assault on the demonstrators on June 29 was one of a series of attempts to suppress social protest in the months leading up to the Democratic National Convention (DNC) in August. The Anti-Klan Three—Jeffrey Lyons, Dennis Glass and Gene Herson—still face prison terms of up to two years.

The victimization of these anti-racist activists is the cops' retaliation for the defeat suffered by the KKK on June 29. The anti-Klan demonstration successfully defended itself against the Klansmen, who had marched in wielding bolt-studded shields and long, heavy "flagpoles" as weapons against the protesters. But the KKK scum soon found themselves sprawled on the pavement. The cops intervened to protect the Klan terrorists, and later launched a series of attacks against the anti-racist protesters. Several were hit with clubs, while others were pepper-gassed. Police particularly went after demonstration organizers and minority youth.

The attempt to railroad the Anti-Klan Three to prison takes place amid a spate of revelations of police frame-ups and corruption which have recently seized headlines in Chicago. The most sensational involves the indictment of three former prosecutors and four sheriff's deputies by a special grand jury for conspiring to fabricate

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 660 — 24 January 1997

For Class-Struggle Defense of the Clinics—No Reliance on the Capitalist State!

Heinous Abortion Clinic Bombing in Atlanta

JANUARY 20—Only days before the 24th anniversary of the Supreme Court's *Roe v. Wade* decision legalizing abortion nationwide, two terror bombs rocked an office building housing the Atlanta Northside Family Planning Services, which provides abortion services. The first of the two explosions on January 16 sent flames and heavy smoke through the building; the second exploded an hour later in the parking lot, injuring six people. The same clinic had been firebombed in 1984. And in Tulsa, Oklahoma yesterday, an abortion clinic which had been firebombed on New Year's Day came under attack again, as two bombs exploded, although no one was injured.

These latest terror attacks send a fiery message that abortion clinics are still under bloody assault by right-wing killers, and that the liberal feminist strategy of reliance on Clinton's White House and the cops and courts is a dismal failure and diversion. The very morning of the bombing, feminist groups held a press conference in Washington, D.C. to present statistics on recent violence against clinics. According to the Feminist Majority's annual survey, almost 30 percent of the clinics surveyed last year were targeted by "severe violence"—bombings, arson, death threats, blockades, chemical and other attacks. When gunfire, vandalism and harassment of doctors and clinic workers at their homes are included, the number of clinics attacked last year rises to over 45 percent. That these figures represent a "decline" is horrible in itself: in 1994, over half of all clinics reported severe

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For International Labor Solidarity Action!

Defend South Korean Trade Unions!

U.S. Troops Out of Korea!

JANUARY 19—The wave of nationwide strikes that has rocked South Korea for the past three weeks—provoked by a new anti-union law enacted in late December—reached a climax last week as 750,000 workers downed tools in the biggest strike in the country's history. At the same time, the government of President Kim Young Sam has gone on the offensive, arresting five strike leaders, issuing warrants for 16 others and unleashing an army of riot police to surround a Seoul cathedral where seven leaders of the Korean Confederation of Trade Unions (KCTU) have sought refuge. At the huge Hyundai shipyard in Ulsan, a historic bastion of militant trade unionism in South Korea, several hundred workers broke ranks and scabbed on the strike, joining with riot police in attacking the strikers' barricades. By week's end, the KCTU had called off the national strike while vowing to stage one-day walkouts every week and to resume a full-fledged strike if the new legislation is not rescinded by mid-February.

The KCTU remains unbowed and intact, but the government is clearly out to bloody and break the militant South Korean workers movement. Kim and the monopolistic *chaebol* conglomerates he speaks for are intent on putting an end to a decade of working-class combativity, which began with the massive strike wave of 1987-88 and has led to a doubling of real wages. The new law would deny union recognition to the independent unions of the KCTU, which grew out of that strike wave, and sanction mass layoffs and the hiring of scabs. British ITN television news (17 January) reported: "President Kim Young Sam said that South Korea was facing the same labor problems as Britain in the early '80s, and it would crack down on the unions in the same way as Mrs. Thatcher did."

South Korean strikers battle cops in Seoul as police-state regime seeks to crack down on combative workers movement.

Reuters

While the regime has tried to maintain a façade of bourgeois democracy, especially since Kim Young Sam's election four years ago, this is nothing but a thin veil on a brutal police state. In tandem with the new labor law, a bill was passed beefing up the powers of the Agency for National Security Planning (NSP—formerly the Korean CIA). The draconian National Security Law has already been used to round up thousands of militant unionists and student leftists, who are routinely labeled agents of North Korea. The Seoul regime is now pushing the same line in its attempt to break the KCTU and arrest its leaders. We demand the release of all worker militants and leftist students languishing in South Korea's jails! Abolish the National Security Law!

International class solidarity with the embattled South Korean labor movement is an urgent necessity, especially for workers in the U.S. and Japan. U.S. imperialism has had tens of thousands of troops stationed in South Korea since the end of World War II and the bloody Korean War of 1950-53. American workers must demand the withdrawal of the U.S. occupation forces, which prop up the bloodsoaked South Korean police state and constitute a direct threat to the bureaucratically deformed workers state in North Korea as well as to the oppressed masses throughout East Asia.

Particularly with the Kim Young Sam regime's arrest of trade-union leaders, sections of the International Communist League have mobilized in defense of the South Korean workers. In the past few days, our comrades have initiated or

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How David North Embraces Karl Kautsky

The "Global Economy" and Labor Reformism

See Page 6

Drop the Charges!

City Overruled in Chicago Anti-Klan Three Case

Three anti-Klan protesters arrested at a June 29 demonstration initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee last year in Chicago's Daley Plaza won a significant legal victory on January 13. Judge Marvin Luckman of the Cook County Circuit Court overruled an attempt by the city authorities to deny defense attorneys access to relevant documents from the mayor's office and the police department.

The latest ruling comes in the wake of a December 2 defense motion to dismiss trumped-up charges of assault and battery or obstruction of police officers. The motion states the charges "are entirely false, are brought maliciously, without probable cause, and solely for the purpose of retaliating against these Defendants and others for exercising their First Amendment rights of free expression and protest by demonstrating against the Ku Klux Klan." As the defense motion makes clear, this vindictive prosecution was aimed both at covering up for the police rampage against the anti-Klan demonstrators and at stifling any social protest leading up to the Democratic National Convention that August. Now, city officials must produce previous complaint files on three cops involved in attacks on the anti-Klan demonstration and other documents.

The three anti-Klan defendants—PDC labor coordinator Gene Herson, Refuse & Resist supporter Jeffrey Lyons, and Dennis Glass, a young black worker—face sentences ranging from one to two years in jail. Anti-Klan protesters defended themselves against a violent provocation by the KKK. They were later repeatedly attacked by club-swinging cops, who particularly went after minority youth. Several protesters were pepper-gassed and nine were arrested, including trade unionists and a young organizer in the AFL-CIO's "Union Summer" program. Charges against six were subsequently dropped.

The city has now been ordered to release complaint files dating back to 1986 on, among others, First District Police Commander Patrick McNulty, who on June 29 waged a potentially lethal pepper-spray attack on Herson and targeted Glass for arrest. The judge also ordered the mayor's office to produce documents regarding their directives to police on handling the Klan rally and anti-Klan protest. As the defense motion points out, the city tried to restrict public knowledge of the Klan provocation "in order to avoid anti-Klan protests and embarrassing publicity during the preparation for the Democratic Convention." The defendants have particularly noted an internal city memorandum which shows that Mayor Daley's chief of staff and liaison with the Democratic National Convention at the time, Roger Kiley, was involved in developing the city's plans for the Klan rally.

The PDC has called a united-front demonstration outside the courthouse at the next hearing on January 23 to demand, "Drop All Charges Against the Anti-Klan Three!" Statements from a range of unions and other organizations across the country and internationally have demanded that the charges against the Anti-Klan Three be dropped. In Chicago, statements have been received from Amalgamated Transit Union Local 308, Teamsters Local 743, and Katie Jordan, president of the Coalition of Labor Union Women, among many others.

* * *

Send protest statements demanding that the charges against the Anti-Klan Three be dropped to: Richard Devine, State's Attorney of Cook County, Richard J. Daley Center, 55 W. Randolph Street, Chicago, IL 60602. Funds for legal defense are urgently needed! Send donations (earmarked "Anti-Klan Protesters") and copies of protest statements to the Partisan Defense Committee. Contact the PDC in Chicago at P.O. Box 802867, Chicago, IL 60602-2867, phone (312) 454-4931; or in New York at P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013-0099, phone (212) 406-4252.

WV Photo

Chicago Anti-Klan Three (from left): Jeffrey Lyons, Dennis Glass, Gene Herson.

Lenin on Imperialism

TROTSKY

LENIN

Numerous liberals and reformists today argue that a recent "globalization" of production, extending particularly to the semi-colonial countries of the "Third World," represents a profound change in the world capitalist economy. By and large, these arguments serve to amnesty the refusal of the labor bureaucracy in the advanced capitalist countries to fight layoffs and other attacks on the standard of living of the working class. In fact, the seminal Marxist analysis of this development was presented by Bolshevik leader V. I. Lenin as far back as 1916 in his pamphlet, Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism, *which was written in the midst of World War I following the collapse of the Second International into social-chauvinism. As against the liberals and reformists of his day and now, for Lenin the development of imperialism underscored the urgent need for an international revolutionary party to lead the proletariat to power and oust the decaying capitalist system.*

It is characteristic of capitalism in general that the ownership of capital is separated from the application of capital to production, that money capital is separated from industrial or productive capital, and that the rentier who lives entirely on income obtained from money capital, is separated from the entrepreneur and from all who are directly concerned in the management of capital. Imperialism, or the domination of finance capital, is that highest stage of capitalism in which this separation reaches vast proportions. The supremacy of finance capital over all other forms of capital means the predominance of the rentier and of the financial oligarchy; it means that a small number of financially "powerful" states stand out among all the rest....

Typical of the old capitalism, when free competition held undivided sway, was the export of *goods*. Typical of the latest stage of capitalism, when monopolies rule, is the export of *capital*....

On the threshold of the twentieth century we see the formation of a new type of monopoly: firstly, monopolist associations of capitalists in all capitalistically developed countries; secondly, the monopolist position of a few very rich countries, in which the accumulation of capital has reached gigantic proportions. An enormous "surplus of capital" has arisen in the advanced countries.

It goes without saying that if capitalism could develop agriculture, which today is everywhere lagging terribly behind industry, if it could raise the living standards of the masses, who in spite of the amazing technical progress are everywhere still half-starved and poverty-stricken, there could be no question of a surplus of capital. This "argument" is very often advanced by the petty-bourgeois critics of capitalism. But if capitalism did these things it would not be capitalism; for both uneven development and a semi-starvation level of existence of the masses are fundamental and inevitable conditions and constitute premises of this mode of production. As long as capitalism remains what it is, surplus capital will be utilised not for the purpose of raising the standard of living of the masses in a given country, for this would mean a decline in profits for the capitalists, but for the purpose of increasing profits by exporting capital abroad to the backward countries. In these backward countries profits are usually high, for capital is scarce, the price of land is relatively low, wages are low, raw materials are cheap.

— V. I. Lenin, *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism* (1916)

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EDITOR: Len Meyers

EDITOR, YOUNG SPARTACUS PAGES: Joe Sol

PRODUCTION MANAGER: Susan Fuller

CIRCULATION MANAGER: Mindy Sanders

EDITORIAL BOARD: Ray Bishop (managing editor), Bruce André, Helene Biosius, George Foster, Liz Gordon, Frank Hunter, Jane Kerrigan, James Robertson, Joseph Seymour, Alison Spencer

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SPARTACIST LEAGUE/U.S. LOCAL DIRECTORY

National Office
Box 1377 GPO
New York, NY 10116
(212) 732-7860

Boston
Box 390840, Central Sta.
Cambridge, MA 02139
(617) 666-9453

Chicago
Box 6441, Main PO
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San Francisco
Box 77494
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Washington, D.C.
Box 75073
Washington, D.C. 20013
(202) 872-8240

TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA/LIGUE TROTSKYSTE DU CANADA

Toronto
Box 7198, Station A
Toronto, ON M5W 1X8
(416) 593-4138

Montréal
C.P. Les Atriums
B.P. 32066
Montréal, QC H2L 4V5

Vancouver
Box 2717, Main P.O.
Vancouver, BC V6B 3X2
(604) 687-0353

Mobilize Teamster Power to Smash Racism at UPS!

OAKLAND—Angry black Teamsters union members turned out for a meeting in East Oakland's Eastmont Mall last month to protest systematic racist discrimination at the United Parcel Service (UPS). Initiated by the local NAACP, the December 7 meeting drew some 300 people, about 90 percent black, including a dozen or so Teamster bureaucrats. The meeting was part of a recruitment campaign by the NAACP following revelations of vicious bigotry at Texaco and the passage last November of California's Proposition 209, a racist attack on affirmative action programs.

At the gathering, the NAACP liberals joined with labor officials in trying to keep a lid on an increasingly restive rank and file under attack by an arrogant, racist management which views its workers—especially but not only black workers—as expendable and beneath contempt. Newly elected Oakland NAACP president Shannon Reeves headed a panel consisting of NAACP members and labor tops as well as a representative from the government's Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. While "unofficial" company agents looked on, grievance forms were passed out to UPS workers, who were limited to three minutes' speaking time. But the seething anger of the UPS workers came through loud and clear, nonetheless.

A number of black workers spoke to denounce the massive "tracking" and vicious racist abuse suffered at the hands of supervisors who call blacks "monkeys" and "n-----s." Many drivers testified how the company treats them like criminals. They are followed into the bathroom, threatened with firing if they bring packages back at the end of their shift, given fewer promotions than white workers. One driver who was robbed on the job was arrested and jailed by the Oakland police. It took him five months to prove his innocence and get his job back.

A common theme in the meeting was the company's callous disregard for the health and very lives of the workers. One man described how his son was dragged by a conveyor belt at work while it took management an hour and a half to find the safety switch! Meanwhile, he had to fight like hell to get into the building because UPS management didn't want him to see what had happened. The widow of a driver who was robbed and killed in 1995 told how UPS blamed her husband for the tragedy and is now offering an insultingly paltry sum to her and her children in an attempt to settle the matter. A black woman worker described her backbreaking nine-hour shifts, reporting that her supervisor told her flat out that as a single mother she could never make it at UPS.

Seniority is regularly violated and black drivers are kept from delivering to the well-off areas in the Oakland Hills and Montclair and told they can work only in the ghetto, as a worker with 14 years on the job pointed out. Describing the company as worse than a plantation, he brought the crowd to its feet when he exclaimed that blacks didn't ask to be brought here on the Mayflower, and don't like the ship that they are on now. Yet his solution to the racism at UPS was to call for more black managers. If implemented, such a proposal would only apply a bit of cosmetic to the racist oppression endemic to the capitalist profit system.

Many black workers have illusions that the NAACP will lead the fight against racism at UPS. But the NAACP historically represents only a thin layer of privileged "middle class" blacks, pushing a program of accommodation to the racist rulers. While the Spartacist League and Labor Black Leagues initiated militant protests coast to coast in 1993 against racist discrimination at the Denny's restaurant chain, the NAACP struck a deal with the company's CEO to chill out "negative publicity" in exchange for putting a token black on the previously all-white board of directors.

WV Photo

Teamsters picket line in Atlanta during 1994 UPS strike.

Shannon Reeves made his mark as a "new blood" leader of the NAACP by coming out for smashing last year's Oakland teachers strike, declaring that it was "educational treason to tell students not to come to school" (see "Victory to Oakland Teachers Strike!" *WV* No. 640, 1 March 1996). This strike could have sparked a mobilization of integrated union power in defense of the embattled black, Latino and Asian population and for free, quality, integrated education for all. But the teachers were stabbed in the back by the local labor officialdom, including Alameda County Central Labor Council head Owen Marron, who was on the December 7 panel. Marron played a major part in that betrayal by refusing to give official sanction to the strike, providing an alibi for wholesale scabbing by other school workers unions.

The union misleaders also demonstrated their role in policing the labor movement on behalf of the bosses at the December meeting. While reporting that 2,550 union grievances had been filed at UPS in three years, Teamsters Local 70 secretary-treasurer Chuck Mack carefully avoided any acknowledgment of discrimination there. This provoked audible grumbling from the workers, who have witnessed the union's failure to fight against UPS' racist policies. One worker called out: "Stop the sugar-coating!"

Another worker got loud applause when he said that this meeting wouldn't have been necessary if the union had been doing its job. But the union bureaucrats—historically based on the white, skilled-trades labor aristocracy and acting as the agents of the capitalist rulers inside the labor movement—are hostile to any struggle that might threaten their cozy relationship with the employers. This is true of both wings of the Teamster bureaucracy, the newly re-elected Ron Carey "reformers" and the venal "old guard" united behind Jimmy Hoffa Jr., which is backed by Chuck Mack.

Carey rode to power on the coattails of the federal government, which controlled the election and has virtually taken over the Teamsters in the name of fighting "corruption." Carey's backers in the Teamsters for a Democratic Union, hailed by many self-described "socialists," have for years called for the intervention of the capitalist state—the agency of the racist, union-busting bosses—into the union. The Justice Department and the courts could care less about corruption or racism, but are out simply to cripple the power of this union, which is the only protection black workers at UPS have against the company.

The "old guard" around Hoffa is no better. They are at one with Carey & Co. in opposing any mobilization of the kind of militant struggle that built the Teamsters as a powerful industrial union in the 1930s and earned the fear and hatred of the trucking bosses. When a strike broke out at UPS in February 1994 after the company more than doubled the weight limit on packages, Carey called off the walkout after 10 hours, while regional bureaucrats tied to the "old guard" bowed to a federal court injunction and organized massive scabbing. One month later, the Teamster tops sold out a three-week national strike by 70,000 drivers and dock workers—a key battle for all of labor—without even demanding amnesty for victimized strikers. Latino Teamster Jesse Acuna is today serving five years in prison for defending his picket line in Los Angeles.

It is no accident that petty-bourgeois strikebreakers like Reeves join with union bureaucrats like Mack and Marron, whose aim is to prevent workers' just anger against company racism from finding expression in effective class-struggle action. Both NAACP liberals and the reformist labor bureaucrats are wedded to upholding the capitalist system of production for the profit of a small minority, who perpetuate racism—as well as immigrant-bashing—to keep themselves in power by keeping the working class divided. The racism that permeates and poisons this society rests on the forcible segregation of black people at the bottom, and cannot be eradicated short of a socialist revolution to put the capitalist rulers out of business.

The fight for black rights is a matter of life and death for the whole working class. The vicious racist attacks carried out by UPS are typical of what black workers face everywhere. Any effective fight against racial discrimination must begin by mobilizing the power of the unions independently of the capitalist state, unifying all workers and oppressed in struggle at the expense of the ruling class.

Defending the union means defending minority workers, and vice versa. The enormous potential power of the Teamsters must be brought to bear against the racist UPS bosses in a fight against racist discrimination on the job! There needs to be a political struggle to oust the pro-capitalist union misleaders and to break labor and blacks from the partner parties of racist capitalism, Democrats and Republicans. To mobilize the integrated labor movement to *win* requires forging a multiracial revolutionary workers party that fights for a workers government. ■

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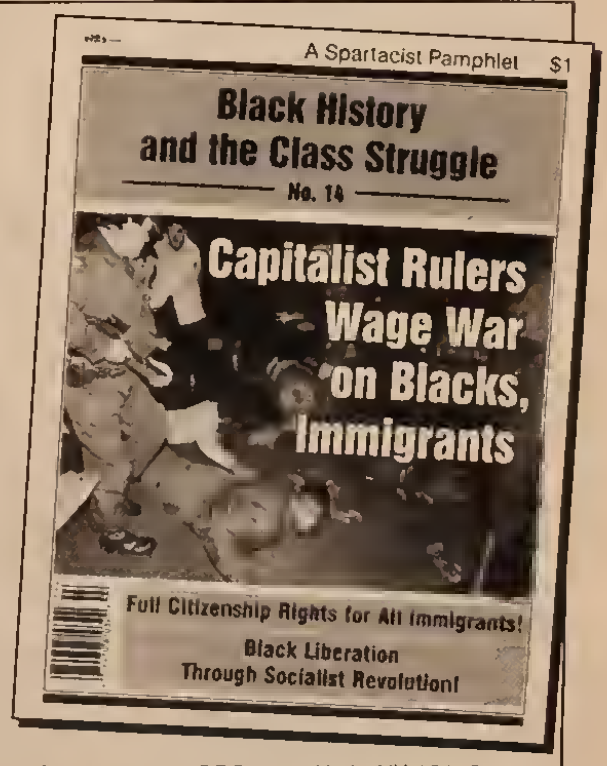

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California Labor: Defend Immigrant Rights!

Racist INS Roundup at San Leandro Factory

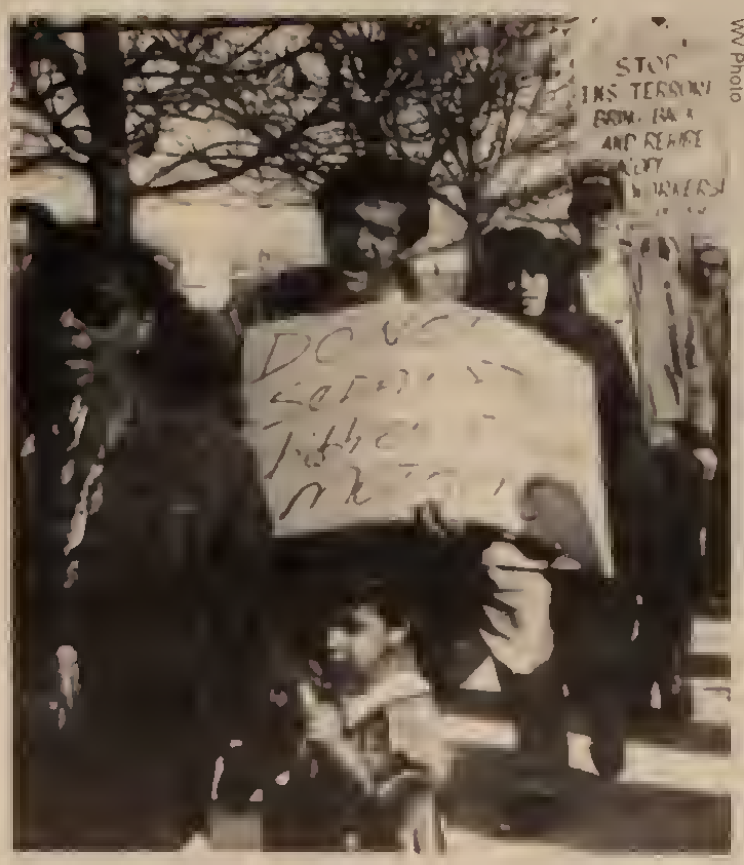
OAKLAND—It was about 7:30 a.m. on January 7 when workers at Mediacopy Inc., a videotape copying factory in the San Francisco Bay Area city of San Leandro, saw one, two, then three government agents appear. Suddenly, the whole warehouse floor was swarming with some 55 Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) cops—the hated *la migra*—who singled out workers from a list provided by the company. Chasing down anyone who ran and repeatedly accosting anyone who looked Latino, they demanded to know workers' birthplaces and social security numbers. Earlier, *migra* goons had lurked outside the factory to catch workers on the graveyard shift going home. In all, 99 immigrant workers—one-tenth of the workforce—were dragged off.

The *San Francisco Chronicle* (13 January) called this "the largest workplace bust of its kind in Northern California history." Mediacopy workers described the Gestapo-like raid to *Workers Vanguard*. One worker hid under pallets while INS agents clambered over him; another was wrestled to the ground by four of the cops. Workers reported evidence of apparent collusion between the company and the INS: a week before the raid, management had revoked security passes providing access to the second floor of the facility, where administrative offices are located, for 16 workers. On the morning of the raid, the doors to the truck dock were closed, trapping the mostly Latino workers in the warehouse production area.

The arrested workers—immigrants from Mexico, El Salvador, Guatemala, Peru, Colombia and elsewhere—were loaded onto three buses and taken to the San Lorenzo National Guard armory. Some 30 were shipped off to a detention center in Las Vegas. Almost all the others were put directly on a plane for "voluntary" deportation to Mexico, where many of those from Central and South America were left stranded with no way to get back to their countries. Many had worked at Mediacopy for years. Needless to say, none will receive paychecks or anything else owed them by the company, while in some cases workers were unable to make provisions for their children before being hauled off.

Shaken and infuriated by the raid, some Mediacopy workers were talking strike the next day, while organizers for ILWU Warehouseman's Local 6 showed up with union representation cards for workers to sign. The INS raid was a calculated act of terror directed against the entire working class and its ability to organize in its own defense. The integrated ranks of labor—black, white, Latino, Asian—must be mobilized in defense of the rights of immigrants and all the oppressed.

On January 17, some 70 people demonstrated outside the plant in a protest initiated by several local immigrant-rights organizations. The Spartacist League participated with signs reading, "Full Citizenship Rights for All Foreign-Born Workers!" and "Stop INS Terror! Bring Back and Rehire Mediacopy Workers!" The same day, the Partisan Defense Committee sent a protest letter to the INS district director in San Francisco demanding "freedom for those workers currently imprisoned at the INS detention center in Las Vegas and in jails around the Bay Area, and that every single worker, including those who were deported, be returned to their jobs and families."



WV Photo

San Leandro, January 17: Protest outside Mediacopy Inc. against January 7 INS roundup of 99 immigrant workers.

Racist Drive Against Immigrants and the Poor

The Mediacopy raid took place in the midst of a deepening ruling-class war against immigrants, welfare recipients and all minorities which is aimed at driving down the wages and living standards of the entire working class. The same day as the San Leandro raid, Republican governor Pete Wilson announced a budget proposal to end welfare benefits for new applicants after one year, peppering his speech with vile racist abuse of welfare recipients. Two days later, Wilson followed up by demanding that unwed mothers give up their children for adoption, grotesquely pitching this in the name of "family values"! For the racist bourgeois politicians, "family values" means forcing poor black women to give up their babies while the children of immigrant women are left stranded as their parents are thrown out of the country.

As part of the anti-welfare law drafted by the Republican Congress and signed by Democratic president Clinton, vicious cuts in social services for immigrants, "legal" or "illegal," took effect on January 1, ensuring that the children of immigrant workers like those rounded up at Mediacopy are left with nothing at all. While the Democrats occasionally posture as less virulently anti-immigrant than the Republicans, it is the Clinton White House that has overseen a massive militarization of the border with Mexico. Not only are immigrants routinely brutalized and shot down at the border, but 13 have died since January 7 as they tried to enter the U.S. over freezing, storm-ridden mountain terrain in a desperate attempt to avoid the beefed-up San Diego border area.

Defense of the rights of immigrants is increasingly a matter of life and death for the labor movement, and for black people as well. California's anti-immigrant Proposition 187, passed in 1994, fueled the forces behind the victory last year of a measure attacking affirmative action, Proposition 209. Whereas blacks have historically been concentrated in the reserve army of labor as the "last hired and first fired," immigrants have been encouraged to enter the country when the capitalists need them to fill usually menial, backbreaking jobs at next to no pay, only to suffer deportations when they are no longer needed. Today, immigrant-bashing and racist attacks on blacks are being intensified by the capitalist rulers to keep workers divided along racial and ethnic lines, while workers' living standards are slashed across the board.

An integral part of the U.S. rulers' attempt to increase the exploitation of all workers is the strengthening of police measures across the board. Ominously, the FBI has now proposed to join forces with the San Francisco Police Department and INS in a new "Bay Area Counter-terrorism Task Force," one of several such bodies being established in cities from Los Angeles to Washington, D.C. The *San Francisco Examiner* (12 January) reports that as part of this effort, the FBI is trying to reverse the city's fig-leaf civilian "controls" on police surveillance, enacted in the mid-1980s. The proposed "task force" recalls the FBI's "Counter-Intelligence Program" (COINTELPRO) which helped destroy the Black Panther Party and other leftist and black activists a generation ago.

Unions Must Organize Immigrant Workers!

The backdrop to the INS raid on Mediacopy was the attempt by workers there to organize in their own defense. Some of those deported had sued the company for racist incidents and filed charges with the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. In the weeks before the raid, workers had voiced widespread dissatisfaction over a miserable 34-cent raise on their $5-per-hour wages, while supervisors were getting thousands in bonuses. Then, to replace the arrested immigrants, the company brought in mostly black temporary workers paid $7.00 or $7.50 per hour in an attempt to further divide and demoralize the workforce.

The growing immigrant component of the working class in California cries out for union organizing. Many of these immigrants have fled vicious, U.S.-backed dictatorships, and bring with them a history of militant struggle. On November 13, some 140 overwhelmingly Mexican immigrant women workers at the Rubber Stampede plant in nearby Emeryville spontaneously walked off the job when the company imposed harsh speedup conditions, unilaterally converting their already low ($5-$6 per hour) wages into piecework rates. The company's action was a deliberate provocation. The previous spring, a union representation election for ILWU Local 6 narrowly failed following a campaign of company intimidation.

While the courageous Emeryville workers, many of them single mothers, have now held out for over two months, the factory has continued to operate with scabs—including some sent by the same outfit that supplied replacements for the seized Mediacopy workers. But while the Local 6 tops posture as the strikers' defenders, they have let scabs cross the picket lines while diverting the struggle into that graveyard of strikes, the "corporate campaign." Instead of pleading with the company's customers not to buy Rubber Stampede products, the ILWU and all Bay Area unions should be dispatching their members for mass pickets to *shut the plant down tight!*

The labor misleaders tie the workers to their class enemy, in part through pushing the protectionist poison that labels "foreign" workers as the enemy of "American" workers. Key to bringing labor's power to bear in defense of the rights of immigrants, blacks and all the oppressed is ousting the trade-union bureaucrats—the "labor lieutenants" of the capitalist exploiters—and forging a revolutionary workers party to fight for a socialist society in which workers from all countries will be known simply as comrades. ■

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International protests following January 15 arrest of South Korean union leaders (clockwise, from top left): San Francisco, Los Angeles, New York City, Tokyo.

Spartacist Japan

WV Photos

Korea...

(continued from page 1)

participated in demonstrations in New York, San Francisco, Los Angeles, Chicago and Boston, as well as in London, Milano, Tokyo, Sydney and Mexico City. On January 17, the Partisan Defense Committee in San Francisco organized a united-front protest outside the Korean Air Lines office there around the call: "Smash Reactionary Anti-Labor Laws—Victory to the Striking South Korean Workers!" Among the 60 protesters were a dozen members of the Oakland Korean Youth Cultural Center.

Other slogans raised by ICL comrades in San Francisco and elsewhere included: Free the arrested union leaders now! U.S. troops—Out of Korea now! Defend North Korea against capitalist attack! Underscoring the key to a revolutionary perspective in Korea, ICL protesters called for the forging of an internationalist Trotskyist party and for revolutionary reunification of the peninsula through proletarian political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracy in the North and socialist revolution to sweep away the capitalist police state in the South.

For Proletarian Class Independence!

The recent strikes have been centered on the giant *chaebols*—the auto plants, steel mills and shipyards which are the heart of the South Korean economy. On January 15, downtown Seoul resembled a war zone as tens of thousands of striking workers fought back against 12,000 riot police, who tried to block the protesters from marching to the Myongdong cathedral where union leaders had established their headquarters. Chanting "Down with Kim's government!" strikers hurled iron bars and chunks of pavement at the cops, while furniture rained down on the police from apartments overhead.

While the national strike has been called off for now, South Korea remains a cauldron of social tensions ready to boil over. The regime is widely despised, and sectors of the bourgeoisie itself were clearly discomfited by the workers' powerful riposte to the government's attacks. By all accounts, the strikes provoked widespread sympathy among broad layers of the population fed up with police-state terror, compelling even the government-sponsored Korean Federation of Trade Unions (KFTU) to initially join the strikes.

South Korea's rapid economic growth over the past two decades has sharply exacerbated the contradictions in that society. The new labor law seeks to eliminate concessions granted in the original 1953 labor code, which sought to win the workers' loyalty following the U.S.-led war against North Korea and China. With North Korea increasingly isolated and crisis-ridden following the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union, and with the South Korean *chaebol* bourgeoisie seeking to enhance its competitive edge in the world market, the regime has moved to crack down on the proletariat in order to increase the rate of exploitation. South Korean manufacturers have already been shifting production to low-wage countries like India, where Hyundai is currently building a $1.1 billion auto plant, and even to Britain, where Daewoo Electronics and other major South Korean firms now have assembly plants.

The fact that the strike wave was directed against the government was widely understood. "It's not about money, it's politics," explained one striker. Particularly under this brittle police-state regime, any confrontation on this scale between labor and capital directly poses the question of power: which class shall rule? As we wrote two years ago:

> "The recently formed independent South Korean trade unions have demonstrated unparalleled militancy under harrowing conditions. But such defensive organizations of the working class are inherently incapable of leading the proletariat to power. Indeed, under a leadership—however militant—which accepts the constraints of capitalism, they are incapable even of consistently defending the workers' interests against the onslaughts of the police-state regime."
>
> — "For Revolutionary Reunification of Korea!" *WV* No. 612 (9 December 1994)

While personally courageous, the KCTU leadership is limited to a perspective of economic demands and liberal democracy. The *New York Times* (19 January) reports that the KCTU is seeking to "form a broad political alliance" with "opposition parties that opposed the Government's position on the labor law." This is a call for a bloc with bourgeois elements like Kim Dae Jung, leader of the loyal liberal opposition, who was earlier allied with the current president, himself once a liberal opponent of the military regime. Such class-collaborationist alliances—popular fronts—have been a formula for working-class defeat from Spain in the 1930s to Indonesia in the 1960s to Allende's Chile in the 1970s. Kim Dae Jung has explicitly rejected appeals by union leaders to support the strikes. This parliamentary huckster stands with the military on all fundamentals.

There can be no "democratic development" as long as South Korea remains capitalist. The existence of a deformed workers state on the northern half of the peninsula, the explosive growth of a powerful industrial proletariat and the presence of a U.S. occupation army combine to rule out any possibility of a stable bourgeois democracy. South Korea has been a highly militarized police state since its creation as a bastion for U.S. imperialism's Cold War designs—and it will remain so until it is smashed by socialist revolution. What is sorely needed is a Leninist vanguard party based on the Trotskyist program of permanent revolution and uncompromisingly committed to proletarian class independence from the bourgeoisie.

For Revolutionary Reunification of Korea!

Significantly, trade-union leaders in the U.S. and other Western countries have declared their support for the South Korean strikers. Responding to an appeal by KCTU head Kwon Young Kil, the AFL-CIO organized nominal demonstrations on January 10 in Washington, D.C. and other cities. However, the labor bureaucrats steered clear of mobilizing the power of the working class in protest strikes or other class-struggle solidarity actions.

South Korean workers must have no illusions in the virulently anti-Communist AFL-CIO bureaucracy, which for years worked hand in hand with the U.S. and South Korean CIAs in suppressing any move toward independent trade unions in South Korea. The "AFL-CIA" was instrumental in building up the government-sponsored KFTU, which fought strikers and mobilized scabs during mass strikes in 1946-47. The AFL-CIO's Asia American Free Labor Institute has served since 1971 as a conduit for U.S. government funding to the KFTU.

Echoing the anti-Communism of the pro-imperialist Western labor bureaucrats is the tendency led by Tony Cliff's Socialist Workers Party in Britain, represented by the International Socialist Organization in the U.S. Cliff and his supporters broke from the Trotskyist movement in 1950 by their public refusal to defend the North Korean workers state against U.S. imperialism. Today, their cothinkers in South Korea declare, "Neither North Korea nor South Korea, but International Socialism," refusing to take a stand against the Korean bourgeoisie's drive to foment capitalist counterrevolution in the North.

On the other hand, Sam Marcy's Workers World Party, which called the recent protest in New York City, slavishly hails the dynastic North Korean bureaucracy headed by Kim Jong Il—who automatically became leader following the death of his father, Kim Il Sung. The Pyongyang regime promotes an extreme variant of the nationalist-Stalinist dogma of "socialism in one country" and fosters illusions in "peaceful reunification" with the capitalist South.

But the collectivized property forms in the North can only be defended through the fight for socialist revolution in the South and its extension throughout the region. As we wrote last issue:

> "A fight for power by the South Korean proletariat could spike imperialism's drive to bring back the horrors of capitalist exploitation to China, North Korea and also Vietnam, and help spark political revolutions to sweep away the ossified Stalinist bureaucratic regimes there. But even to survive, a workers revolution in South Korea would immediately have to seek its extension to the imperialist centers, above all Japan. This perspective requires the forging of internationalist Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard parties throughout the region as part of a reborn Fourth International." ■

Business Week photos

"Multinationals" set up production in low-wage "Third World" countries: RCA factory in Mexican *maquiladora* (left), AT&T plant in Singapore.

The "Global Economy" and Labor Reformism

How David North Embraces Karl Kautsky

Bulletin

Verlag Kurt Desch

Political bandit David North (left) pushes latter-day version of Karl Kautsky's "ultra-imperialism."

Part One

Over the past couple of years, a flood of books and articles have announced or analyzed what a column in the *Washington Post* (16 February 1996) called "this structurally new and still imperfectly understood creature known as the global economy." Whether they hail it or condemn it, mainstream bourgeois economists and leftist ideologues alike argue that the transfer of production operations by "multinational" corporations from North America, West Europe and Japan to the so-called "Third World" in recent years represents a profound, structural change in the world capitalist system. The liberal *Nation* devoted a special issue to "globalization" last July. The labor reformists who publish *Workers' World News* (January-February 1996) speak of "a fundamental change as deep as the industrial revolution of the last century." An essay on the "global economy" by sociologist Ulrich Beck in the principal German news weekly, *Der Spiegel* (13 May 1996), which reflects the skepticism of a section of the German bourgeoisie toward European "economic integration," warns that "we are racing toward a capitalism without labor," claiming, "What is at issue is political freedom and democracy in Europe."

Though not all of the more cataclysmic predictions associated with "globalization" are universally accepted, a common theme in this literature is that the possibility of successful defensive struggles by the working class against the attacks of a particular capitalist government or employer is becoming a thing of the past. In a remarkable intellectual convergence, spokesmen for Wall Street, liberal and radical ideologues, labor bureaucrats in the U.S. and Europe and a group which claims to be a revolutionary Marxist (i.e., Trotskyist) international organization have all joined together to proclaim that "globalization" has rendered trade unions around the world powerless to affect wages, benefits and working conditions.

"Unions Threatened by Global Economy," crows the *Wall Street Journal* (25 March 1996). The editors of the *Wall Street Journal* also maintain that present-day capitalism has resolved the problem of the trade cycle. Meanwhile, union leaders have seized on "globalization" as the latest alibi for selling out or avoiding struggles that can, in fact, be won. From the American Midwest to the German Ruhr, labor officials are telling their workers: "If you don't accept a freeze or even a cut in wages and benefits, the bosses will close down your plant and shift production to India or Mexico." Joining in this defeatist refrain is the so-called International Committee of the Fourth International (IC) led by one David North, which not only denies any possibility of successful trade-union struggle but rejects trade unions altogether—except nonexistent unions to be run by North & Co.—as workers organizations of any kind.

The idea that the capitalist market economy is "global," that banks and corporations seek out those (low wage) countries where they can get the highest return on their investments, that, indeed, the internationalization of finance capital is a dominant feature of the contemporary profit system, is hardly new. Writing just over 80 years ago, Russian Bolshevik leader V. I. Lenin noted in his 1916 work, *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, that "the twentieth century marks the turning-point from the old capitalism to the new, from the domination of capital in general to the domination of finance capital." In a summary definition, he explained:

> "Imperialism is capitalism at that stage of development at which the dominance of monopolies and finance capital is established; in which the export of capital has acquired pronounced importance; in which the division of the world among the international trusts has begun, in which the division of all territories of the globe among the biggest capitalist powers has been completed."

Lenin not only analyzed the economic workings of the imperialist system, he exposed the bourgeois economists who served as its apologists and the reformist and centrist pretenders to Marxism who sought to downplay the significance of this new stage of capitalist development in order to deny the urgent need for socialist revolution. Lenin took particular aim at the German Social Democrat Karl Kautsky, whose hypothesis of a unitary world "ultra-imperialism" sought to mask the growing contradictions of the capitalist system and Kautsky's own role as lawyer for the "social-chauvinist" and "social-imperialist" lieutenants of the German bourgeoisie.

For Lenin, imperialism signified the epoch of "wars and revolutions." Indeed, the pamphlet was written in the midst of the first interimperialist world war, as the major capitalist powers sent millions of young men to die in a bloody scramble to redivide markets, spheres of influence and colonial possessions. And little more than a year after his pamphlet was completed, Lenin's Bolsheviks led the workers of Russia to power in the first victorious proletarian revolution in history, smashing the capitalist state, sweeping out the bankers, bosses and landlords and setting an example to workers around the world.

What is striking in surveying the current literature on "globalization" is the extent to which all the liberal and reformist apologetics and nostrums currently being put forward were already taken up, exposed and demolished by Lenin eight decades ago. While certain quantitative changes have taken place in the world capitalist economy in the last decade or so, much of the current hoopla about "globalization" is a reflection not of any profound new economic transformation but rather of a profound political defeat, the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet bureaucratically degenerated workers state. In its wake, the reformist and centrist left has bought into imperialist triumphalism over the supposed "death of communism."

The late Michael Harrington, a leading ideologue of American social democracy, defined his political program as "the left wing of the possible." With the collapse of the Soviet Union and intensifying interimperialist rivalries, the American, West European and Japanese bourgeoisies are engaging in an all-sided offensive against the working class and ethnic minorities. Consequently, the labor bureaucracies in these countries now maintain that the left wing of the possible has moved far to the right. This reformist outlook has been taken to its logical conclusion by the Northites: categorical defeatism toward all working-class struggles in this period.

Not coincidentally, North's obituary on the trade unions came in the same speech in which he proclaimed "The End of the USSR" (*Bulletin*, 10 January 1992). Though wont to denounce all its political opponents as "petty-bourgeois radicals," North's IC marches in ideological lockstep not only with the petty-bourgeois left and the labor bureaucracies but with bourgeois liberals and worse. Having for years joined with the "AFL-CIA" tops in promoting every counterrevolutionary force aimed at destroying the Soviet workers state, North's tendency seized on the death of the Soviet Union as a justification to apologize for outright scabbing. At the same time, they have embraced a latter-day variant of Kautsky's "ultra-imperialism," using this as an excuse to spit on the struggles of oppressed nations and the colonial and semicolonial peoples enslaved by the imperialist bourgeoisies. Pointing to "vast changes in world economic and political relations," the IC

today openly rejects the right of national self-determination.

"Globalization" and Northite Defeatism

"Globalization" is but a new variation on an old theme. In the 1950s and early '60s, the term "automation" was invested with the same apocalyptic, earth-shaking consequences. Liberal intellectuals predicted that the industrial working class would in large part be replaced by robots and other machinery. One conclusion was that trade unions were becoming or would become obsolete. After all, you can't unionize industrial robots. At the same time, labor bureaucrats told their ranks that if they pushed the level of wages and benefits too high, they would lose their jobs through automation.

Today, it is intellectually fashionable to explain the sharp deterioration in the living standards of American working people over the past generation as a result of "globalization," especially the transfer of production by major U.S. corporations ("multinationals" or "transnationals") to low-wage countries in East Asia and Latin America. Speaking in Rome a few years ago, the dean of liberal American economists, Paul Samuelson, predicted: "As the billions of people who live in East Asia and Latin America qualify for good, modern jobs, the half billion Europeans and North Americans who used to tower over the rest of the world will find their upward progress in living standards encountering tough resistance." In his 1991 *The Work of Nations*, former Clinton labor secretary Robert Reich wrote that "Americans are becoming part of an international labor market, encompassing Asia, Africa, Latin America, and, increasingly, Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union." "Top U.S. Exports Continue to Be Jobs," moans the *AFL-CIO News* (5 August 1996), official organ of the American labor bureaucracy.

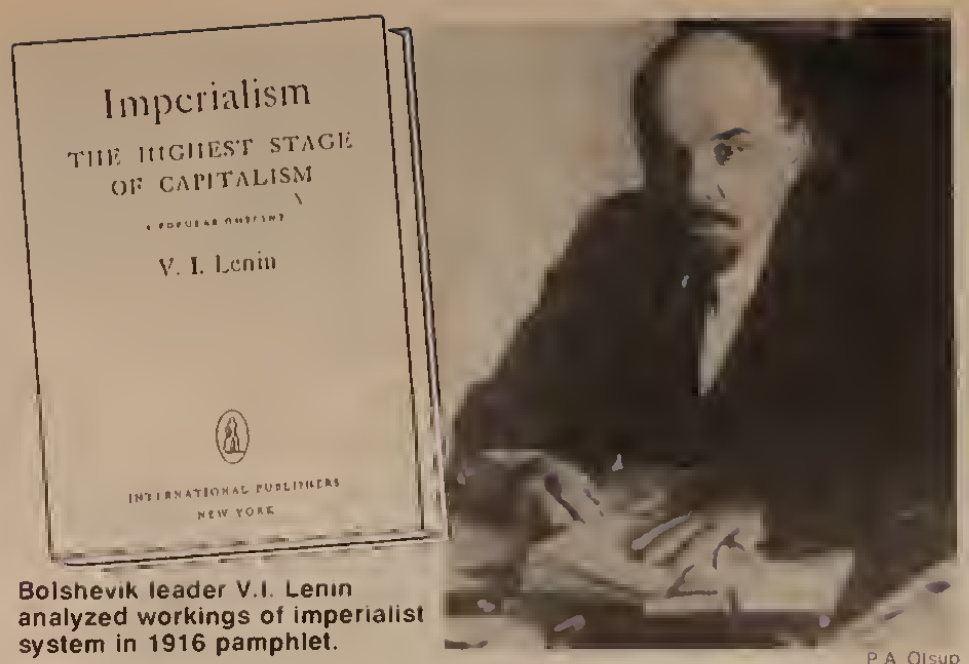
"Runaway shops," "outsourcing" and the transfer of production to low-wage areas like the U.S. South and Mexico and other semicolonial countries have indeed led to a sharp decline in unionized manufacturing jobs, particularly in the Northeast and Midwest. But instead of seeking to organize international class struggle against attacks on jobs and unions, the AFL-CIO bureaucracy polices the labor movement on behalf of the U.S. capitalist rulers while trying to shift the blame for layoffs here on workers abroad.

The views expressed above by Samuelson, Reich and the pro-capitalist AFL-CIO tops have become the central ideological theme of the Northite tendency. In a speech in Detroit in 1992, North stated:

> "The collapse of the old organizations of the working class is, fundamentally, the product of specific historic and economic conditions. Understanding these conditions does not mean that we absolve the leaders of these organizations of responsibility for what has happened. Rather, it enables us to recognize that the rottenness of the leaders is itself only a subjective manifestation of an objective process....
>
> "The global integration of capitalist production under the aegis of massive transnational corporations and the terminal crisis of the nation-state system have shattered the basic geo-economic foundation upon which the activities of the old organizations of the working class have been based. Nationally-based labor organizations are simply incapable of seriously challenging internationally-organized corporations." [our emphasis]
>
> — *Capital, Labor and the Nation-State* (1992)

Despite North's disclaimer, his notion of "globalization" and its effects does absolve the labor bureaucracy of responsibility for the decline of the trade-union movement and the degradation of the working class. It is no accident that North's views are also expressed, in almost identical language, by spokesmen for the union bureaucracy. Thus, the general secretary of the International Union of Food and Allied Workers' Associations, Dan Gallin, argues:

> "Nation states are becoming irrelevant.... National governments no longer control the flow of financial capital. So they can no longer control their own economies. This in turn weakens the power of national democratic pressures from labour parties and trade unions."
>
> — *Workers' World News* (January-February 1996)



Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin analyzed workings of imperialist system in 1916 pamphlet.

P.A. Olsup

Gallin, who is at least more intellectually honest than North, openly argues for a popular-frontist perspective of "building a broad-based people's movement" to counter the effects of "globalization."

But neither does North denounce the union misleaders for not mobilizing the economic power of the workers movement and popular political support against the capitalist offensive. Instead he asserts that the trade unions as such have been made **impotent** by objective changes in the world economy. This position is stated even more clearly and categorically by Nick Beams, head of the Australian section of North's International Committee: "To the extent that the extraction of surplus value from the working class still took place within the confines of a given state, it was possible to apply pressure to capital via the national state for reforms and concessions to the working class. This was the program of the trade union and labor bureaucracies. That is no longer possible" (*International Workers Bulletin* [*IWB*], 15 July 1996). In other words, the Northites maintain it is no longer possible for the working class to defend itself against the predations of capital through strikes or other actions, regardless of the tactics and policies pursued.

This position is radically false and, if accepted, can only foster demoralization and defeatism within the working class. In none of the major strikes which marked the decline and defeat of the American labor movement in the 1980s—the PATCO air traffic controllers, Greyhound bus drivers, Phelps-Dodge copper miners, Eastern Airlines machinists, Hormel meatpackers—did foreign competition or the operations of multinationals abroad play any significant role. Greyhound, Eastern Airlines and Hormel extract almost all of their surplus value from labor within the confines of the American state.

To be sure, there have also been major labor struggles recently against large corporations which are critically dependent on international trade and foreign outsourcing, notably the two-month-long strike at Boeing aircraft in late 1995. In this case, the strike was actually starting to hurt Boeing when the leaders of the Machinists union called it off for minimal gains while, at the same time, fomenting anti-Asian chauvinism and protectionism.

For a Class-Struggle Perspective!

The decline of the American labor movement is not fundamentally caused by the objective effects of "globalization" but by the defeatist and treacherous policies of the AFL-CIO misleaders. As we wrote right after the defeat of the Greyhound strike:

> "No decisive gain of labor was ever won in a courtroom or by an act of Congress. Everything the workers movement has won of value has been achieved by mobilizing the ranks of labor in hard-fought struggle, on the picket lines, in plant occupations. What counts is power. The strength of the unions lies in their numbers, their militancy, their organization and discipline and their relation to the decisive means of production in modern capitalist society. The bosses are winning because the power of labor, its strength to decisively cripple the enemy, has not been brought to bear."
>
> — "Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win," *WV* supplement (March 1984)

The AFL-CIO bureaucracy plays by the bosses' rules in all strikes, including in the service sector where foreign competition is nonexistent. Consider the strike by janitors and other building workers in New York City last winter. As usual the union tops insisted on porous picket lines. As a consequence an estimated 15,000 scabs replaced the striking workers and office buildings operated more or less as usual. But let us imagine what would have happened if the organized labor movement had sought to mobilize New York City's working people and appealed to the dispossessed population of the ghettos and barrios to actively support the heavily minority and immigrant building workers.

Dozens and hundreds of strikers and other workers—union and non-union—along with black and Hispanic youth could have surrounded every major office building in the city and prevented anyone from entering. David North to the contrary, the CEOs of American multinationals would not have responded by closing their New York headquarters and running their operations out of New Delhi or Mexico City. Rather the cops would have attacked and tried to break the picket lines, arresting militant workers and their supporters. The outcome would then have been determined by the ability of the New York City labor movement to organize effective actions backed by popular support especially in the black and Hispanic communities. A one-day transit strike, for example, might have convinced the powers that be in the world's financial capital to impose a deal on the real estate barons favorable to the building workers.

To take an international example, the defeat of the 1984-85 British miners strike by the Conservative government of Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher opened the way to a crippling assault on all trade unions in Britain. The year-long miners' struggle was far and away the most significant class battle in West Europe in the 1980s. While the importation of foreign coal did play a role in that strike, the key factor in its defeat was the refusal of the Labour Party and Trades Union Congress tops to countenance joint strike action by other sectors of the British working class, even as workers from France to South Africa expressed their solidarity with the British miners by halting scab coal shipments and raising financial support.

Seeking to limit union struggle to what is acceptable to the capitalist rulers, the reformist labor misleaders generally eschew any possibility of real international proletarian solidarity. Typical of this is the leadership of the United Auto Workers (UAW), potentially still one of the most powerful industrial unions in the U.S. Instead of promoting organizing efforts in the American South and in the Mexican *maquiladora* industrial belt south of the U.S. border, the UAW tops respond to "outsourcing" and "runaway shops" by shoving one concession after another down their members' throats while appealing to Washington for protectionist measures. Far from seeking coordinated strike action with Canadian and Mexican workers during last fall's contract negotiations with the Big Three, whose operations throughout North America are now fully integrated, the UAW bureaucracy openly denounced

continued on page 11

Cohen/Public Employee Press

AFL-CIO tops (from left) John Sweeney, Linda Chavez-Thompson and Richard Trumka. Northites echo liberal *Nation* and labor reformists on "globalization," amnestying bureaucracy's betrayals.

Ebonics...

(continued from page 12)

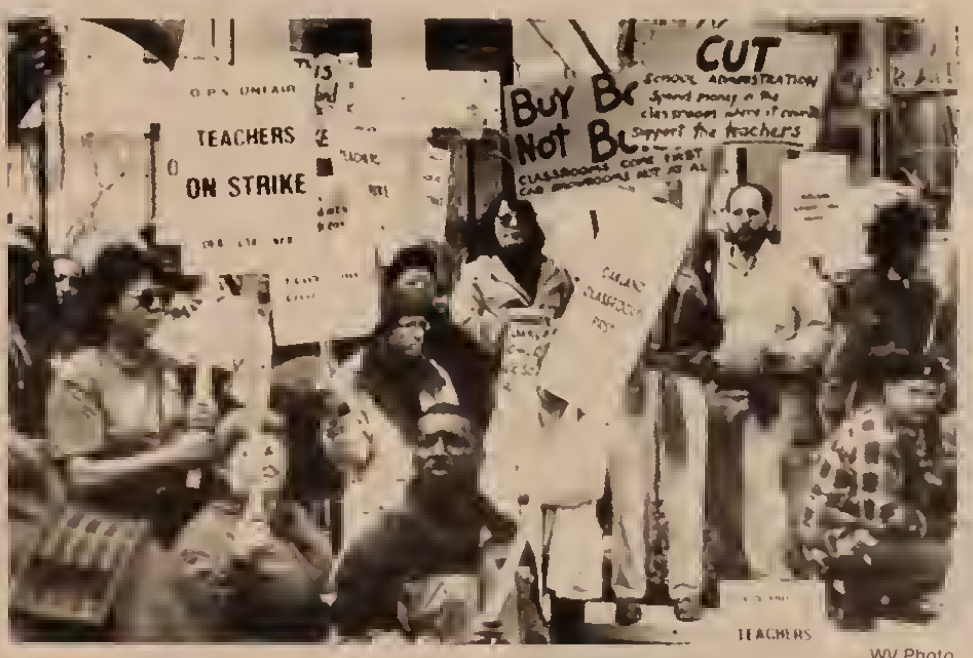
—hospitals, community centers, parks, schools—eroded long ago. Often the only encounter that ghetto residents have with whites is with the welfare worker and, more often, the racist cop. The Oakland resolution tries to invent "Ebonics" as a separate language rooted in West Africa. But the issue here is not one of determining the various historical roots and influences which shape "black English."

"Ebonics" as spoken by the current generation of ghetto youth is the language of despair and defiance. Against a society they know doesn't give a damn about them, they have developed a way of speaking that is increasingly incomprehensible to outsiders. Why speak otherwise? There are no jobs. Their parents are being cut off welfare. The most likely "future" is jail, or an early death at the hands of one's peers or perhaps of a racist cop, or from AIDS or the various diseases of poverty which have made a resurgence in recent years. While slashing funds for education to the bone, *billions* are poured into the prison system. Nationally, almost 1.7 million people are behind bars while in California some 40 percent of black men in their twenties are in the clutches of the criminal "justice" system. The desperate fatalism, and reactive glorification of lumpenism, of this generation is captured in the name of a top rap recording company—"Death Row Records."

In order to change the systematic denigration and degradation of black kids trapped in ever more hellish conditions, their labor power and their thinking power has to be truly valued. To achieve that requires shattering the entire system of racist American capitalism, in which is rooted the forcible subjugation and segregation of the black population as an oppressed race-color caste, overwhelmingly concentrated at the bottom of this society. As communists, our views on the "Ebonics" controversy derive from the standpoint of the fight for an egalitarian socialist society which will eradicate the material basis for all discrimination based on race, class and sex.

Gordon Parks

During World War II, blacks were drawn into strategic industries and trained as skilled workers.



WV Photo

Oakland teachers strike demanded smaller class size, improved school conditions, won widespread community support.

Oakland Schools—Flunking Out in the Former "Education State"

A recently released study of the state of education in America gave a grade of C to the country as a whole. But California was rated as among the worst of the worst with a score of D minus. The study points to California's Proposition 13 as the "weapon of destruction." Passed in 1978, Prop. 13 was a tax revolt spearheaded by older white middle-class property owners who didn't want their "tax dollars" going to fund government programs seen as benefiting the ghetto and barrio poor. Today, the Oakland school district, the only majority black district in the state, is in a dead heat with Washington, D.C. for *the worst* in the U.S.

Much of the black population of Oakland migrated from the rural South during World War II, finding work in the ports, the shipyards and a growing base of food manufacturing and distribution in the Bay Area. Faced with a labor shortage in the booming war industries, shipyard owners recruited often semiliterate and untrained black youth. In little more than three months, they were taught to read and write, and became skilled apprentices.

But the capitalist rulers invest only as much as they can realize back in profit when it comes to the education of those they exploit. As we wrote in "Education U.S.A.—Separate and Unequal" (*WV* No. 544, 7 February 1992):

> "Having taken the wrecking ball to the auto factories, gutted the steel mills and closed many of the mines, there are few jobs left for which to train the children of the working class and poor. And if educating the sons and daughters of white workers has increasingly become an expendable overhead for decaying American capitalism, the children of black workers and poor are deemed *an expendable population*. Once a reserve army of labor to be maintained, albeit minimally, today for the racist rulers the black ghetto poor are not worth 'wasting' money on even to keep alive, much less educate."

In Oakland, the modernized container freight port employs a fraction of the workers it did in the past, shipbuilding is a forgotten memory, and miles of factories have been replaced by vacant lots. Downtown Oakland has the feel of a ghost town. New office buildings stand mostly empty next to boarded-up storefronts. Rampant unemployment is matched by public schools that are in an advanced state of decay. Nearly half of all kids in the Oakland public schools have parents who get Aid to Families with Dependent Children.

Our article "Victory to the Oakland Teachers Strike!" (*WV* No. 640, 1 March 1996) spoke to the "quality" of education in this predominantly black city:

> "With not enough money for supplies, Oakland teachers routinely spend hundreds of dollars of their own money to buy books and other vital teaching material. Classrooms are grossly overcrowded. An English teacher told *Workers Vanguard* of having *51 students* in her high school freshman class. School buildings are falling apart. Last year parents at Lazear Elementary School, who are overwhelmingly Latino, kept their kids out for three weeks in protest over the 40-year-old 'portable' classrooms with no windows, poor ventilation, leaking roof and rats."

It was in this context that the demands of striking Oakland teachers found wide resonance among parents, students and the community at large. The potential impact of this strike was not lost on the Oakland school board, which went into high gear in trying to portray the strike as a mugging of the black community by an allegedly "white" union. While weeping crocodile tears for "the children" and trying to prey on the despair of the ghetto poor against the "greedy" teachers, the bloated Oakland schools administration didn't give a damn about smaller class sizes, funding for current textbooks or any other measures that would go in the direction of providing a decent education for children of the black poor. On the contrary, they saw any outlay for improving school conditions as a challenge to the administration's share at the public trough.

"Ebonics": School Board's Alibi for Failure

Today, this same venal school board is putting forward "Ebonics" as an alibi for the desperate conditions in the Oakland schools. In the face of the racist backlash against their resolution, school board members scrambled to deny that they were out to get a piece of the paltry federal funding that goes to bilingual education. Yet the resolution was unambiguous on this score, noting that "general funds for bilingual education" were provided for "Asian-American, Latino-American, Native American" and other language groups and arguing that "African-American pupils are equally entitled" to such funds.

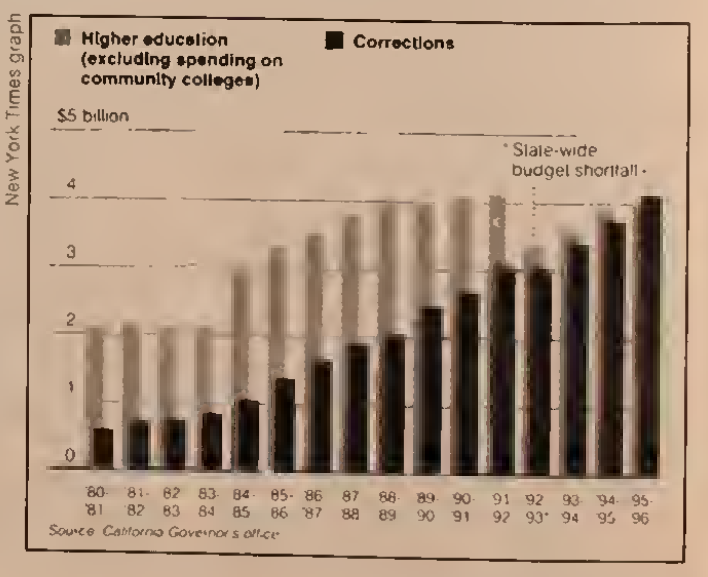
Such a scramble for money speaks to the grotesque, built-in inequality in the way public schools are funded in this country, which is primarily through local property taxes. Indeed, even the term "public education" is an oxymoron where there are two "publics"—those who've got property and those who don't. Per capita spending for education in better-off white suburbs is many times that in the black and Hispanic inner cities. It is necessary to call for full and vastly increased funding by the federal government for all schools. But even such a just and basic demand as quality, integrated education for all runs up against a capitalist class which controls the means of production, distribution and finance and which sees little reason for providing a decent education to most children.

The slashing of funds for public schools in the ghettos and barrios reinforces the enormous educational and cultural advantages inherited by white middle-class youth whose college-educated parents can help them with their homework and studies, supplementing their teachers in this regard. They can afford personal computers with CD-ROMs, along with encyclopedias, dictionaries, etc. Thus the massive racial inequalities in education are not simply a matter of recent government policies and budget cuts but are inherent in this class society.

The Oakland school board's appeal for "bilingual" funding for "Ebonics" is also a thinly veiled expression of their resentment against the pathetic amount of funds that go toward such programs for Latino kids. According to a longtime Oakland teacher, even in existing bilingual English-Spanish programs, teachers have had to fight to get the additional annual stipends due them. Moreover, what bilingual programs do exist have largely served not as a bridge to learning English but rather as a means of keeping children, especially Latinos, tracked into education ghettos. And the same racists who deride the way black children speak as "ignorant" are the driving force behind chauvinist "English only" resolutions which would deny immigrants any bilingual education, i.e., the opportunity to *learn English*.

Although blacks, Latinos and Asians are all oppressed in various ways, the controversy over "Ebonics" demonstrates again that the reformist refrain that "the people united will never be defeated" is hardly a preordained outcome. On the contrary, under the conditions of decaying American capitalism each is pitted against all in the struggle for an ever-shrinking piece of the pie. Symptomatic of this is the squalid scramble that has been going on in Dallas—where the overwhelming bulk of the student population is pretty evenly divided between blacks and Hispanics—as Hispanic school board members line up with white racists against black members of the board.

Hispanic, Asian and other immigrants



California: Funding for prisons skyrockets as education expenditures are slashed.

Abortion Clinic Bombing...

(continued from page 1)

violence; in 1995, almost 39 percent.

A report by Planned Parenthood also documented terror attacks—including shootings, arsons and firebombings—on Planned Parenthood centers in Spokane, Washington, eastern Oklahoma and western Arkansas. Most recently, on December 18, Dr. Calvin Jackson of the Women's Clinic in New Orleans was repeatedly stabbed at the clinic's entrance. A month earlier, butyric acid was dumped into the air vents of a clinic in Edmonton, Canada operated by the courageous Holocaust survivor, Dr. Henry Morgentaler.

In a statement responding to the latest bombing, Kate Michelman of the National Abortion and Reproductive Rights Action League (NARAL) made a point of praising Clinton, noting that the Atlanta attack took place "as America's pro-choice majority begins celebrating the Inauguration of a pro-choice President." Echoing this sentiment, the Feminist Majority Foundation's Eleanor Smeal praised federal laws like the Freedom of Access to Clinic Entrances Act (FACE), declaring that "the more seriously law enforcement takes threats of violence, the less likely those threats are to turn into actual violence." The Feminist Majority has often called for federal marshals to guard abortion clinics.

But the solution is not more cops or reliance on the Clinton White House. FACE is a fake. The "right to life" creeps bent on terrorizing women will shrug off the law anyhow, while sympathetic judges often let them off. The *New York Times* (19 January) reported that a federal judge acquitted two anti-abortion fanatics who had blockaded a Westchester County clinic on the grounds that they were "sincere" in their "religious" beliefs! Picketing and clinic blockades continue too, though they no longer draw national press attention. This past December in Hempstead, New York, Planned Parenthood offices were picketed by over 200 anti-abortion bigots. Rightist mobs like these should be dispersed through mass, militant clinic defense actions that can help turn the tide against today's reactionary social climate.

The bomb-by-night terrorists and killers are emboldened by the war on the poor, minorities, immigrants and other sectors of the oppressed carried out by both major capitalist parties, the Republicans and the Democrats, who mouth smirking pieties as women and children starve. Clinton's devastation of welfare and the continuing assault on Medicaid have made any sort of health care, including abortions, even more inaccessible to poor and working women. Already, Medicaid recipients (and federal employees) are covered for abortions only in instances of rape or life-threatening situations. We call for free abortion on demand and free, quality health care for all.

While Clinton's reluctant veto of Congressional legislation outlawing late-term abortions was applauded by "pro-choice" liberals, since the Democratic president's election in 1992 attacks on clinics have escalated into a deadly war. Clinton proclaimed that abortion should be "safe, legal and rare." The terror bombers are set on making it rare, all right. Meanwhile, use of the promising and inexpensive RU 486 pill in the U.S., which would enable women to have safe and convenient non-surgical abortions, is still snarled in lawsuits. While the government maintains an ostentatious "hands off" policy on RU 486, the terror against clinics hurts poor and working women most, as they are the ones who must rely on public clinics. Rich and middle-class women can get the medical options they desire from private doctors.

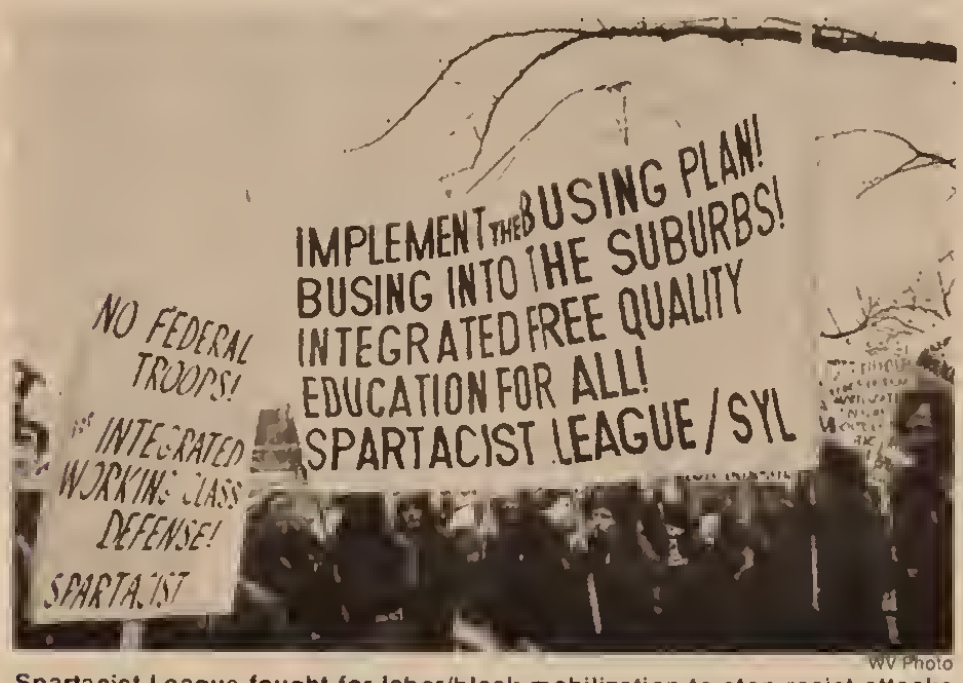
WV Photo

Defense of Washington, D.C. abortion clinic against "right to life" terrorists, January 1992. For class-struggle defense of the clinics!

Only two years ago, two young women were brutally murdered in Boston by an anti-abortion terrorist. In the wake of that horrible tragedy, the Spartacist League put out a statement calling to avenge the murders of the clinic workers, Shannon Lowney and Lee Ann Nichols, by stopping anti-abortion terror (see *WV* No. 614, 13 January 1995). As we wrote then:

> "It is necessary to drive off and disperse the rightist mobs and the Operation Rescue scum who lay siege to the clinics!... What is necessary is a massive outpouring of outrage, mobilizing working women and their allies backed up by the social power of the labor movement to defend the clinics, safeguard and expand a woman's right to all medical facilities and stop the murderous thugs cold."

For class-struggle defense of the clinics! Free abortion on demand! For women's liberation through socialist revolution! ■



WV Photo

Spartacist League fought for labor/black mobilization to stop racist attacks on busing for school integration, Boston 1974.

are taught to believe that blacks themselves are responsible for the horrendous conditions of life in the ghettos—supposedly reflecting a lack of sufficient value being placed on family, education and advancement. At the same time, ghetto blacks are led to believe that immigrants are "getting ahead" at blacks' expense. This sentiment was wielded by some black Democrats and nationalists to whip up support among the black population for California's Proposition 187, which denies all health, education and other social benefits to "illegal" immigrants.

Last year's strike by the Oakland Education Association (OEA) had the potential to mobilize the integrated unions in and around Oakland together with parents and students and all the black and Latino poor in a real struggle against the gutting of public education. But that potential was betrayed by the OEA leadership, which accepted the "there is no money" framework of the school board. An even more treacherous role was played by the Alameda Central Labor Council, which not only refused to sanction the strike but encouraged the members of their affiliated unions to *scab*.

The refusal of the misleaders of organized labor to wage any struggle on behalf of the ghetto and barrio poor has contributed not only to the increased destitution and despair in the inner cities but also to the decimation of the trade unions. The former "Motor City" is an object lesson. Once the engine of industrial America with a heavily black working class, Detroit is now overwhelmingly a ghetto wasteland populated by the families of those who were the first victims of the giveback contracts and other sellouts by the trade-union bureaucrats.

What was visited first on the black population is now becoming an increasing reality for most white workers in America. The situation cries out for a class-struggle fight for *all* workers and the poor, a fight that can link the power of labor to the anger of the ghettos. The key to realizing this perspective lies in a sharp political struggle against the labor misleaders, whose first loyalty is not to the multiracial working class but to the racist capitalist exploiters.

Race, Class and Language

The "Ebonics" resolution passed by the Oakland school board posits that blacks in America "are not native speakers of a black dialect or any other dialect of English" but rather speak an entirely separate language based on "a West and Niger-Congo African linguistic structure." There are dialects which developed in America that demonstrate very real West African influences. The Sea Islands off South Carolina and the Georgia coast are a case in point. Living in isolated communities of direct descendants of black African slaves who were brought to this country in chains over 200 years ago, they still speak a creole that is known as Gullah. Gullah is said to contain as many as 6,000 Africanisms, and is considered to be closer than any other variant of black English to the "pidgin" that was spoken on the slave ships. But the average Oakland ghetto kid would find Gullah just as incomprehensible as any other English speaker. And anyone who thinks that "Ebonics" is really an African language should try speaking it in West Africa!

To portray black ghetto English as a separate language is to alibi the racist status quo. Grotesquely, the Oakland school board resolution borrowed language more commonly associated with racist "theories" of the inate "inferiority" of blacks, like that laid out in *The Bell Curve*, arguing that black English is "genetically-based." The school board later backed off this characterization by trying to redefine the word "genetic," but its attempt to declare "Ebonics" a separate language reflects an acceptance of the increasing segregation of black people in this society.

The problem is not that black kids are incapable of learning "standard American English." Children who move to a new country will learn even a radically different language easily and naturally, becoming completely bilingual in a relatively short period of time. Unlearning a first language or dialect to become fluent in a second is not necessary and can even be counterproductive, especially if children are told that their mother tongue is "wrong" or "bad."

Stigmas against different dialects of the English language are not simply a question of race but also of class. In Britain, one of the most self-consciously class-stratified of all the imperialist countries, those who do not speak the "Queen's English" are made to feel ignorant and of the "lower orders." This was captured in a 1979 *New York Times* Op-Ed piece by James Baldwin titled, "If Black English Isn't a Language, Then Tell Me, What Is?":

> "The range (and reign) of accents on that damp little island make England coherent for the English and totally incomprehensible for everyone else. To open your mouth in England is (if I may use black

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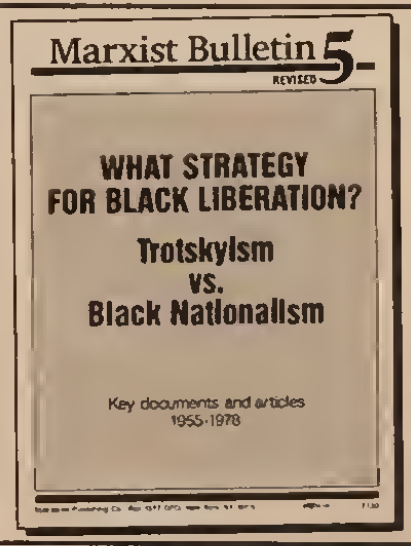

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Ebonics...

(continued from page 9)

> English) to 'put your business in the street': You have confessed your parents, your youth, your school, your salary, your self-esteem, and, alas, your future."

Baldwin argues that it is "patronizing" to call black English a dialect, but in fact, what's patronizing is to call it a separate language. To insist that the current black dialect is the direct linguistic continuator of languages spoken in West Africa implicitly (and in some cases explicitly) denies the brutal legacy of slavery—particularly in the American South. Unlike in the Caribbean, where the black slaves maintained a great deal of their culture, religion and language, the American slaveholders very consciously sought to wipe out any connection black Africans had with the societies they came from. This was a means to atomize the slave population and to quell any possibility of revolt on the plantations.

In contrast, there developed in the Caribbean more cohered language mixtures known as creoles. In Jamaica, for example, a creole is commonly spoken in the home and community, while children are taught English—which is the language of general commerce—at school, and switch fluidly between the two. A teacher of community college students in New York City noted that most of her black students from the Caribbean are better educated than either white or black American students. But engulfed by the profound and pervasive racism of American society—where you are permanently branded by the color of your skin—Caribbean students tend to regress after several years here.

The capitalist rulers of this country argue that blacks themselves are responsible for the desperate conditions of life in the ghettos. They hypocritically point to

Sygma

Renowned author, James Baldwin.

the assimilation of previous generations of immigrants into the so-called American "melting pot" as supposed evidence of the ability of everyone to advance up the economic ladder in "the land of the free." But comparisons between blacks who migrated to the ghettos of New York, Philadelphia and Chicago in the 1950s-'60s and the Irish, Italians and East Europeans who migrated to these cities half a century earlier ignore the historically derived anti-black racism of American society and are meaningless since economic conditions and opportunities were totally different in the two periods. Meanwhile, the large numbers of immigrants who have come here from Latin America and Asia in the last two decades face a rising tide of anti-immigrant racism and, in many cases, a level of poverty comparable to or even worse than that of blacks.

For Revolutionary Integrationism!

The Oakland school board's position on "Ebonics" reflects the program of black "cultural nationalism," a reactionary response in the absence of integrated social struggle to the all-sided racism permeating American society. The identification of ghetto English as a separate language dovetails with the utopian calls pushed by Louis Farrakhan and the like for "black capitalism." Both are predicated on the continued segregation of the black ghetto poor. But far from demonstrating that blacks are a nation, the dialect spoken by black ghetto youth today testifies to the forcible and intensifying compaction of the majority of the black population at the bottom of this society as an oppressed *race-color caste*.

E P Dutton

Bolsheviks conducted literacy campaign among oppressed Central Asian women following 1917 Russian Revolution.

There is a symbiosis between black nationalism and white racism: both conjure up a black language and culture that is supposedly "alien" to America. Yet not only are blacks more "American" than most Americans, what is unique to American culture is largely an expression of black influences. In his seminal Marxist analysis of the black question, "The Negro Struggle and the Proletarian Revolution" (1954), Trotskyist Richard Fraser noted that the blacks enslaved on the Southern plantations "developed a powerful folk culture." Fraser continued:

> "But this culture did not take the road of an independent national development. Because it was virtually the only real American folk culture, the slaves' music, 'accent,' folklore and religion filled a cultural need for the American people as a whole. First the slave culture inundated the original Anglo-Saxon culture of the South, virtually destroying it. From there it went on to fuse with the whole national culture until today those aspects of the national culture which are considered to be 'typically' American are largely the result of Negro influence."

Under the Southern slavocracy, teaching blacks to read or write (English) was a crime often punishable by death. The black troops who turned the tide in the Civil War against the slaveowners went into battle with their spelling primers strapped to their cartridge belts. Knowledge—and a good rifle—were recognized as the artillery needed to combat servitude and enforced illiteracy. Escape from slavery and integration into society on an egalitarian basis, not a return to their African roots, was the goal. The promise of black equality was betrayed by the Northern capitalists who, under the Compromise of 1877, withdrew the last Union Army troops from the South and brought to an end the tumultuous and radical bourgeois-democratic period of Reconstruction. A new form of white supremacy in the South—Jim Crow segregation—was ushered in.

Before World War II, the majority of blacks continued to live in the rural South as a deeply exploited American peasantry, overwhelmingly sharecroppers and tenant farmers. The black workers who flooded into the Northern cities during World War II formed the core of the Northern black communities and became a key component of the labor movement. Integrated into the workforce at the lower levels, blacks were also segregated in the inner-city ghettos. The black ghetto poor supplied for the American capitalists what Karl Marx called "a reserve army of labor" to be brought in during periods of rapid economic expansion. The color bar was and is a fundamental dividing line in American society, a key means for obscuring the class divide between labor and capital.

Today for American capitalism, the black poor have become, simply, a *surplus* population. The elimination of welfare by the Clinton White House and the Republican Congress will bring about the deaths of untold thousands of poor people from hunger, untreated contagious diseases and homelessness. With the impulse to genocide currently driving American bourgeois politics, a considerable section of the ruling class could care less if blacks did develop their own language or creole.

Black Democrat Jesse Jackson originally denounced the Oakland "Ebonics" resolution as "garbage." Subsequently, he reversed his position and is plugging the program as an opportunity for poor blacks to find a bridge to "make it" in American society. Paying homage to the civil rights movement for supposedly bringing about a fundamental improvement in the conditions of blacks, Jackson preaches that black people can gain real equality in racist America if they "pull themselves up by the bootstraps."

The civil rights movement originated as a mass struggle for school integration, access to public facilities and voting rights against legalized Jim Crow segregation in the South. However, by its very nature this movement based on a program of liberal-democratic reform did not confront the underlying oppression and exploitation of blacks. The social conditions imprisoning the impoverished black masses in the ghettos—with their mean streets, rat-infested housing, lousy schools and rampant police terror—could not be solved by legislative reforms. These conditions are materially rooted in the whole system of American capitalism.

Although racist segregation has intensified and hardened in recent years, blacks continue to have enormous potential economic and political power as a strategic component of the American working class. While many industrial unions have been gutted over the past couple of decades, black workers remain an important component in such basic services as health care, urban transit and longshore. These black proletarians can serve as a bridge between the ghetto poor and the organized labor movement.

For the power of black workers to be mobilized requires the leadership of a Marxist vanguard party committed to the perspective of revolutionary integrationism—the shattering of the chains of racist American capitalism by the multiracial working class, which will lay the basis for the full integration of blacks in an egalitarian socialist society. As we wrote in the introduction to *Marxist Bulletin* No. 5 (Revised), "What Strategy for Black Liberation? Trotskyism vs. Black Nationalism":

> "Any organization which claims a revolutionary perspective for the United States must confront the *special oppression* of black people—the forced segregation of blacks at the bottom of capitalist society and the poisonous racism which divides the working class and cripples its struggles. There will be no social revolution in this country without the united struggle of black and white workers led by their multiracial vanguard party. Moreover, there is no other road to eliminating the special oppression of black people than the victorious conquest of power by the U.S. proletariat." ■

Port Shutdown...

(continued from page 12)

sacked workers. In their call for the "Day of Action," the Merseyside Port Shop Stewards appealed "to all dockers in all ports to join an international blockade of Liverpool cargo and of shipping lines using the scab port of Liverpool." At least 15 dockers unions and the International Transport Workers Federation (ITF) declared their support for the day of solidarity.

However, with the exception of the West Coast longshore stoppage, much of the day's show of "solidarity" consisted of token protests. On the eastern seaboard, the International Longshoremen's Association held a demonstration at the British embassy in Washington, D.C. Similar small protests took place in Hamburg, Germany, at the port of Yokohama near Tokyo and other places. The ITF went out of its way to emphasize that "This is not an international strike or international boycott." Supporters of the International Communist League turned out to various protest actions around the world today, distributing literature in support of the Liverpool dockers and pointing to the need for a revolutionary internationalist leadership of the working class.

Already over a year ago, waterfront workers in Australia, Canada, the U.S. and elsewhere have carried out boycott actions against shipping companies which use the Merseyside harbor as Liverpool dockers set up picket lines at U.S. and other ports (see "International Solidarity with Liverpool Dock Strike," *WV* No. 637, 19 January 1996). Because shipping companies and capitalist governments everywhere are attacking waterfront and maritime workers through privatization, union-busting and deregulation, the plight of Liverpool's sacked dockers has struck a chord with workers in dozens of countries.

But while the ILWU International's statement for today's action talked about the need for "global unionism" to combat "exploitation by global capitalism," they and their fellow labor bureaucrats have presided over massive layoffs in recent years, accepting the dictates of their respective capitalist rulers and the shipping companies. Indeed, today's West Coast stoppage cut against the grain of the ILWU tops' support to chauvinist calls by U.S. maritime unions for "American flag only" shipping.

Meanwhile, the "leaders" of the Liverpool dockers' union, the Transport and General Workers Union (TGWU), have not lifted a finger to win the workers back their jobs. Fearful of jeopardizing the election prospects of Tony Blair's Labour Party, the TGWU tops have written off the Liverpool dockers' struggle as a lost cause. In a special supplement to *Workers Hammer* (12 January 1996), our comrades of the Spartacist League/Britain wrote:

> "The splendid action of dockers around the world points the way forward. The Merseyside docks should be shut down tight by mass picket lines, which nothing and nobody can cross.... *Only a complete shut-down of the port will stop the scab operation altogether!*"

Victory to the Liverpool dockers! For international class-struggle solidarity! ■

Global...

(continued from page 7)

a strike by GM workers in Canada, seeing that as counterposed to its efforts to get Democrat Clinton re-elected.

The existence of "multinationals" simply underscores the historic need for an internationalist class-struggle perspective that transcends parochial, nationally limited trade unionism. Indeed, one of the reasons for the establishment of the First International founded by Karl Marx was to organize trade-union solidarity between workers in Britain and continental Europe.

There are, of course, limits to what can be gained through trade-union struggle, however militant. As their labor costs rise beyond a certain point, capitalists will respond by retrenching (i.e., shutting down less-profitable operations), introducing new labor-saving technology as well as shifting some operations to low-wage countries. The labor bureaucracy points to the ability of the capitalists to counter union gains by such means in order to argue that the workers must accept existing, or even worse, conditions without a fight, while laying the blame on workers in other countries for "stealing American jobs." As revolutionary Marxists, we point to the limitations of trade unionism to argue for the need to overthrow the capitalist system of exploitation. As Marx wrote over a century ago:

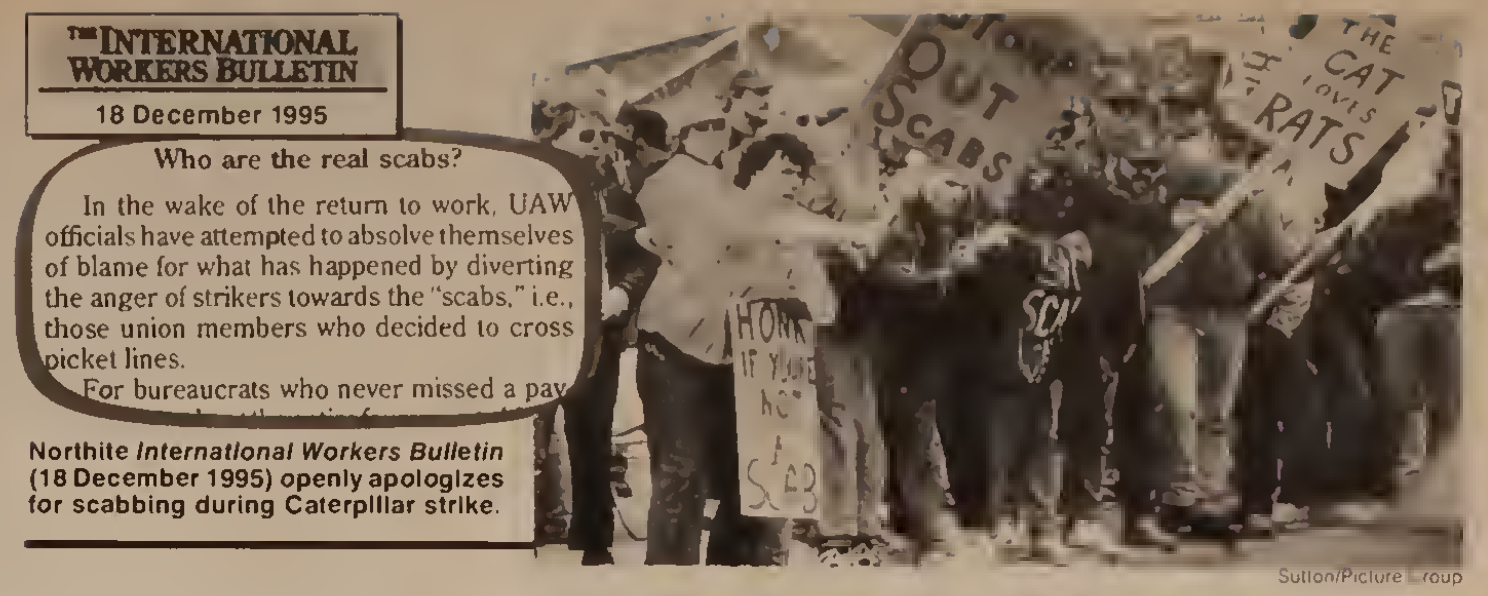
> "Trade Unions work well as centers of resistance against the encroachments of capital.... They fail generally from limiting themselves to a guerrilla war against the effects of the existing system, instead of simultaneously trying to change it, instead of using their organized forces as a lever for the final emancipation of the working class, that is to say, the ultimate abolition of the wages system."
>
> — *Value, Price and Profit* (1867)

The Northites now openly repudiate this basic Marxist position. They maintain that trade unions can no longer function as centers of resistance to the predations of capital, and they **counterpose** a socialist transformation to the defense of the workers' interests within capitalism. According to the wisdom of Nick Beams: "In order to defend even the most minimal conditions—the simple and most ordinary demands—the working class is confronted with the necessity of overthrowing the social relations based on capital and wage labor determined by the capitalist market through which the appropriation of surplus value takes place" (*IWB*, 1 July 1996).

At first glance, this may seem like a terribly revolutionary position. In fact, it indicates a defeatist and abstentionist attitude toward the actual struggles of the working class, without which all talk of overthrowing the social relations based on capital and wage labor is empty rhetoric. As Leon Trotsky wrote: "The triumph of the proletarian revolution on a world scale is the end-product of multiple movements, campaigns and battles, and not at all a ready-made precondition for solving all questions automatically" ("Independence of the Ukraine and Sectarian Muddleheads," July 1939).

The mass of workers can achieve socialist consciousness only through the intervention of a revolutionary party in the proletariat's day-to-day struggles. This is a central theme of the 1938 Transitional Program, the founding program of Trotsky's Fourth International:

> "The Bolshevik-Leninist stands in the front-line trenches of all kinds of struggles, even when they involve only the most modest material interests or democratic rights of the working class. He takes active part in the mass trade unions for the purpose of strengthening them and raising their spirit of militancy.... Only on the basis of such work within the trade unions is successful struggle possible against the reformists.... Sectarian attempts to build or preserve small 'revolutionary' unions, as a second edition of the party, signify in actuality the renouncing of the struggle for the leadership of the working class."



Northite *International Workers Bulletin* (18 December 1995) openly apologizes for scabbing during Caterpillar strike.

Sutton/Picture Group

The Latest Posture of Political Bandits

For years, North's Workers League agitated for the racist, pro-imperialist, rabidly anti-Communist Meany/Kirkland bureaucracy of the AFL-CIO to form a "labor party." Now the North gang not only denounces the AFL-CIO tops as reactionary but likens the unions to a "company union or a scab organization." Having recently rechristened themselves the Socialist Equality Party (SEP), the Northites now declare:

> "Workers must face the fact that the AFL-CIO is a failed organization that will not respond to the workers' demands. Workers need democratically-controlled unions, committed to defending their interests without compromise. Such unions can only be established as the industrial arms of a mass political party of the working class, and this party can only be built in ruthless struggle against the trade union bureaucracy. This is the perspective fought for by the Socialist Equality Party."
>
> — *IWB* (15 July 1996)

The nonexistent "industrial arms" of a nonexistent mass workers party are here supposed to replace the actual mass economic organizations of the U.S. working class.

If North, Beams & Co. were honest and courageous politicians, however misguided, they would call on American workers to leave the AFL-CIO en masse, Australian workers to leave the Australian Council of Trade Unions, British workers to leave the Trades Union Congress, etc. According to the Northites, not only have the unions become reactionary but also strikes: "Even when the bureaucracy calls a strike, it does so for the purpose of more effectively demoralizing and defeating the workers" (*The Globalization of Capitalist Production & the International Tasks of the Working Class* [September 1993]). If that is the case, then the Northites should tell the workers never to go out on strike and should give no support to strikes that do occur. Given its line, there is no reason for the Socialist Equality Party to oppose scabbing.

In fact, following the sellout of a 17-month-long UAW strike at Caterpillar in 1995 which saw widespread scabbing, North's *International Workers Bulletin* (18 December 1995) openly **apologized for strikebreaking**: putting the word "scabs" in quotation marks, sympathetically "explaining" that "the large majority of the 4,000 union members who returned to work were not right-wing or anti-union," and attacking the union tops **from the right** for "diverting the anger of strikers towards the 'scabs,' i.e., those union members who decided to cross picket lines." Around the same time, North's British acolytes made themselves notorious among striking Liverpool dockers by denouncing international labor solidarity with their struggle. A scurrilous article, "Dockers Must Reject Fake Internationalism" (*International Worker*, 2 December 1995), attacked as a "fraud" plans by international longshore unions, which were implemented that same month, to refuse to handle ships loaded by scabs in Liverpool (see "David North, 'Socialist' Apologist for Scabbing," *WV* No. 637, 19 January 1996).

Yet in their platform for a recent parliamentary by-election campaign, the British SEP had the gall to insist that "Workers in Britain must seek the support of workers overseas" (*International Worker*, 30 November 1996). These are political charlatans who always speak out of both sides of their mouths. On one side, they denounce the unions as "failed organizations," thereby seeking to appeal to workers fed up with the bureaucracy's endless sellouts and angry and frustrated over falling living standards. On the other side, they try to make themselves look good by posing as sympathetic to workers engaged in struggle.

Many years ago, we characterized the tendency led by the late Gerry Healy, North's mentor, as **political bandits** whose practices stood in flat contradiction to their professed principles, who say and do today the exact opposite of what they said and did yesterday and would say and do tomorrow. Having abjectly tailed the pro-capitalist union misleaders until a few short years ago, the Northites now turn around and repudiate the unions altogether. But the union bureaucracy was no less reactionary then than it is today—and the same can be said of David North & Co.

During Cold War II, the anti-Soviet war hysteria of the 1980s, the Northites marched in ideological lockstep with the AFL-CIO tops in enthusiastically supporting every pro-imperialist, anti-Communist nationalist movement in and around the Soviet bloc—from the CIA-backed Afghan *mujahedin* to counterrevolutionary Polish Solidarność to the Baltic "captive nations" types. In Britain, Healy/North's IC parlayed its support for Solidarność into a provocative witchhunt, in league with the most right-wing forces inside and outside the labor movement, against the militant miners union and its leader, Arthur Scargill. In late 1983, the Healyites instigated an anti-Communist furor over Scargill's description of Solidarność as "anti-socialist," with the aim of isolating the miners from the rest of the British trade-union movement as they prepared for battle against Thatcher and the Coal Board. And in 1991, North & Co. even condemned the Bush administration for not more aggressively backing the fascist-infested Lithuanian Sajudis, which called for secession from the Soviet Union as part of a drive for capitalist restoration.

When the demand for self-determination served as a "democratic" fig leaf for attacks on the Soviet degenerated workers state, the Northites waxed eloquent about their support to "national rights." Now they denounce the call for self-determination and claim that national independence has become impossible, indeed reactionary, in a "globalized" economy. Having supported the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union—the greatest defeat for the international proletariat in decades—the Northites have adopted a position of defeatism toward all struggles by the working class and oppressed peoples in the post-Soviet world.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

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International Communist League
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Spartacist League of Australia	Spartacist League, GPO Box 3473 Sydney, NSW, 2001, Australia
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WORKERS VANGUARD

Racist Rulers Declare Open Season on Black People

Desperation, Segregation and the "Ebonics" Controversy

Free, Quality, Integrated Education for All!
Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

The Oakland Board of Education resolution passed last month to make "Ebonics"—otherwise called "black English"—a second language in the city's classrooms has given vent to a storm of racist reaction. California talk shows were flooded with derisive imitations of "black speech" parroting every vile racist stereotype from Amos and Andy to "Little Black Sambo." An article in *Time* magazine filled with this racist crap featured the grotesque headline, "Ebonics According to Buckwheat." And the liberal *Village Voice* (14 January) joined in with a blatantly racist "Ebonics for Travelers" parody.

The Clinton White House, which has slashed welfare and is whipping up raw racial hatred against blacks and immigrants in order to ax any and every social program, rushed to announce that no money would be forthcoming for bilingual "Ebonics" programs. California governor Pete Wilson—having pushed through a referendum last November to abolish affirmative action programs, which provide some minimal access for blacks and minorities to higher education and government jobs—declared that he would not fund what his press secretary called a "ridiculous theory."

The Oakland school board cried that the resolution had been misunderstood, that they weren't looking for money but simply for a means to improve the education of the children in the overwhelmingly black Oakland school district. The school board's avowed concern for improving education is pure cynicism. Last year this same school board worked overtime to bust a teachers strike which had widespread community support, particularly for its demands aimed at reducing the desperate overcrowding of classrooms where children are simply warehoused, not taught.

Alcock/Chicago Sun-Times

Run-down inner-city high school in Chicago. Capitalist rulers have slashed funding for education of ghetto youth.

The controversial resolution opens with a perfectly supportable call to "improve the English language acquisition and application skills of African-American students." In racist America, black children are faced with an all-sided contradiction which is a measure of the depth of the racial divide: They are stigmatized as "stupid" because they don't talk "white," while those blacks who do speak what is called "proper" English are seen by racists as "not staying in their place" and by their peers as putting on airs. Though not a separate language, "black English" is a very real dialect described by one linguist as "a standardized variant of English with distinctive grammatical rules." There *should* be programs that can provide a bridge in teaching these kids what is called "standard American English," without disparaging or demeaning their home dialect, for the simple reason that to get anywhere in this society you need to speak the language of the political economy. But there's the rub.

The real problem is not the lack of recognition of black English as a distinct dialect, but the cruel and bitter reality that black ghetto youth are not wanted or needed by America's capitalist rulers. By the same token, the widespread and growing alienation among black youth is the product of more than two decades of hardening segregation in this country. The liberal-led civil rights movement of the 1950s and '60s was incapable of addressing the desperate conditions of the black inner cities of America. The "war on poverty" programs that were aimed at quelling the ghetto rebellions of the 1960s provided no amelioration, serving primarily as a ticket out of the ghettos for a thin layer of the black population. The divide between the ghetto masses and the black "middle class" deepened with the deindustrialization of the 1980s, as virtually anyone who still had a job tried to move out of the inner cities.

Left behind was an increasingly deprived and destitute mass of the black population. The racist rulers' "malign neglect" meant that any social infrastructure that existed in the inner cities

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West Coast Ports Shut Down in Solidarity With Liverpool Dockers

JANUARY 20—In the sort of international solidarity action not seen in the American labor movement in years, ports up and down the West Coast were shut down today in support of striking dock workers in Liverpool, England. As we reported last issue, 500 Liverpool dockers who have been engaged in a bitter 15-month struggle against the Mersey Docks and Harbour Company (MDHC) had called to organize an international "Day of Action" for today. The International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) responded to this appeal by sanctioning an eight-hour work stoppage.

ILWU members on the day shift attended "stop work" meetings rather than loading and unloading some 50 ships at key ports, including Long Beach, Los Angeles-San Pedro, Oakland, San Francisco, Portland and Seattle. But while the Merseyside Port Shop Stewards had called for 24-hour actions, the ILWU brass ensured that the West Coast strike would be limited to eight hours. Moreover, in Seattle many "casuals" showed up for work without knowing anything about the work stoppage, and cranes were seen operating in the harbor. As it happened, in the U.S. the day of action coincided with Martin Luther King Day, a paid holiday. Nevertheless, many ILWU members sacrificed the overtime pay they would have received if they had worked today.

In Liverpool itself, about 500 dockers and their supporters, including a spirited contingent from "Women of the Waterfront," started assembling at the harbor before sunrise. Shortly after dawn, several dozen dockers made their way onto the docks and climbed atop three cranes. The strikers hope to occupy the cranes for at least three days, stopping the unloading of a ship carrying grain, while their comrades picket round the clock.

The Liverpool dockers were locked out by the MDHC in September 1995 for honoring a picket line set up by fellow union members. The dockers have repeatedly rejected insulting "offers" of a cash payoff and a handful of jobs, demanding reinstatement of all the

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WORKERS VANGUARD

50¢

No. 661 7 February 1997

For Workers Revolution Throughout the Americas!

Peru: Down With Fujimori Dictatorship!

Túpac Amaru Guerrillas: Reformists with Guns

Bazo/Reuters

Alejandro Balaguer

Peruvian police massed outside of Japanese ambassador's residence in Lima (above). Túpac Amaru guerrillas demand freedom for hundreds of their comrades imprisoned in dictator Fujimori's dungeons.

FEBRUARY 2—It is now almost eight weeks since the leftist guerrillas of the Túpac Amaru Revolutionary Movement (MRTA) seized the Japanese ambassador's residence in Lima, Peru, filled with hundreds of diplomats, businessmen and military officials. While most of those were soon released, the guerrillas still hold over 70 hostages, including key military and police officials as well as the Japanese ambassador and his entourage. The MRTA's main demand is freedom for 400 or more of their comrades who have been condemned to a slow death as political prisoners in Peru's infamous dungeons.

The blood-drenched Fujimori regime has repeatedly declared it will never release the left-wing prisoners and is building up a massive military/police force around the ambassador's residence. This serves both as a means of psychological warfare aimed at breaking the nerve of the Túpac Amaru commandos and as preparation for an all-out assault should the regime decide the conditions are favorable. An official of the notorious "anti-terrorism" police told the press, "Of course, a plan has been devised to take back the residence." But while Fujimori has Washington's backing, Tokyo has been sharply critical of the increasingly provocative actions of the Peruvian police, with Japanese prime minister Ryutaro Hashimoto summoning Peru's president to a meeting in Toronto yesterday.

Mata/AFP

1992 massacre by police in Lima prison left at least 35 dead. Other political prisoners, held in barbarous conditions, face slow death from hunger and disease. Free all victims of Fujimori's terror!

As we previously stated, the MRTA's bold action evokes strong sympathy from all those who side with the oppressed. At the same time, we recognize that "the political program which engenders such desperate acts accomplishes nothing toward changing the conditions of life for Peru's impoverished workers and peasants" (*WV* No. 659, 10 January).

Túpac Amaru's dramatic commando raid in Peru, coming in the context of populist peasant-guerrilla insurgencies in Mexico and the recent "peace" accord in Guatemala between leftist rebels and the military butchers who rule that country, has focused renewed attention on the "guerrilla road" in Latin America. While it is understandable that radical-minded youth throughout the world should solidarize with the small bands of armed fighters defying the dictatorial *caudillo* regimes and their Yankee imperialist godfathers, Marxists understand that only *proletarian revolution and its international extension* can liberate the toiling masses of Latin America from the chains of neocolonial subjugation and immiseration. We publish below an edited and abridged version of a January 16 Spartacist League forum at UC Santa Cruz by comrade Jorge Ramirez, titled "From Mexico to Peru: Guerrilla Struggle— Reformism with Guns."

* * *

Many of you have probably been following the events in the Japanese ambassador's residence in Peru, where a band of urban guerrillas managed to take over a reception at which representatives of *la crème de la crème* of Peruvian society were hobnobbing with the diplomatic corps. The reaction of the Peruvian populace at seeing the rich and powerful under the guns of the MRTA guerrillas was a barely concealed smile. In Lima, where seven of every ten residents lack basic services such as water, electricity and sewage, reports of the hostages protesting the "indignities" of going without electricity and showers were seen as a sort of poetic justice.

Both the taking up of arms and the sympathy elicited from the populace are born out of the frustration of class oppression in Peru. Fujimori, like his predecessors, presides over the grinding immiseration of the population, imposing one IMF-dictated austerity program after another to pay for usurious loans, otherwise known as the "foreign debt." In the process, the Fujimori regime has intensified its campaign of terror, mainly targeting the MRTA and Shining Path insurgents. Although many of Shining Path's actions have been deadly attacks

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How David North Embraces Karl Kautsky

The "Global Economy" and Labor Reformism

See Page 4

Martha Phillips

10 March 1948 – 9 February 1992

This month marks five years since our comrade Martha Phillips was murdered in Moscow. Martha had been a cadre of the Spartacist League/U.S. for 20 years and was a veteran activist in the antiwar, civil rights and labor movements. For many years, she had lived in the San Francisco Bay Area, where she helped found the Labor Black League for Social Defense. At great personal sacrifice, Martha moved to Moscow in 1991, where she became the leading public spokesman for the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) and our fight against the capitalist counterrevolution which destroyed the Soviet Union. She died on the front lines of the struggle to reimplant the internationalist communism of Lenin and Trotsky in the homeland of the October Revolution.

Comrade Martha was found brutally strangled and stabbed on the morning of 9 February 1992. Compounding the anguish over the loss of our comrade is the fact that to this day we do not know who murdered Martha, or why. Our efforts to press for a serious investigation into this tragedy were met with deliberate evasion and incompetence by the Moscow authorities and utter indifference by the American consulate.

Martha brought a keen Marxist intellect and granite hard determination to her life's work: the building of a revolutionary, proletarian and internationalist party. She was also one of those rare individuals who possessed the qualities necessary to be a mass leader of such a party. Her life and work will continue to serve as an inspiration for future generations of proletarian revolutionaries. We honor our fallen comrade's spirit, tenacity and courage through our resolve to continue the struggle to reforge the Fourth International, world party of socialist revolution.

WV Photo

TROTSKY

LENIN

Complete the Unfinished Tasks of the Civil War!

Black History Month this year finds black people facing an all-sided bipartisan racist offensive, from the devastation of welfare programs to the wholesale imprisonment of ghetto youth, rolling back even the minimal gains of the civil rights movement of the 1950s and '60s. Speaking in 1883, six years after the Northern bourgeoisie's betrayal of the radical-democratic program of Reconstruction, the great black Abolitionist Frederick Douglass condemned the deeply racist nature of the American "justice" system. Douglass recalled the "full two hundred thousand strong" black men who had rallied to the Union Army during the Civil War and were thus key in defeating the Southern slavocracy. Today, it will take a proletarian socialist revolution to finish the Civil War and liberate black people from the chains of oppression and impoverishment.

It is a real calamity, in this country, for any man, guilty or not guilty, to be accused of crime, but it is an incomparably greater calamity for any colored man to be so accused. Justice is often painted with bandaged eyes. She is described in forensic eloquence, as utterly blind to wealth or poverty, high or low, white or black, but a mask of iron, however thick, could never blind American justice, when a black man happens to be on trial. Here, even more than elsewhere, he will find all presumptions of law and evidence against him. It is not so much the business of his enemies to prove him guilty, as it is the business of himself to prove his innocence....

What Abraham Lincoln said in respect of the United States is as true of the colored people as of the relations of those States. They can not remain half slave and half free. You must give them all or take from them all. Until this half-and-half condition is ended, there will be just ground of complaint. You will have an aggrieved class, and this discussion will go on. Until the public schools shall cease to be caste schools in every part of our country, this discussion will go on. Until the colored man's pathway to the American ballot box, North and South, shall be as smooth and as safe as the same is for the white citizen, this discussion will go on. Until the colored man's right to practice at the bar of our courts, and sit upon juries, shall be the universal law and practice of the land, this discussion will go on. Until the courts of the country shall grant the colored man a fair trial and a just verdict, this discussion will go on. Until color shall cease to be a bar to equal participation in the offices and honors of the country, this discussion will go on. Until the trades-unions and the workshops of the country shall cease to proscribe the colored man and prevent his children from learning useful trades, this discussion will go on. Until the American people shall make character, and not color, the criterion of respectability, this discussion will go on....

Events are transpiring all around us that enforce consideration of the oppressed classes. In one form or another, by one means or another, the ideas of a common humanity against privileged classes, of common rights against special privileges, are now rocking the world.

— Frederick Douglass, "The United States Cannot Remain Half-Slave and Half-Free," *The Life and Writings of Frederick Douglass* (1955)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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EDITOR Len Meyers

EDITOR, YOUNG SPARTACUS PAGES Joe Sol

PRODUCTION MANAGER Susan Fuller

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No. 661 **7 February 1997**

Chicago: Support the Anti-Klan Three!

At a January 23 court hearing, lawyers for Jeffrey Lyons, Dennis Glass and Gene Herson were given a number of documents that Chicago city and police authorities had been forced to hand over in preparation for a special evidentiary hearing scheduled for February 28. The three defendants, who face up to one or two years in prison, were arrested on June 29 on bogus charges stemming from their participation in a united-front protest initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee which spiked a violent race-hate provocation by the KKK in Daley Plaza. The documents—including past brutality complaints against the arresting officers—were requested as part of the defense effort to demonstrate a pattern of police brutality and a deliberate policy by the city authorities of suppressing political protest in the months before the Democratic National Convention last August.

The fight to defend the Chicago Anti-Klan Three is critical to all working people and minorities who seek to defend their rights and their very lives against the labor-hating, racist terrorists of the KKK. We place no confidence in the capitalist courts but rather look to mobilizing labor-centered protest and pressure to demand the charges be dropped. Court hearings have been filled with supporters of the Anti-Klan Three, and letters of protest have poured in from defenders of civil liberties and individuals and organizations in the labor movement around the world. Addressing a January 22 University of Chicago speakout to build student support, a Spartacus Youth Club spokesman pointed to the cops' role in shielding the Klan racists now and in the past and emphasized: "This silencing of social protest is also part of a larger gutting of fundamental democratic rights as the chasm between the few exploiting capitalists and the mass of workers widens."

The February 28 evidentiary hearing will challenge the police frame-up of the Anti-Klan Three. Also, on February 7 five protesters arrested during the Democratic convention go on trial. Drop the charges against the DNC 5! Join the fight to defend the Anti-Klan Three!

* * *

Send protest statements demanding that the charges against the Anti-Klan Three be dropped to: Richard Devine, State's Attorney of Cook County, Richard J. Daley Center, 55 W. Randolph Street, Chicago, IL 60602. Funds for legal defense are urgently needed! Send donations (earmarked "Anti-Klan Protesters") and copies of protest statements to the Partisan Defense Committee. Contact the PDC in Chicago at P.O. Box 802867, Chicago, IL 60680-2867, phone (312) 454-4931; or in New York at P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013-0099, phone (212) 406-4252. ■

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For more information (212) 267-1025
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Class-Struggle Road to Black Liberation

Saturday, February 22, 6:00 p.m.
For more information: (415) 777-9367
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San Francisco Women's Building
Audre Lorde Room
3543 18th Street at Valencia Street

Feds vs. Hacks in Teamsters Election

Government Out of the Unions!

Teamsters union president Ron Carey narrowly defeated challenger Jimmy Hoffa Jr. in December union elections run by the federal government. As the 34 percent membership voter turnout reflected, one could scarcely imagine a more unappetizing choice of candidates. Hoffa openly embraced and defended the notoriously corrupt "old guard" in the union leadership, with its purported underworld connections and shady pension fund deals. Carey, who was installed five years ago in another government-run election, is justly despised by much of the membership for selling out his own base at UPS in a February 1994 strike and then the national truckers strike two months later.

Events in the International Brotherhood of Teamsters (IBT) are of the utmost importance for all trade unionists and leftists. The Teamsters union is a test case of capitalist state intervention in the workers movement. As a result of the feds' 1988 RICO "racketeering" suit against the IBT and the settlement agreed to by the union tops the following year, the courts and the Justice Department were given unprecedented control over one of the most important unions in the U.S. A federal "review board" has dictatorial powers to expel union officials, take over locals and control the union treasury.

Last December's election, like the one in 1991, was totally controlled by a federal "election officer" who set the rules, approved the candidates and collected the ballots. At least 67 union locals have been put in trusteeship because the feds judged them "corrupt," and their leaders have been summarily thrown out—including Hoffa's running mate, William Hogan of Chicago Local 714. Meanwhile, this army of federal overseers and high-priced lawyers, while bemoaning the high salaries of Teamster officials, is robbing the union treasury blind.

Carey's re-election is the product of a decades-long campaign by both capitalist parties, and especially the liberal wing of the Democrats, to shackle the power of the Teamsters union. Yet the government's hijacking of what is potentially one of the most powerful unions in the U.S. was aided and abetted by a self-styled "reform" opposition, the Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU), which loyally supported Carey in both elections. And prominent among those who have hailed the TDU and its strategy of inviting the feds into the union—and have been Carey's most assiduous supporters—are avowed "socialists" like Solidarity (*Against the Current*), the International Socialist Organization (ISO) and Socialist Action, which have served as slavish press agents for Carey for years.

Echoing the refrain of the viciously anti-labor *New York Times* (4 December 1996), which acclaimed Carey as one of the "most promising leaders" in the labor movement, the ISO saluted the election results as a "Blow to IBT Old Guard" and a "welcome victory" (*Socialist Worker*, 3 January). And *Socialist Action* (January 1997), in an article by Nat Weinstein, called Carey's success "an important victory for rank-and-file Teamsters and for the entire American working class." Sam Marcy's Workers World Party adopted a more backhanded stance and even denounced Carey's reliance on "government interference" (*Workers World*, 26 December 1996). But this did not prevent them from pleading with the feds' man Carey to "serve Teamsters members" and "break all ties with the government." And five years ago, *Workers World* (26 December 1991) joined the rest in hailing Carey's election as "a victory for the rank and file."

Given their view of the state as a class-neutral entity, it is logical that liberals should look with favor upon appeals to the government to intervene to "democratize" the unions. Lacking any confidence in the revolutionary capacity of the proletariat, the reformist left joins with the liberals in looking to the capitalist state to "clean up" the unions. Marxists, however, understand that the bourgeois state at its core is composed of armed bodies of men—the police, prison guards, army, etc.—who serve to defend the interests of the ruling class by defending private property, protecting scabs and breaking strikes. Government attacks on the Teamsters, by both Democrats and Republicans, have never been directed at "mob corruption." Their real aim has been to break the union's power to shut down trucking across the country.

As Marxists, the Spartacist League opposes on principle any intervention in the labor movement by the bosses' government. We oppose Carey just as we opposed the venal, "business union" bureaucrats who ran the Teamsters before. As we have repeatedly pointed out, the "new" Teamsters are indistinguishable on all fundamental questions from the "old guard"—and delivering the union into the hands of the capitalist state is about as corrupt as you can get. We say the union must clean its own house—feds and finks out!

ISO: Justice Department Socialists

The common line of the reformist "socialists" who backed Carey is that his re-election is a victory for "union democracy." The ISO hailed Carey's "welcome victory over old-guard forces who represent the Teamsters' corrupt, mob-dominated past," while *Socialist Action* spoke of his intent "to open a necessary new stage in the fight to democratize the union from top to bottom." *Socialist Action*'s Nat Weinstein did in fact mention government intervention into the Teamsters, only to ludicrously claim that the capitalist rulers "never expected that someone like Ron Carey could win" five years ago. (Weinstein might consult the *Wall Street Journal*, which wrote at the time: "The government will have wasted $40 million in Teamsters money if Carey isn't elected.") For its part, the ISO abandoned even its occasional nominal criticisms of government intervention, not even hinting that the Teamster ballot was run by the feds.

In fact, prominent ISO supporter Pete Camarata is a longtime leader of the TDU, whose central strategy has always been to drag the Teamsters union into the bosses' courts, while being cheered on by its press agents in *Labor Notes*. In 1987 the TDU literally wrote—and sent to the Justice Department—the blueprint for the government plan to "reorganize" the union. And the TDU served as witnesses for the prosecution in the 1989 "probe" by the Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations—the same outfit that Robert Kennedy used as a weapon in his vendetta against Jimmy Hoffa and the Teamsters in the 1950s.

Though nominally on the side of the IBT when it intervened in the RICO case in January 1989, the TDU argued that its proposal for "democratic elections" run by the Labor Department and the courts would be more "effective" than the government's own takeover plan. In *Collision* (1993), a sympathetic account of the Teamster "reform" movement, Kenneth Crowe writes: "The underpinnings of the [RICO consent] agreement, specifying democratic elections, read like paragraphs from the PROD (Professional Drivers Council for Safety and Health) and TDU platforms to reform the IBT."

The TDU looks back to Arnold Miller's "reform" movement in the United Mine Workers (UMWA), which brought in the Labor Department to run the 1972 UMWA election. Miller, a former coal miner and Democratic Party politico, was swept into office with the aid of the government, backed by the same fake "socialists" who today support the TDU. Miller promptly teamed up with the courts and Democrat Jimmy Carter's White House to smash wildcat strikes and derail the militant national coal strike of 1977-78. The UMWA, once the most militant union in the country, is now only a shadow of its former self—and the same fate awaits the Teamsters if its leadership stays in the hands of Carey and the feds. The Spartacist League was virtually alone on the left in refusing to support Miller. While David North's Socialist Equality Party today cynically attacks Carey's reliance on the feds (*International Workers Bulletin*, 2 December 1996)—only to line up with the bourgeoisie in opposing the unions outright—North's outfit was prominent in backing the Miller/Labor Department campaign in the UMWA in 1972.

As Leon Trotsky, co-leader with V. I. Lenin of the 1917 Russian Revolution, noted in a 1940 article titled "Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay," the fight for trade-union democracy

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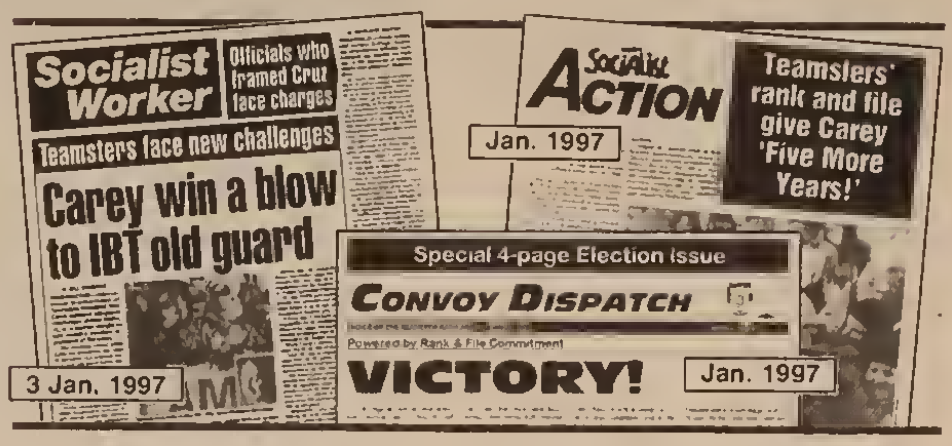
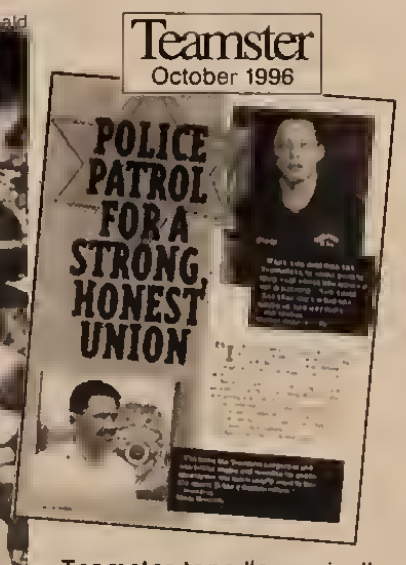


Reformist left hails victory of feds' man Ron Carey as Teamster president in government-run election. Spartacist League opposed state intervention aimed at smashing union power.



Teamster tops "organize" police into union. Cops are racist strikebreakers, seen here attacking picket line during 1994 truckers strike.

Spartacist League Public Offices

—MARXIST LITERATURE—

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How David North Embraces Karl Kautsky

The "Global Economy" and Labor Reformism

Part Two

Part One of this article was published in WV *No. 660 (24 January).*

Buying into a notion advanced by a spectrum of bourgeois economists and spokesmen for the reformist labor bureaucracies particularly since the demise of the Soviet Union, the self-styled "revolutionary Marxists" of David North's "International Committee" (IC) today argue that the recent rise of a "global economy" has ruled out any possibility of successful trade-union struggle in defense of workers' interests. In fact, the Northite view of "globalization"—i.e., the large-scale shift in production by "multinational" corporations to the Third World—and its effect on the relation between labor and capital is a present-day version of what in the 19th century was called the "iron law of wages." This was a doctrine that wages could not be permanently raised above a fixed level regardless of the actions—economic and/or political—taken by the working class. While initially developed by British bourgeois economists, the "iron law" was adhered to by almost all of the early socialist and anarchist tendencies—British Owenites, French Proudhonists, German Lassalleans.

It is readily understandable why the ideologists of the bourgeoisie maintained that the existing level of wages was determined by the immutable laws of the capitalist market. Why would leftists who opposed the capitalist system also uphold such a position? Because they believed that the workers could be won to the program of socialism (or, in Proudhon's case, to anarchism) only if they were convinced that it was **hopeless** to attempt to improve their conditions within capitalism.

Marx vs. the "Iron Law of Wages"

There were different versions of how the "iron law" was supposed to operate. The originator of the doctrine, the Reverend Thomas Malthus, asserted that if wages rose above subsistence levels workers would have more children, more of whom would live to maturity. The increase in the supply of labor would therefore drive wages back to the subsistence level. The leftist adherents of the "iron law" generally argued that any increase in money wages would be quickly and fully offset by rising prices. Hence they regarded trade unionism as useless or even injurious to the working class.

Proudhon's last work, *The Political Capacity of the Working Class* (published posthumously in 1865), was a sustained attack on trade unionism, which had just emerged in France on a significant scale:

> "While threatening to strike, some of them [trade unionists], indeed the majority, have demanded an increase in wages, others have demanded a reduction in working hours, and still others both at the same time. Surely they have always known that increased wages and reduced working hours can only lead to a general price increase."

In opposing strikes, Proudhon made the additional argument that the financial resources of the capitalists were so much greater that the workers could never win:

> "Let us imagine that an industrial establishment has a capital of three million and that it employs one thousand workers who one day go on strike. The employer rejects their demands.... After a month the workers have exhausted their funds and will have to resort to the pawnshop. The capitalist will have lost merely a twelfth of his interest and his capital will not have been touched. The match is clearly unequal."
>
> — Stewart Edwards, ed., *Selected Writings of Joseph-Pierre Proudhon* (1969)

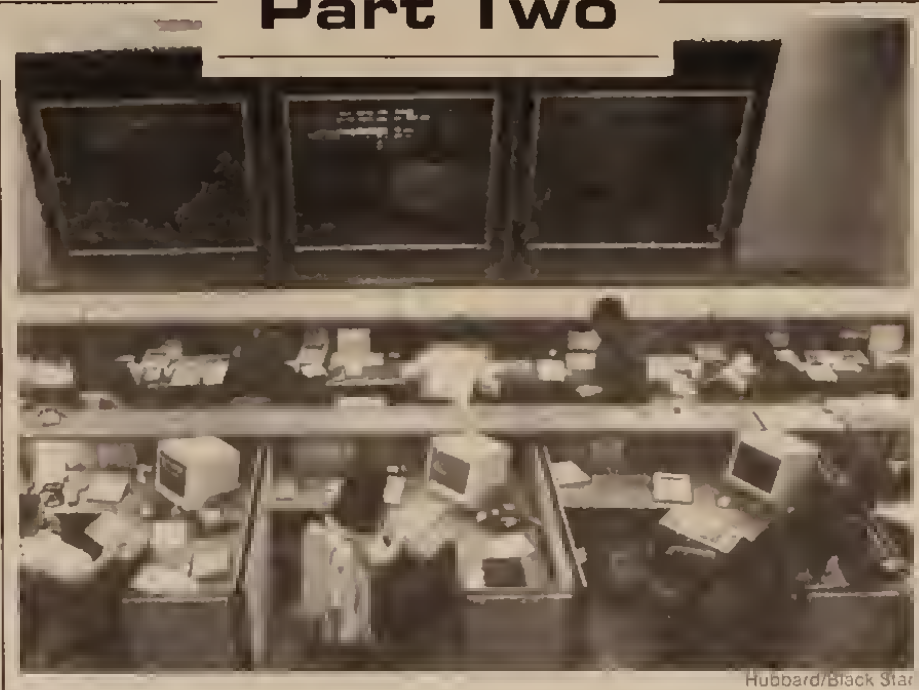
If one substitutes "transnational corporation" for "industrial establishment" in the above passage, it accurately represents the current Northite line.

Throughout his life as a revolutionary workers leader, Marx opposed all exponents of the "iron law of wages." His most comprehensive treatment of this question is his 1865 pamphlet, *Value, Price and Profit*, a polemical response to an old Owenite socialist, George Weston, who was then a member of the General Council of the First International. Here Marx scientifically demonstrated that an "immense scale of variations is possible" in the rate of exploitation (the ratio of surplus value to the value of wages):

> "The fixation of its actual degree is only settled by the continuous struggle between capital and labour, the capitalist constantly tending to reduce wages to their physical minimum...while the workingman constantly presses in the opposite direction.
>
> "The matter resolves itself into a question of the respective powers of the combatants."

Marx's theoretical demolition of the "iron law of wages" was confirmed by the actual experience of the working class as mass trade unions developed in Europe and North America in the late 19th century. By the beginning of the 20th century, the "iron law" had been generally discredited within the workers movement and left. A notable exception was the American socialist Daniel De Leon, who counterposed the overthrow of the capitalist system to trade-union struggles for higher wages and shorter hours.

In line with pre-1914 Social Democratic orthodoxy, the De Leonists regarded the decisive event of the socialist revolution as the electoral victory of their party, the Socialist Labor Party (SLP), over the bourgeois parties. Attached to the SLP was an industrial arm called the Socialist Labor and Trade Alliance, which over time tended to shrink to an artificial, Potemkin village organization consisting entirely of the SLP's own supporters. Despite the name, the Socialist Labor and Trade Alliance was **not** a trade union in any sense. It did not advocate, much less engage in, struggles to improve the wages or conditions of the workers. What then was its purpose? Following the expected electoral victory of the SLP, the Socialist Labor and Trade Alliance would "seize and hold" the means of production from the capitalists and subsequently administer the socialist economy.



Hubbard/Black Star

Der Spiegel

Computerized facility in U.S. (above), gold miners in Brazil. To overcome vast disparity in technical-cultural level between imperialist powers and "Third World" requires socialist overthrow of capitalism internationally.

Third World Wages Mean... Third World Economies

The present posture of the North group parallels the old De Leonist program except that the De Leonists were principled, albeit misguided, socialists. A primary activity of North's Socialist Equality Party (SEP, formerly the Workers League), and the other SEPs recently set up by IC sections in Britain and Australia, is running for office in bourgeois elections for various levels of government. They have adopted an, at best, abstentionist position in relation to the struggles of the mass trade-union movement. And at least on paper the Northites now project building something akin to the Socialist Labor and Trade Alliance.

According to the 1993 Northite pamphlet, *The Globalization of Capitalist Production & the International Tasks of the Working Class*:

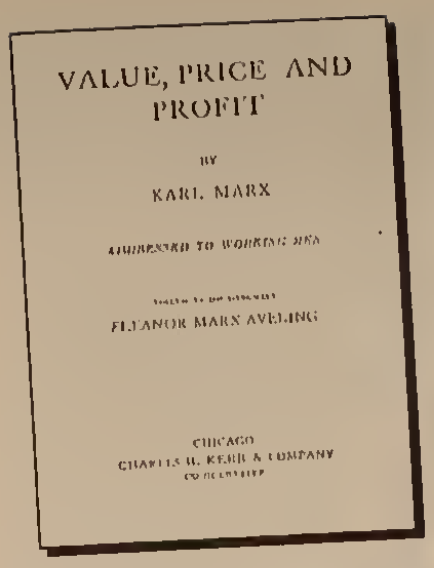
> "Transnational corporations are systematically shifting the most labor intensive aspects of production to impoverished regions, where wages are a fraction of the existing levels in the advanced capitalist countries. Even high-tech and skilled labor can be purchased on the cheap in India, parts of Latin America, eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. The inexorable result is a downward leveling of wages and living standards and a relentless assault on past social reforms and legal limitations on the exploitation of labor by capital in the imperialist centers."

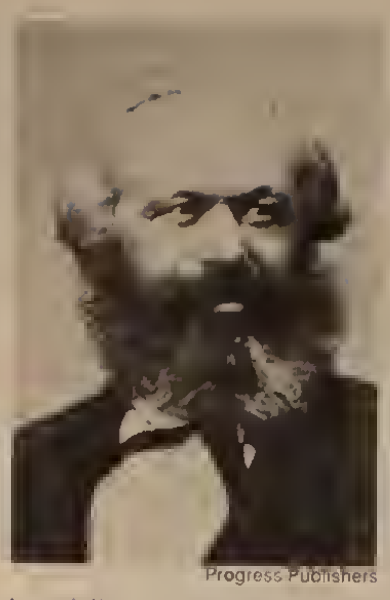
As we have indicated earlier, the Northites are here advancing, with a thin veneer of Marxist rhetoric, an argument currently propounded by a wide range of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois liberals. Thus, a recent article in *Foreign Affairs* (May-June 1996) warns that "inequality, unemployment and endemic poverty" are the "handmaidens" of the "global economy." And in a special issue of the liberal *Nation* (15 July 1996), British "Green" spokesmen Colin Hines and Tim Lang assert:

> "Globalization unquestionably leads to lower-wage economies. The British economist Adrian Wood has calculated a not insignificant shift of 9 million jobs from North to South [i.e., from the industrialized countries to the Third World] in recent years.... Meanwhile, Britain is advertising itself as a low-wage country to attract industry. The trend is clear."

The version of the "iron law of wages" pushed by North and others based on the supposed globalization of production is no more valid than the various 19th-century versions. Wages in the advanced capitalist countries are not going to be driven down to anything close to Third World levels for two fundamental reasons: one political, the other economic.

As we shall see, increased investment by Western/Japanese banks and corporations in backward countries, especially in the manufacturing sector, requires the maintenance of strong imperialist states to **protect** those investments. U.S. capitalists are not going to produce a large part of their steel output in South Korea and Brazil, because they need guaran-




Progress Publishers

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In *Value, Price and Profit*, Karl Marx polemicized against "iron law of wages," a theory upheld by French anarchist Proudhon (right) and later American socialist Daniel De Leon (far right) to deny possibility of successful trade-union struggle.

teed access to this steel in case of war with their imperialist rivals—Germany and Japan—or for military intervention against popular revolutions in former colonial countries, like South Korea and Brazil.

The *Communist Manifesto*, written by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels in 1848, defines the "executive of the modern State" as "a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie." One of the tasks of that executive committee is to ensure that individual capitalists, seeking to maximize their own profits, do not harm the vital interests of the national bourgeoisie as a whole. Thus, a few years ago Washington prevented the management and stockholders of Continental Oil from investing in the modernization of Iranian oil fields, because building up the Iranian economy went against the currently perceived interests of U.S. imperialism. In the next few years, the U.S., Germany and Japan may well impose—against the immediate interests and desires of sections of their own capitalist classes—high levels of trade protectionism, controls of foreign-

V. Deni and M. Cheremnykh

1920 Soviet poster: "Comrade Lenin Sweeps the Globe Clean."

exchange transactions and strict limits on the inflow and outflow of capital.

There is in addition a fundamental economic limitation to the "globalization" of production. Manufacturing wages in East Asia and Latin America have been a small fraction of those in the advanced capitalist countries for decades. Why then does Siemens still produce most of its electrical machinery in Germany and General Motors most of its autos in North America? Because 15 unskilled workers in Indonesia (earning well under a dollar an hour) cannot replace a skilled machinist in the U.S. (earning $15 an hour) or Germany (earning $25 an hour) in the process of industrial production.

The technical-cultural level of the labor force in Europe, North America and Japan is **qualitatively** higher than in the Third World. Annual expenditure per student for primary and secondary education is over $5,000 in the U.S., almost $4,000 in Japan, $600 in Latin America and the Caribbean, and $70 in the Indian subcontinent! These vast differences cannot be appreciably narrowed within the framework of the capitalist-imperialist system.

The basic premise of Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution is that in the imperialist epoch countries of belated capitalist development cannot attain the overall level of economic productivity of the pioneer regions of the bourgeois revolution—West Europe, North America and, later, Japan. This is the geo-economic basis for the division of the world between imperialist countries and neocolonial countries exploited and oppressed by the former. If India's labor productivity approximated that of the United States and Japan, India itself would be a major imperialist power, since the numerical size of its industrial labor force (about 30 million workers) is the same as that of the U.S. and 50 percent greater than that of Japan.

The Northite notion of "globalization" is in its theoretical essence a repudiation of the Trotskyist understanding of permanent revolution, because it posits a tendency to equalize economic conditions throughout the world by leveling up productivity in the backward capitalist countries and leveling down productivity in the advanced ones. The genuine globalization of production requires an internationally planned socialist economy, which alone can raise the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America to the technical-cultural level of what is now called the First World.

Economic "Globalization": Myths and Realities

An article in the recent special issue of the *Nation* (15 July 1996) devoted to the question of "globalization" begins with the portentous statement: "Economic globalization involves arguably the most fundamental redesign and centralization of the planet's political and economic arrangements since the Industrial Revolution." Similarly, Australian Northite leader Nick Beams asserts that "globalization refers to the internationalization of the circuit of productive capital" and that this constitutes a "qualitative transformation" of the world capitalist system (*International Workers Bulletin* [*IWB*], 15 July 1996).

In fact, the history of industrial capitalism was marked by a previous shift, far more profound than the present one, in the geographical distribution of production. The Industrial Revolution began in England and Scotland in the early 19th century and then spread by mid-century to France and the Low Countries (Belgium and Holland). In the late 19th century, the "New Industrializing Countries" of the day were Germany, the United States and Japan.

Writing in the 1890s, Friedrich Engels noted that Germany, which at the time of the 1848 Revolution was economically dominated by peasant agriculture and small-scale artisan manufacturing, had become "an industrial country of the first rank." During the same period the United States, too, became an industrial country of the first rank. American industrial development was heavily dependent on investment by British capital, especially in the key sector of railway construction. Following the overthrow of the feudal order with the Meiji Restoration of the 1860s, Japan deliberately emulated the advanced capitalist countries of the West, beginning by exporting light manufactures produced by cheap unskilled labor. Tsarist Russia also experienced rapid industrial growth between the 1890s and World War I, largely financed by West European, especially French, capital.

By the beginning of the 20th century, however, the existing advanced capitalist (i.e., imperialist) countries had achieved such dominance over more backward regions that they were able to arrest the development of new rival industrial powers. Hence the present global division between the so-called First World and the Third World.

Since the Northite International Committee maintains that world capitalism has recently undergone a "qualitative transformation," one would expect this ostensibly Marxist organization to substantiate their analysis with a comprehensive study of the relevant economic data. For example, Lenin's 1916 work, *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, contains pages of statistical tables illuminating and substantiating its analysis on all aspects. By contrast, the writings and speeches on "globalization" by North and his henchmen are devoid of even cursory data on trends in global production, investment and trade. Their 1993 pamphlet, *The Globalization of Capitalist Production & the International Tasks of the Working Class*, contains not a single statistical table or graph.

A few basic and easily accessible statistics debunk the notion of a qualitative transformation of world capitalism. Western/Japanese investment in the so-called Newly Industrializing Countries totaled some $100 billion in 1993, a peak year. Yet this record amount was only **3 percent** of total capital investment in North America, West Europe and Japan. In other words, the imperialist bourgeoisies still invest more that 30 times as much in their own "First World" as in the Third World. American capitalists invest 9 cents in Canada and West Europe and just 5 cents in the **entire** rest of the world for every dollar they expend on productive assets in the United States.

Why, then, all the hullabaloo about economic "globalization"? For the past few decades, and especially since the destruction of the Soviet Union, the world capitalist economy has in certain respects been returning to the norms of the pre-1914 imperialist order. To maintain a sense of perspective, one should understand that only in the early 1970s did the ratio of world trade to global production once again reach the level it had attained in 1914, on the eve of the first imperialist world war. Yet the current theoreticians of "globalization" rarely if ever mention Lenin's seminal study of the rise of the imperialist system, to which they add little or nothing, save confusion. As we noted in an earlier article ("David North 'Abolishes' the Right to Self-Determination," Part One, *WV* No. 626, 28 July 1995):

> "The idea of an 'era of global economic integration' which North presents as if it were yet another of his unique 'theoretical breakthroughs' has been known to the Marxist movement for over a century now. It's otherwise known as imperialism!"

The term "globalization" refers to certain significant **quantitative** changes in the contemporary structure of world production and trade. In 1970, 85 percent of all exports (in value terms) from Africa, Latin America and Asian countries other than Japan consisted of agricultural produce, oil, mineral ores and other primary products. Since then exports of manufactured goods from Third World countries have increased by an average rate of 15 percent a year in real terms and now make up well over half the value of their total exports. Much of this industrial output is financed and organized by Western/Japanese corporations either directly or through local subcontractors, licensees, etc. However, the growth of internationally competitive manufactures in East Asia and Latin America is reversible and cannot continue at anything close to the rate of increase of the past few decades. That is a political, economic and, indeed, mathematical certainty.

There's a saying in American business circles: there are liars, damn liars and statisticians. One can always select and present statistics to be deliberately misleading. One of the most common ways of doing this is to show dramatic percentage increases from a **low initial base** and then to project similar percentage increases into the future. For example, a worker making $5 an hour who gets a dollar raise has received a 20 percent increase while a worker making $13 an hour who gets a dollar raise has received an 8 percent increase. But the second worker is still vastly better off than the

continued on page 10

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Petty-bourgeois Guerrillaism

Peru...

(continued from page 1)

on workers, leftists and peasants, the Peruvian bourgeoisie's 15-year-long "dirty war" against the guerrillas has in fact been a war against the mass of the population with casualties numbering in the tens of thousands.

The MRTA's main demand is the release of their comrades in prison. Already, the takeover has cast a sharp light on the inhumane conditions in the dungeons of the Fujimori dictatorship, where those convicted or even simply accused of "terrorism" are put in cramped cells where food is scarce and often inedible, where no clothing or blankets are provided and the toilet is just a hole in the floor. Prisoners are refused all visitors during their first year and allowed only a monthly 30-minute visit after that. Mothers, including those who give birth in prison, are only allowed to see their children once every three months, through a glass partition. Many of those facing a life sentence under such barbaric conditions are driven to attempt suicide by throwing themselves against the concrete floors and iron bars. We demand: Free all victims of Fujimori's terror!

Repression and Resistance

Throughout this century, Peru has been caught in a cycle of oppression and repression from which no escape seems possible. It is the standard story throughout the underdeveloped countries of the "Third World": a government of lackeys makes sure that the "head office," usually located in an imperialist center, can easily exploit the laboring masses. This will include vicious repression when the "natives get restless." Meanwhile, elite intellectuals mouth patronizing platitudes in well-appointed soirees about how "our people are not yet ready for democracy" and "it is our sad burden to guide them on their way."

But periodic explosions do occur when the working masses can put up with the exploitation no longer. Then the capitalist rulers call on a strongman to save their skins through a military coup or police terror. After the massacres, and once the "ringleaders" and "outside agitators"—often claimed to be foreign or "foreign-influenced"—are deported, jailed or murdered, an election may be called, one or another "upstanding citizen" is elected, and the whole thing starts all over again.

Solimano/Reuters

Desperately poor Peruvian slumdwellers suffer malnutrition and disease as Fujimori regime imposes IMF-dictated austerity on workers and peasants.

I have just given you the condensed history of most Latin American countries, and certainly the last 80 years of Peruvian history. Missing from this is any solution to the most basic needs of the Latin American masses. The elementary demands addressed by the bourgeois-democratic revolutions in Europe and North America have remained a dead letter for the working people of Latin America: the peasants' thirst for land, national liberation from the imperialist yoke, political democracy. Of course, all these demands have been frequently mentioned in the rhetoric of one or another "anti-imperialist" snake oil salesman, and we have had our share of these. But the cycle of repression, phony reforms and exploitation has continued unabated.

As Marxists, proletarian revolutionaries, we start from the proposition that to break this cycle we must mobilize the working masses of Latin America, with the vanguard of the proletariat at their head, behind a program for the elimination of capitalism, reaching out to our class brothers and sisters across the national barriers that the capitalist rulers would impose. The history of previous struggles makes it unambiguously clear that, in the epoch of imperialist decay, the weak, branch-office bourgeoisies of the semicolonial countries are unable and unwilling to stand up to the imperialists. As it sees its property rights threatened, the "progressive" national bourgeoisie moves into the reactionary camp. They are justified in their deathly fear of the looming proletariat and the radicalization of the oppressed masses, because it is the proletariat—the only consistently revolutionary class in the modern epoch—that has the social power to eliminate bourgeois class power and usher in a socialist future for mankind.

The Guerrilla Road: From Stalinist Nationalism Back to Bourgeois Nationalism

But in certain circumstances, when the proletariat is not able to lead the oppressed masses—usually as a result of savage repression and the efforts of the reformist misleaders—sectors of the oppressed are mobilized behind radical intellectuals in an armed struggle against the established order. This is what has come to be known as the "guerrilla road." In fact, the Túpac Amaru action is the latest in a series of such struggles which have exploded in the last couple of years. Many of you probably remember the cry of rebellion from Chiapas, which sent shock waves throughout Mexico and the world, with its denunciation of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) as a "death sentence for Mexico's Indian ethnic groups." The insurgency in Mexico's poorest state brought into sharp relief the horrible oppression of peasant women, an age-old form of oppression which capitalist rule continuously reinforces.

Actually, the MRTA appeared as a nationalist, urban guerrilla movement in the early '80s, before the Zapatistas. In its early years, the MRTA carried out bank robberies and other minor actions, and organized a guerrilla column in southeast Peru (near Cuzco) which was rapidly defeated. The MRTA then returned to Lima and staged a series of spectacular raids, taking over radio stations to broadcast their proclamations and stealing a replica of the flag used by San Martín to proclaim Peru's independence in 1821, thereby underlining their patriotic devotion—which is to say, their nationalism. Among their most publicized actions were the "people's distributions," in which they seized trucks—usually containing foodstuffs and often belonging to subsidiaries of "multinational" corporations—and drove them to the working-class neighborhoods that surround the city, where the goods were promptly distributed under the MRTA flag.

Like the Zapatistas and the People's Revolutionary Army (EPR) in Mexico, the MRTA evokes the Robin Hood aura of young rebels compelled to take up arms by the unendurable injustice in the world around them. Ideologically, Túpac Amaru derives from a group of radicalized intellectuals who broke from Peru's bourgeois parties and who saw in the Cuban example the road to national liberation and to a just society.

Just after its inception in 1985, the MRTA declared that it had been "born to struggle for revolution and for socialism," defining itself as "nationalist, democratic and anti-imperialist." But more recently, its propaganda simply calls for a just, *democratic* society, while highlighting bourgeois-nationalist figures like Bolívar, San Martín and Martí and rejecting all "foreign" labels. Thus, while endorsing a vague program of radical reform of capitalism, they behave simply as a pressure group on "progressive" sectors—particularly sections of the bourgeoisie considered "reformist" or "patriotic." The absurdity of this is underlined by one of the MRTA's current demands: that the brutal Fujimori government "commits itself to change its economic course in favor of a model which aims for the well-being of the great majorities."

In a sense, the MRTA appears to have traveled backward on Castro's political path. The band of *guerrilleros* led by Fidel Castro which took up arms in Cuba's Sierra Maestra in 1956 originally saw themselves as saviors of the Cuban nation, embracing a radical-democratic program. They demanded a return to the liberal constitution of 1940, very moderate agrarian reform and the confiscation of the "ill-gotten gains of all who had committed frauds during previous regimes." But exceptional circumstances forced the Castroite guerrillas to go beyond that program and carry out the expropriation of the bourgeoisie and its imperialist masters in order even to achieve their reforms. There was no "third road." Under the relentless hostility of imperialism, the guerrillas created a society which in its essential political and economic characteristics was similar to the one that issued out of the Stalinist degeneration of the 1917 Russian Revolution. In the process, the Castroites adopted Stalin's perversion of Marxism—the ideological hallmark of all such bureaucratically deformed workers states—the claim to be building "socialism in one country."

Cambio 16

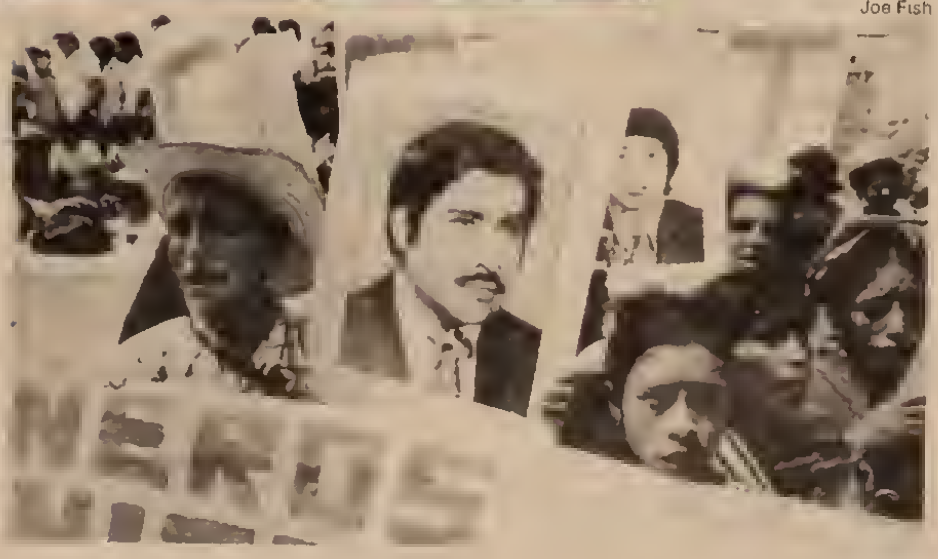
Túpac Amaru, reformists with guns, foster illusions that brutal capitalist Fujimori regime can "change its economic course" to benefit masses.

From its inception, the Cuban Revolution was seen by a whole generation the world over as a brand new model of revolution, and inspired a wave of guerrilla adventures which proved disastrous to the participants. But, dependent on economic support from the USSR in constructing a bureaucratic island of "socialism" in the Caribbean, the Castro regime's initial militancy gave way to a more pragmatic approach. Now that capitalist counterrevolution has opened the Soviet Union and East Europe to unbridled capitalist exploitation, Cuba's very existence as an isolated deformed workers state is in grave danger.

Meanwhile, the mass "left" (reformist) parties appear increasingly irrelevant, as

AFP

Guatemalan president Arzú (center) celebrates December "peace" deal with guerrilla leader Morán (right) to end 36-year civil war in which U.S.-backed regime massacred over 150,000. Relatives march with photos of victims.



Joe Fish

vs. Proletarian Revolution

they continue to play their role of lulling the masses with talk of "democracy" and "justice" in the by-and-by, while in the here-and-now they assist the ruling classes in implementing starvation policies and widespread attacks on the oppressed. In this context, the image of the rebel with a gun has once again acquired an appeal, particularly to youth around the world.

But it is important to realize that the creation of a deformed workers state in Cuba by the *Fidelistas* (as by other guerrilla movements in China, Vietnam and Yugoslavia) could come about only as a result of exceptional circumstances: the extreme weakness of the ruling class, the absence of a conscious proletariat fighting for its own interests and the existence of the Soviet Union as a counterweight to imperialism. These conditions no longer exist in the aftermath of the collapse of the Soviet Union.

History has shown, both before and after the Cuban Revolution, that a far more likely outcome of the victory of such a peasant-based, petty-bourgeois reformist armed force is the consolidation of a new bourgeois regime and the re-establishment or continuation of imperialist domination. In fact, there currently seems to be an epidemic of "peace" between erstwhile guerrilla movements and the military butchers—the Colombian M-19, the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front in El Salvador a couple of years ago, and now the Guatemalan UNRG rebels. Forgotten among the participants in this kiss-and-make-up in Guatemala City are the 150,000 dead Mayan peasants, leftists and others killed in the last 36 years. The treaty of "national reconciliation" signed last month offers complete amnesty to the mass murderers. This "peace of the graveyard" is the most frequent end of the guerrilla road.

Castro's Cuba: A Deformed Social Revolution

I would like to convince you of two basic propositions. The first is that the guerrilla road is fundamentally a losing road, because the social power of a geographically limited guerrilla band is non-existent and because there is no "third way" to organize society in a backward capitalist country. It can either be organized along capitalist lines of imperialist subjugation or along proletarian lines—the expropriation of the bourgeoisie and the organization of production in a centralized, planned economy.

The second proposition is that, even given the unlikely circumstances of the Cuban Revolution, the best result possible was a bureaucratically deformed workers state in which the economy is organized along proletarian lines, but the workers do not hold political power. Political power is in the hands of a Stalinist bureaucracy which, under the guise of "building socialism on one island," suppresses workers democracy and hoodwinks the masses into allowing it to keep its privileged position. This bureaucracy is deeply hostile both to a working-class political revolution within its borders because that would sweep it away, and to socialist revolution elsewhere, because it is trying to survive by negotiating a deal with imperialism. As is painfully apparent in the current period, "socialism in one country" is actually "socialism in no country."

AP

Protest by transport workers in Argentina, July 1996. Strikes have broken out throughout South America against capitalist austerity.

At bottom, we are talking about the basic counterposition of reform vs. revolution. Let me explain this through two clear examples: Cuba and Nicaragua.

Throughout the first half of this century, the United States ran Cuba like a sugar plantation for the benefit of American corporations like United Fruit, Standard Oil, etc. Whenever trouble brewed, the U.S. engineered a palace coup and then things would go back to normal, as under the butcher Batista who ruled Cuba in the 1950s. Tired of this cycle of changes at the top while everything in society remained the same, the *Castristas* decided that the only way to get real reforms was to take up guns.

In the event, the rebel army overran the country as Batista's military collapsed with most of its officer corps deeply compromised in the corruption and abuses of the regime. Castro, Guevara and their group then formed a coalition government with bourgeois figures, whose interests they promised to protect. Though the sugar mills, the mines and almost all manufacturing plants in Cuba were either foreign-owned or dependent on foreign equipment, materials and markets, there was no talk of expropriating the imperialists' property.

The Castro regime's initial modest land reform, diversification of foreign trade and the revolutionary tribunals organized to impose justice on the former police torturers scared the hell out of the American imperialist rulers. When the agrarian reform was announced in June 1959, Washington threatened to cancel the U.S. sugar quota, upon which the Cuban economy was dependent, and began denying credits to Cuban importers. At the beginning of 1960, Cuba announced a major trade and credit pact with the Soviet Union (followed by a smaller one with China), which promised to buy millions of tons of Cuban sugar over a five-year period. The showdown was approaching.

In June 1960, Castro nationalized American-owned oil refineries when they refused to refine shipments of Soviet crude oil which had started arriving under the new pact. In early July, the U.S. government eliminated the sugar quota, intending to *starve the Cubans into submission*. Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev immediately warned of possible military support to Cuba "should the aggressive forces in the Pentagon dare to start intervention." Two weeks later, acting in self-defense, the Castro government expropriated key American properties such as the sugar mills and their lands and then the utilities. By mid-October, railroads, printing presses, agricultural processing plants and chemical, metallurgical and other factories had also been nationalized. In the end, the state owned 90 percent of Cuba's industrial capacity.

These nationalizations, made possible by the existence of the Soviet degenerated workers state, meant the expropriation of the Cuban bourgeoisie as a class, thus laying the basis for the elimination of capitalist exploitation in Cuba. It was this step which enabled Cuba to resist decades of imperialist attacks and economic blockade. This was a revolutionary act. As we have since that time, we Spartacists call on all workers and peasants, all partisans of the oppressed, to defend Cuba against imperialist encirclement and counterrevolution! Down with the blockade!

Sandinista Nicaragua: Failure of the "Middle Way"

The Cuban Revolution provided quality health care for its people, education for its youth, and housing and adequate food for all. It was the expropriation of the bourgeoisie which laid the basis for these advances. We can see how crucial this was by contrasting the Sandinista revolution in Nicaragua.

In 1979, 20 years after Castro's forces marched into Havana, the Frente Sandinista de Liberación Nacional overthrew the hated puppet regime of Anastasio Somoza. Talk about a bloodsucking dictator—literally! His idea for solving the country's foreign exchange problem was to set up a company called Plasmaféresis which specialized in exporting human blood to the United States. He was so tight with the Yankee imperialists that he put the picture of the American ambassador on the $3 bill. By the time the Sandinistas came to power, the Somocista army, the National Guard, had killed *50,000 people*.

So the Sandinista revolution was a genuine national uprising and had the support of virtually the entire bourgeoisie outside the Somoza family, his cronies and his army. It also included the mobilization of the population in various cities across the country, who fought bitterly against the National Guard. But the Sandinista program, agreed to at a meeting with the anti-Somoza bourgeoisie shortly before the revolution, aimed at preserving capitalism without Somoza and even allowed for the incorporation of "honest" officers and soldiers of the National Guard into the Sandinista army. It called for a Council of State with a bourgeois majority and for a "mixed economy," that is, guarantees for the preservation of private ownership of the means of production. Only the property of the dictator and his henchmen was to be nationalized.

But the expropriation of the Somoza dynasty brought a large proportion of the economy (as much as 40 percent) into the hands of the state. This gave the Sandinistas enormous latitude. And while the new government was shot through with priests and bourgeois figures, the insurrection carried within it significant social consequences. Effective power was in the hands of the Sandinista army, which was not necessarily committed to re-establishing bourgeois rule.

The Sandinistas stubbornly pursued their mirage of an "independent economic development model," trying to develop a "mixed economy" with a capitalist sector, and a so-called "middle way" of "democratic pluralism," refusing to smash the pro-imperialist bourgeoisie. They even offered to establish joint

continued on page 8

Bettmann

Franken/Sygma

Left: Fidel Castro (center) takes Havana, 1959. As head of deformed workers state committed to "socialism in one country," Castro advised Sandinista leaders in Managua, 1980, not to create "another Cuba."

Peru...

(continued from page 7)

border patrols with the military regime in El Salvador to demonstrate to the imperialists that they were not supplying arms to the Salvadoran leftist insurgents! Castro strongly encouraged the Sandinistas to conciliate both the Nicaraguan bourgeoisie and Yankee imperialism. When he visited Managua, his advice was: "Avoid the early mistakes we made in Cuba, the political rejection by the West, premature frontal attacks on the bourgeoisie, economic isolation." So much for Fidel, *el duro* (the "hard one")!

The Sandinistas continued to pursue this mythical "middle way" despite the imperialist hostility exemplified by Reagan's Cold War against the Soviet Union (and by extension against Cuba, Nicaragua and anything perceived as "Communist"), despite the relentless pressure of the CIA-sponsored *contra* war, despite the imperialist embargo which strangled the economy, while industries were run into the ground as the Nicaraguan bourgeoisie refused to invest in their plants. As war-weariness set in, many Nicaraguans came to the conclusion that things could only improve through an agreement with the imperialists rather than a continuing siege under the Sandinistas. In 1990, Violeta Chamorro, "Madame Contra," came to office in an election bought and paid for with U.S. dollars. The Sandinistas made their peace and signed on as a loyal opposition, explicitly acting as guardians of capitalism, in return for maintaining their privileges—posts in the state bureaucracy and the like.

The events in Cuba and Nicaragua confirmed in a powerful way that—contrary to the line of reformists, particularly Stalinists and Maoists, throughout the world—all sectors of the bourgeoisie in backward countries are too tightly dependent on imperialism to introduce fundamental changes in society. In Cuba, the only path to the liberation of the country from the grip of imperialism was through the elimination of the bourgeoisie as a class. In Nicaragua, despite every effort of the Sandinistas to find an alternative, seeking every compromise with the imperialist bourgeoisie and its domestic partners, the end result has been the re-establishment of a semicolonial regime under the yoke of the U.S.

For Permanent Revolution in Latin America!

Well before the events of the last 50 years, history had already shown that there is indeed no middle way. More than 90 years ago, Russian revolutionary Leon Trotsky set down the theory of permanent revolution. Trotsky argued that in the epoch of imperialism, the bourgeoisie of a backward country like Russia is unable to carry out the tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution: national liberation, agrarian revolution, political democracy and modernization. From a study of the conditions in tsarist Russia at the turn of the century and the history of class struggle in West Europe in the 19th century, Trotsky concluded that the bourgeoisie was too tightly connected to the imperialists and the landed gentry to allow the expropriation of the land, the essence of an agrarian revolution.

Trotsky also pointed to the "combined and uneven" character of capitalist development in backward Russia. By this he meant that its industrial development, though retarded, was not simply at the level of a more advanced capitalist country, say, 50 years earlier. Rather, the most backward forms of production, cottage industries, existed side by side with the most advanced techniques in massive, imperialist-owned plants.

As a corollary to this combined and uneven development, a sizable, advanced proletariat arose which began to act in its own name and which represented a threat to the existence of the bourgeoisie. Drawing on the lessons of the class struggles of the 19th century, Trotsky argued that "wherever the proletariat appeared as an independent force, the bourgeoisie shifted to the camp of the counter-revolution. The bolder the struggle of the masses, the quicker the reactionary transformation of liberalism." If you look at Latin America, whether in Cuba, Nicaragua, Mexico or Peru, you will only find confirmation of this fact.

Why is it that the guerrilla program of radical-democratic reform of capitalism has never worked? At the core of modern society, the capitalist mode of production, only two classes have a strategic role to play. The capitalist class owns the factories, the means of production. If the capitalist refuses to invest, his factory stagnates and goes out of business. The other strategic class is the proletariat. No matter what the capitalist does, the only way he can make a profit is by the use of labor power, the mental and physical labor of the worker. But if the worker refuses to work, production comes to a screeching halt and so does the flow of profits. As capitalism develops, it concentrates larger and larger amounts of capital into monopolies which in turn concentrate larger numbers of workers in manufacturing enterprises. In order to carry out production, the workers must be collectively organized into a well-oiled machine. The very process of production gives the working class its social power and prepares it for collective action. This can be seen very dramatically in the recent general strike in South Korea.

The bourgeoisie and the proletariat have counterposed interests. The capitalist is interested in the defense of his property and his ability to extract profits, constantly trying to maximize them by speed-up and intensifying the productivity of the labor force. Concerned with obtaining enough to provide for himself and his family, the worker seeks to resist this intensification, making use of his experience in collective action to form trade unions to defend his job, wages and conditions.

But what about the other layers in society, the so-called middle classes, the petty bourgeoisie? Encompassing the small merchant or businessman, the peasant, the intellectual or professional, the petty bourgeoisie is an intermediate layer. It is often marginal to the means of production, although perhaps playing a role in the distribution of goods. The petty bourgeoisie holds no power; a "strike" by small merchants typically will mostly hurt themselves. Their capital is much too small to be of any consequence. Furthermore, this class is atomized. To the extent they have a common interest, it is their aspiration to grow and join the ranks of the big bourgeoisie. Yet because of their marginal existence, they are continually threatened with ruin by big monopolies. When this happens they may occasionally join hands with the proletariat against the big merchant or the big bourgeois or the big bank (which are often one and the same). To the extent that the petty bourgeoisie seeks to defend its aspirations to exploit the labor of others, it is the sworn enemy of the proletariat.

If you think this does not apply to the peasantry, look again. What is a peasant? There is the relatively well-to-do layer of smallholding proprietors, owning some tools and a farm too big to work alone and thus requiring the employment of other peasants. There is the poor peasant with a minimal plot of land for his use, forced to work for the landowner or richer peasant part of the time. There is the landless peasant who is forced to eke out a living as a temporary laborer wherever he can find work. What Trotsky said of tsarist Russia, addressing the counterposed interests of various layers of the peasantry, holds true in Latin America today: "The peasantry as a whole was utterly incapable of assuming the reins of government."

For Revolutionary Internationalism!

So we come to the answer to the question: Why have all guerrilla struggles been unable to find an alternative road? Because there is none. You might as well be looking for the Land of Oz. The petty bourgeoisie, lacking a decisive relationship to the means of production, is unable to organize society in another way. By its very nature it is forced either to pursue bourgeois aspirations or, under extremely exceptional circumstances, it seeks to expropriate the bourgeoisie, extracting some privileges as a bureaucratic layer on top of a deformed workers state.

This relates to another structural characteristic of the petty bourgeoisie. The greatest threat to their most deeply felt aspirations is being thrown onto the heap of the proletariat and the dispossessed. They feel they are better than that and deserve a better fate. And in the case of the intellectual, brought up in a system where manual labor is considered infinitely inferior to brain power, he is predisposed to lord it over the working masses. If he breaks from such an outlook, he may join the ranks of the proletarian revolution. But the leftist intellectual who becomes a guerrilla is nothing if not a *caudillo* out to save the masses in spite of themselves. In power, as in Cuba, the guerrilla rapidly makes the transition to a parasitic bureaucrat.

"But at least they got rid of capitalism," some of you may insist. Yes, but for how long? A deformed workers state is not a way station toward socialism; it is a nationalist, bureaucratic obstacle to it. The guerrilla army, having been ushered into power without the conscious participation of the workers and peasants, and thus answerable to no one in particular, from the start plays the role of arbiter over the competing interests of the various social layers. To the extent that there is an ideological justification, it is nationalism, in this case couched in the rhetoric of liberation.

Consider Central America in the 1980s, when Reagan unleashed his dogs of war against the Nicaraguan Sandinista regime and the leftist insurgents in neighboring El Salvador. At the time, we in the Spartacist tendency insisted: "Defense of Cuba and the Soviet Union begins in Central America!" But the former leftist guerrillas in power in Cuba and Nicaragua operated within the narrow framework of nationalism, sacrificing revolutions elsewhere to maintain their own positions. The Sandinistas refused arms to the Salvadorans. And Castro, seeking "peaceful coexistence" with the U.S., counseled against "another Cuba" in Central America. And it was not just an "old and tired" Fidel, forced by circumstances, who pushed "peaceful coexistence" with U.S. imperialism. In a 1964 speech at the United Nations, Che Guevara also called for "peaceful coexistence between states with different economic and social systems." Since Stalin's time, this has always meant sacrificing other revolutions for narrow national interests.

Karl Marx pointed out more than a century ago, and this is the other component of Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution, that unless a socialized economy is extended to the advanced industrialized nations internationally, an isolated workers state will be condemned to "the generalization of scarcity." And if the Stalinist program of "socialism in one country" was impossible in a big country like the Soviet Union, it is simply ludicrous as "socialism on one island." Anti-imperialist rhetoric, appeals to that den of thieves, the United Nations, and a nationally limited policy of battening down the hatches and hunkering down will not defend Cuba from the unremitting pressures of imperialism—not only military encirclement with its concomitant deformations but also the pressure of the world market and its cheaper capitalist commodities. What is urgently necessary today is for all opponents of imperialism to mount an *internationalist* defense of Cuba, through *class struggle at home*.

The police-state apparatus of the bureaucratic caste in Cuba—even in its more "humane," patronizing, Guevarist olive green—has worked to destroy the best hope for the defense of the revolution, namely, proletarian class consciousness. As the collapse of the Soviet degenerated workers state has proven, the atomization of the proletariat by Stalinism was the single most important element in the undermining of the deformed workers state. Genuine workers democracy not only would mobilize the Cuban masses in defense of their revolutionary gains, but is a necessary prerequisite to an effectively run planned economy. The best defense of Cuba is workers revolution from the U.S. to Mexico to Central and South America.

As Marxists, we start from the proposition that the proletariat is the only class with the social power and the class interest to liberate humanity from the yoke of class oppression. Led by a revolutionary internationalist Trotskyist party, with the proven authority of many class battles behind it, the proletariat can carry out the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism and its international extension across the globe. In backward countries, where workers are a minority and where the uncompleted tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution remain on the agenda, it is only the revolutionary proletariat that can rally to its cause the lower strata of the oppressed classes through a program of agrarian revolution, emancipation of the doubly oppressed peasant women and working women, expropriation of the propertied classes and a government of soviets of workers and peasants deputies. This was the road of October and it is the only road to victory for the oppressed masses of Latin America. For a Socialist United States of Latin America! For socialist revolution throughout all the Americas! ■

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Russia: Strike Wave Provoked by Capitalist Misery

For a Multinational Leninist-Trotskyist Party!

Last week's elections in Chechnya punctuated the humiliating defeat inflicted on Russian invasion forces over the past two years by secessionist fighters in that small Caucasus republic. Meanwhile, Moscow is awash in intrigues and power plays, as President Boris Yeltsin's increasingly frequent hospital stays fuel speculation over an imminent "succession crisis."

At the same time, there have been dramatic manifestations of the massive discontent simmering at the base of Russian society, as hundreds of thousands of workers have gone on strike this winter to demand payment of months of back wages. On January 13, teachers at more than 10,000 schools around the country walked off the job. The month before saw a massive strike wave centered in Russia's coal fields.

The destruction of the Soviet Union and the restoration of capitalism ushered in by Yeltsin's ascent to power in August 1991 have led to unmitigated hardship for much of the population. Some 12 million workers are now permanently unemployed, while millions more have nominal "jobs" at which they don't get paid. To ensure his re-election as president last summer, Yeltsin doled out wads of money and promised to clear up the huge backlog of unpaid wages. But with the balloting over, wage arrears climbed at the rate of 20 percent a month, reaching a staggering *eight to nine billion dollars* in December.

At the time of Yeltsin's pro-imperialist countercoup in August 1991, the International Communist League pointed to the need for workers mobilizations to disperse the counterrevolutionary forces. Such mobilizations could have rapidly led to a proletarian political revolution to oust the tottering Stalinist bureaucracy, which in the main was also promoting the restoration of capitalism, and establish an internationalist regime based on the rule of workers councils (soviets). However, nearly seven decades of Stalinist bureaucratic rule had so atomized and paralyzed the Soviet working class that it did not resist capitalist counterrevolution.

Today, the plight of Russia's workers is exacerbated by the misleaders who seek to poison the multinational working class with Great Russian chauvinism and to chain it to the bourgeois state and the former state enterprise managers who are now capitalist owners. In the course of the workers' struggles that develop and through assiduous Marxist propaganda work—aimed not least at inculcating in the most advanced workers and leftists an understanding of the Stalinist-nationalist betrayals of the past—we fight to cohere a vanguard nucleus modeled on the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Trotsky and committed to its internationalist program.

Miners Strike: Catalyst for Labor Protests

On December 3, in the largest workers action yet in post-Soviet Russia, some 400,000 miners—four-fifths of the workforce—walked out to demand unpaid wages going back an average of four months. As Yeltsin's labor minister warned that the strike was "dangerous from a social, economic and political standpoint," the government scrambled to at least make a pretense of meeting the miners' demands. By the time the Russian Independent Union of Coal Industry Workers (Rosugolprof) voted to end the strike eight days later, the finance ministry had ordered emergency payments of $177 million—a fraction of the nearly half billion owed miners—with pledges of more to come.

The coal strike quickly became a catalyst for other actions. Two days after the miners walked out, nuclear reactor operators—acting in solidarity with a hunger strike already under way—occupied the Leningrad Atomic Power Station, which supplies electricity to that city, now called St. Petersburg. The government immediately flew in a billion rubles—amounting to $200 per worker—to settle the action.

Throughout Russia, teachers, medical workers and others staged strikes and protests over money owed them. Workers at a nuclear missile production facility picketed Finance Ministry offices in Moscow. Retirees in Tver blocked the railroad lines between Moscow and St. Petersburg to demand their pensions. In Vladivostok, a joint protest of coal miners and power engineering workers representing all enterprises in the Far East territory demanded the resignation of Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin's government.

A month earlier, on November 5, hundreds of thousands of workers staged a nationwide day of protests with signs demanding, "Give Us Our Money Back!" For the first time in years, the area around Moscow's Red Square was crowded with protesting workers, and not the fascist-infested chauvinist rabble of the "red-brown" coalition.

The recent wave of labor protests reflects growing desperation and frustration among wide sections of the population. The "New Russians" who have grown fabulously wealthy as a result of capitalist counterrevolution dole out $2,000 apiece for artificial Christmas trees and flaunt their Versace silks and convoys of Mercedes limousines. But for working-class families, real average income is barely *one-fourth* what it was before. Homeless people now line the streets and subway stations.

The pervasive poverty has also penetrated the armed forces, making them so unreliable for the new capitalist state that leading figures have warned of an impending mutiny. This is why former Yeltsin aide General Aleksandr Lebed, a diehard militarist and arch-nationalist, pushed through a peace deal in Chechnya. "To mention the army," observed a recent article in the London *Guardian Weekly* (17 November), "is to conjure up an image of hunger and rags." Young soldiers in Moscow stop cars at street corners to beg for change, former submarine commanders moonlight as cab drivers, troops in the countryside get by on the cabbage they are sent out to harvest annually. Others, meanwhile, sell weapons on the black market or hire themselves out to the numerous private armies and security forces which now include some 800,000 men.

Western bourgeois commentators no longer even mention the once-touted "economic miracle" which was supposed to transform the country into a thriving capitalist marketplace, while the numerous fake-left groups which cheered on the downfall of the Soviet degenerated workers state now maintain an embarrassed silence over their erstwhile support to Yeltsin counterrevolution. Even as the new capitalist robber barons spirit billions of dollars out of the country, industrial production has plummeted by more than half since 1991 and continues to drop. The giant Siberian factory complexes have been turned into ghost towns, with some workers going into small businesses and the poorest forced into lumpenism, while others get by on subsistence farming and petty trade.

Academic Vladimir Bilenkin observes: "Regular strikes are useless in industries that work at five to ten percent of their capacity while the [management] bureaucrats eagerly wait to shut them down completely, sell them, and get their kickback" (*Monthly Review*, November 1996). Not surprisingly, many of the recent actions over back pay have taken the form of hunger strikes, while some individual workers have resorted to even more desperate measures. During a strike at the Chelyabinsk Tractor Plant in December 1995, three workers committed suicide, and last September a 38-year-old miner in the Kuzbass coal field blew himself up with a hand grenade because he had not been paid for months.

With coal accounting for 80 percent of Russia's heating fuel and more than half of its electric power generation, the miners still have some economic clout. Even here, however, production is little more than half what it was before the counterrevolution. Since 1993, 50 pits have been shut down and 180,000 miners laid off, and an imperialist World Bank loan to help "rationalize" the coal industry is contingent on widespread further closures. Meanwhile, the AFL-CIO's "Free Trade Union Institute" in Moscow acts as advisers in "labor relations" to the new capitalist rulers. Workers in the U.S. must demand an end to these nefarious operations on behalf of U.S. imperialism by the "AFL-CIA," in Russia and around the world!

Down With Great Russian Chauvinism!

While previous miners strikes were strictly limited to demands for back pay and state subsidies to the industry, this time the union tops called for the government's ouster. But as union chairman Vitaly Budko conceded, "Resignation of the government is not our aim, it is our cry of despair, to make them negotiate with us." When calls to demand the

continued on page 10

Truhanenko/NY Times

Coal miners protest in Vladivostok, June 1996, against nonpayment of wages.

AFP

Elections in Chechnya, staged after Russian invasion army's humiliating defeat at hands of secessionist fighters.

Teamsters...

(continued from page 3)

"flows directly from...and presupposes for its realization the complete freedom of the trade unions from the imperialist or colonial state." The aim of union democracy is to allow the workers to select a leadership which will fight for their class interests against the employers and their state. Intervention by the capitalist state is counterposed to that very purpose.

The ISO's support to government intervention in the trade unions is of a piece with their refusal to defend Cuba today and the Soviet Union while it existed against imperialist attack and internal counterrevolution. In the name of defending "democratic rights," these social democrats supported any and every anti-Soviet force sponsored by the CIA, from Solidarność in Poland to the Islamic fundamentalist *mujahedin* cutthroats in Afghanistan. Trotsky drew an analogy between the bureaucratically run unions in the West and the bureaucratically degenerated Soviet workers state under Stalin, calling for defense of both against the capitalists while fighting to oust the bureaucratic misleaders. Those like the ISO who cannot defend past gains of the working class will not conquer future ones.

Revolutionary Leadership and Working-Class Independence

The Teamsters became the powerful industrial union it once was as a result of the 1934 Minneapolis general strike and militant campaigns to organize over-the-road truckers, all led by Trotskyists. In drawing the lessons of those battles, James P. Cannon, the founder of American Trotskyism, emphasized:

> "The modern labor movement must be politically directed because it is confronted by the government at every turn.... The policy of the class struggle guided our comrades: they couldn't be deceived and outmaneuvered, as so many strike leaders of that period were, by this mechanism of sabotage and destruction known as the National Labor Board and all its auxiliary setups."
>
> — *The History of American Trotskyism* (1944)

When, in 1941, Democratic president Franklin D. Roosevelt ordered the trial and imprisonment of 18 Trotskyist leaders, including Teamsters union militants, for their opposition to imperialist World War II, the pro-capitalist IBT tops aided his efforts to purge the union of "reds." Jimmy Hoffa was sent by gangster-linked Teamster chief Daniel Tobin to "clean out" the Minneapolis local. After the war, this reactionary witchhunt was extended throughout the labor movement, consolidating the viciously anti-communist, class-collaborationist union bureaucracy that today lords it over the workers.

All wings of the union bureaucracy, "reform" and "old guard" alike, serve as lieutenants of the capitalist class in the workers movement. Carey refused to lift a finger for union militants victimized in the 1994 strike, such as Southern California trucker Jesse Acuna, who was sentenced to five years in jail for courageously defending the picket line. Meanwhile, the Teamster tops have spread protectionist poison against Mexican truckers, fomenting chauvinist hatred and helping to fuel the racist assault on Latinos, Asians and all immigrants. Both wings of the Teamster bureaucracy, including the TDU, turn a blind eye to rampant racism against black workers (see "Mobilize Teamster Power to Smash Racism at UPS!" *WV* No. 660, 24 January). This goes hand in hand with the push to recruit Pennsylvania state troopers and other cops into the union. And groups like the ISO *support* the "unionization" of these professional strikebreakers and racist killers. We say: Cops out of the unions!

The interests of the working class are irreconcilably opposed to the interests of the capitalist class and its political parties, both Democrats and Republicans. The pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy must be swept away by political struggle within the unions as part of the fight for a revolutionary workers party that will champion the cause of the international working class and all the oppressed. Such a party would fight for a workers government to expropriate the means of production from the capitalist profiteers and create an egalitarian society. As Trotsky wrote in his 1940 article:

> "The trade unions of our time can either serve as secondary instruments of imperialist capitalism for the subordination and disciplining of workers and for obstructing the revolution, or, on the contrary, the trade unions can become the instruments of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat....
>
> "The independence of the trade unions in the class sense, in their relations to the bourgeois state, can, in the present conditions, be assured only by a completely revolutionary leadership, that is, the leadership of the Fourth International." ■

Russia...

(continued from page 9)

government's resignation came up at a Moscow congress of the corporatist Federation of Independent Unions (FNPR), held in the midst of the miners strike, they were defeated with the argument that the FNPR "could not pose a credible alternative government." Indeed, FNPR head Mikhail Shmakov got his job as a result of Yeltsin's October 1993 bombing of the old parliament. Two years later, the FNPR ran on a joint slate for the new rubber-stamp parliament, the Duma, with the Union of Entrepreneurs and Industrialists! The ties between the union tops and management were evident at a miners' strike meeting in Tula observed by supporters of the International Communist League last winter, as the mine director conspicuously sat on the podium beside the union bureaucrat and lorded it over a passive, if bitter, audience.

In the early 1990s, the combative miners were used by their leaders as a battering ram for Yeltsin's counterrevolution. Disgust with Yeltsin has since grown so widespread that in the 1995 Duma elections, Gennady Zyuganov's Communist Party of the Russian Federation (KPRF) garnered massive support in the Kuzbass region. In the West, the KPRF is supported not only by Stalinist has-beens like Gus Hall's Communist Party in the U.S., but also by self-proclaimed Trotskyists like the centrist British Workers Power group. During the presidential elections, Workers Power called for a vote to Zyuganov and prettified the KPRF as a reformist "bourgeois workers party," effectively equating it with the social-democratic British Labour Party which Workers Power perennially tails.

Despite its name, the KPRF is a thoroughly bourgeois party committed first and foremost to fostering Great Russian chauvinism and the revival of Russian imperialism. In response to Yeltsin's bloody invasion of Chechnya two years ago, Vorkuta miners and other strike committees around the country passed declarations condemning the war. The KPRF sought to take advantage of such sentiment by posturing as opponents of the war, though restricting itself to criticisms of Yeltsin's "incompetence." But when Lebed signed a pact with the Chechen secessionists, the KPRF denounced him for "national treason," while Zyuganov railed that the "unconstitutional" agreement "marks the beginning of Russia's collapse" (*Moscow News*, 4 December 1996).

For Socialist Revolution!

The catastrophic breakdown of production has made it difficult to speak of a workers movement even in a sociological sense. As Bilenkin noted in *Monthly Review*, "The deskilling and massive unemployment transform ever larger sections of the Russian working class into déclassé paupers and threaten the class with its own disintegration."

Continuing capitalist immiseration will impel the workers of Russia into new and convulsive battles for their very survival. In conditions which militate against an entrenched role for labor reformism, the proletariat could well make leaps in consciousness, rapidly reappropriating its revolutionary history. In a number of situations, strike committees have already taken over tasks of administration and distribution of goods. What is necessary is a sharp political struggle against those who seek to poison the working class with Great Russian chauvinism and for class independence from the new bourgeoisie and its state. As we noted following Yeltsin's re-election last summer (*WV* No. 649, 2 August 1996):

> "What is necessary is the reawakening of the dormant working class and its entry into the arena of class struggle, fighting for its interests and those of all the oppressed on the road to a socialist revolution that sweeps away the new exploiters and their state. Key to this is the construction of a Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard party of the working class." ■

Global Economy...

(continued from page 5)

first. And the low-wage worker well knows he is not going to keep getting a 20 percent raise every year for the next ten years.

However, much writing and discussion on the world economy—by both bourgeois ideologues and leftist intellectuals—is based on this kind of fallacious methodology. For example, between 1950 and the mid-1970s Japan's national output grew at an average annual rate two to three times greater than that of the U.S. In the 1970s, big-name American intellectuals wrote well-publicized books—e.g., Herman Kahn's *The Emerging Japanese Superstate*, Ezra Vogel's *Japan as Number One*—predicting that Japan would overtake the United States as the world's leading capitalist economic power by the end of the century. Not long after these books came out, the Japanese growth rate sharply decelerated and during the past decade Japan's economy has been stagnant. Today, Japan's national output is still less than half that of the U.S.

The current apocalyptic vision of economic "globalization" is based on the same faulty premises as the "Japan will be number one" literature of the 1970s. For example, between 1985 and 1994 China's share of world exports of footwear went from 1.5 percent to 15.5 percent, an increase of 1,000 percent. If one projects the same increase for the next ten years, China will account for 150 percent of world trade in footwear, a mathematical impossibility. In another example, investment in plant and equipment by Western/Japanese corporations in backward countries, now including East Europe and the ex-USSR, increased last year by 13 percent. But it is wrong to assume this trend will continue indefinitely into the future.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

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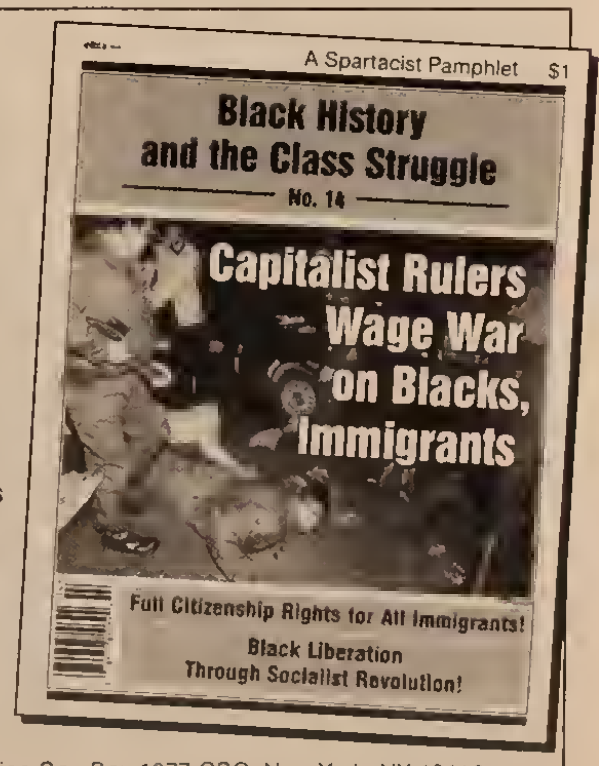

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Crack...

(continued from page 12)

War II with the mission of fighting "international Communism," as part of the imperialist Cold War against the Soviet Union. As *CovertAction* (Winter 1996-97) noted: "Official collaboration between US government entities and known drug traffickers dates back at least to World War II. The Office of Strategic Services (OSS), predecessor of the CIA, made deals with Corsican heroin traffickers as well as with US gangster and known heroin dealer Lucky Luciano to prevent communists from gaining a political foothold in post-war France and Italy." A central role in this was played by CIA "labor" operative Irving Brown.

Against the Chinese Revolution, the CIA funded the anti-Communist forces of Chiang Kai-shek, in part by transforming the Burmese Shan people into the world's largest opium dealers. The CIA used a similar strategy during the dirty, losing imperialist war against the Vietnamese people, creating a secret anti-Communist army of 30,000 Hmong tribesmen whose commander used the CIA's Air America to ship opium. The CIA also ran drugs to fund the Islamic fundamentalist *mujahedin* who fought the Soviet-backed PDPA government in Afghanistan in the 1970s and '80s, producing, as *CovertAction* put it, "a tremendous wave of heroin that flooded the lucrative US market."

Millions have died and entire populations have been enslaved by Washington's local hutchers, who rise and fall as a result of U.S.-sponsored counterrevolutionary wars, invasions or "covert" actions. But the real story behind the contra-cocaine scandal is the last thing you'll hear from the black Democrats who wholeheartedly back U.S. imperialism and serve this system "at home" as overseers of the immiseration of the ghetto masses.

Cancellare/Picture Group

Carlos Durán

Sandinistas' capture of American mercenary pilot Eugene Hasenfus in 1986 blew lid off CIA contra operation. CIA's Southern Air Transport shipped guns to Nicaraguan contras, carried drugs back to U.S.

Black Democrats and Their Reformist Camp Followers

Subjecting South Central residents to the "plausible denials" of the CIA was a bridge too far, but the Democrats have with more success played on the very real anguish of the black population watching an entire generation consigned to poverty, illiteracy, prison and death. From the outset, Jesse Jackson, Louis Farrakhan and a host of other black bourgeois types enlisted as lieutenants in the racist "war on drugs." For his part, Jackson cynically played down Klan terror and lynchings, declaiming in 1986 that "ropes never killed as many of our young people as the pushers of drugs." In New York City, FBI fink Al Sharpton organized anti-drug vigilante gangs as auxiliaries to the racist cops. And more recently Congressional Black Caucus head Maxine Waters used the CIA crack scandal to call for "a real war on drugs" (*Los Angeles Times*, 22 November 1996).

These Democratic Party politicians have found it convenient to push the line that the contra-crack connection was a "plot" against the ghettos, moreover involving sinister "foreign" forces. Thus, Millender-McDonald stated: "It got to the point where we could not depend on each other. The village has been ruined by some outside force" (*Los Angeles Times*, 22 October 1996). As if the grinding poverty of the ghettos weren't a homegrown product of racist capitalism! And Waters has demanded "a war on drugs whether they come from Managua, South East Asia or the CIA."

True to form, the petty-bourgeois black misleaders have seized on the involvement of Nicaraguans in the drug trade to fuel anti-Hispanic, anti-immigrant sentiment. This is sinister stuff. While the majority of drug arrests today ensnare black youth, historically anti-drug witchhunts have targeted immigrants. In the 1880s, Chinese Americans were singled out for arrest and deportation under oppressive anti-opium legislation. The anti-marijuana wars of the 1930s were directed against Hispanics. Among those who have teamed up with Maxine Waters over the recent drug scandal is Brotherhood Crusade leader Danny Bakewell, who has a history of scapegoating Latinos for black unemployment. During the "rebuilding of Los Angeles" after the 1992 uprising over the acquittal of the cops who beat Rodney King, Bakewell drove Latinos off work sites to grab business for black contractors.

The pernicious fostering of anti-immigrant chauvinism by black demagogues was reflected in the fact that over half of black voters in California supported the immigrant-bashing Proposition 187 in 1994. The passage of Prop. 187 was in turn the prelude to the assault on affirmative action embodied in last year's Prop. 209, which outlawed programs that had provided minimal access for blacks to government jobs and higher education. Such poisonous divisions among the workers and oppressed block the necessary common fight against the capitalist system.

Today the calls by Millender-McDonald, Waters et al. for a cleaner, meaner "war on drugs" feeds into a broader program of social reaction and repression aimed at regimenting the population. The specifically racist character of the anti-drug laws is reflected in the fact that penalties are *100 times* harsher for cheap crack, available to the ghetto poor, than for the expensive powdered cocaine favored by middle-class whites. With their "moral uplift" rhetoric, the black misleaders play on the very real fears among the black poor that their kids will become prey for the pushers and simply another "crime" statistic. But widespread drug use in the ghettos is not the source of the problem; it is a reflection of the social degradation, mass poverty, joblessness, homelessness and disease that plague the inner cities of this country, where the rulers have written off much of the black population as simply expendable.

As it is now, if you've got the money, you can afford quality drugs when you want them, and quality lawyers and the Betty Ford clinic when it becomes an inconvenience. We Marxists call for the decriminalization of drugs, which would also take the huge profits and consequently much of the violence out of the trade. Drug addiction should be treated as a health problem, with education and free, quality, voluntary medical care. We oppose the imposition of "drug testing" at the workplace, which is aimed at victimizing militants and blaming workers for accidents that are the product of the indifference of the capitalists to elementary safety. Yet the pro-capitalist labor tops have accepted and pushed these union-busting measures.

In thrall to the reformist program of tailing the Democrats, many on the left have chimed in one way or another in the anti-drug fever. *Socialist Action* (January 1997), for example, echoed the black Democrats, decrying "the CIA's protection and promotion of drug dealers," without one word on the devastation wrought by the government's war on the ghettos and barrios in the name of fighting drugs. Their "demand to open all government files on this matter" echoes the liberal Democrats' call for the CIA to "come clean," and exposes their dangerous and impotent strategy of seeking to reform the capitalist state and its repressive apparatus.

Indeed, in a shamefaced self-criticism of their own tailing after Millender-McDonald, Waters et al., the quirky reformists of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) admitted that the black Democrats' meetings around the CIA drugs affair were "Democratic Party get-out-the-vote operations from start to finish" (*Militant*, 4 November 1996). Those seeking a revolutionary program should draw some conclusions from the fact that the SWP has difficulty telling the difference between social struggle and Democratic Party electioneering.

The servants of this capitalist state will often use scams like conspiracy theories to sidetrack the rage of the oppressed masses into reformist dead ends. In the 1995 movie *Panther*, the militant black radicals of the Black Panther Party are portrayed in the end as the inner-city spearhead of the war against the drug conspiracy. As we wrote in "Hollywood's Tame *Panther*":

> "The concoction of a drug conspiracy theory to explain the destruction of the Panthers only serves to mystify and alibi the whole system of racist capitalist oppression. The Panthers were destroyed by police terror and murderous internal factionalism inflamed by the FBI."
>
> — *WV* No. 624 (2 June 1995)

But despite their courage and militancy, the Panthers did not have a political program which could destroy the capitalist system in which black oppression is rooted. As we noted in the article, "The Panthers sought in the lumpenproletariat a substitute for revolutionary working-class struggle." As a strategic component of the multiracial proletariat, black workers will play a key role in fighting for black liberation through socialist revolution.

The CIA, police and courts, agencies of state repression, will be swept away only by the elimination of capitalism itself. We fight to break working people and minorities from the partner parties of racist U.S. capitalism, the Democrats and Republicans. Our fight is for a workers revolution led by an internationalist, multiracial vanguard party to put the whole profit system out of business. Only then will we have the basis to construct a planned socialist economy providing jobs, education and a decent future for all. ■

Hunger Strike...

(continued from page 12)

than three weeks, against, as their statement says, their "unlawful imprisonment without trial, hearing or process." The barbaric British state could very soon be responsible for the deaths by starvation of three of the hunger strikers who, as of midnight on Sunday 26 January, began refusing fluids. Greatly weakened already, they have been pronounced by doctors to be in danger of dying within 48 to 72 hours of the time they stopped taking fluids. Now two more have joined them.

The jails and detention centres of Britain are filled to overflowing with asylum seekers like the 180-200 at Rochester Prison, who have fled repression in such countries as Russia, Algeria, Zaire, and Nigeria. Charged with no crime, they are left to rot as criminals for an indefinite period, often two years or more. This country's racist and draconian immigration policies ensure that such people are driven to acts of extreme, life threatening desperation.

The horror now unfolding at Rochester brings to mind the butchery committed by the British state 16 years ago when ten Irish republican prisoners died slow and painful deaths on hunger strike, fighting for political prisoner status, in the H-block of Long Kesh.

In the vile tradition of the British government's exclusion of Jews fleeing the Nazi holocaust, today the capitalist governments of Fortress Europe clang shut the doors on hundreds of thousands of refugees from brutal repression from all corners of the world. On Christmas Day, 280 Indian, Pakistani and Sri Lankan immigrants were drowned off the Sicilian coast, murdered by smugglers who understood that such refugees are deemed expendable by the imperialist rulers.

We demand: Immediate release of the Rochester Prison hunger strikers and all asylum seekers held in detention! Shut down Campsfield and all the refugee detention centres! Full citizenship rights for all immigrants!

Yours sincerely,
Kate Klein for the
Partisan Defence Committee

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Black Democrats Line Up Behind Racist "War on Drugs"

Morris/Washington Post

Rosefros/NY Times

California Democrat Maxine Waters calls for hearings into CIA involvement in drug trade at Washington, D.C. rally. "War on drugs" means terrorization of ghettos.

The CIA Crack Scandal

LOS ANGELES—Last August's three-part exposé in the *San Jose Mercury News* linking the CIA and its Nicaraguan contra clients to a massive domestic crack-cocaine trade provoked justified outrage among black people across the country, particularly in South Central L.A. The government's complicity in the ghetto drug trade—even as one in three black men in their twenties is in the clutches of the "justice" system, mostly on drug charges—testifies to the racist hypocrisy which runs to the core of this capitalist society.

For a host of Democratic Party politicians, however, the "revelations" about the CIA-cocaine connection have provided an opportunity for cynical politicking aimed at diverting ghetto anger from the bipartisan slashing of welfare and education. They also seek to amnesty their support to the anti-drug witchhunt, which was never intended to save kids from "the scourge of drugs" but to legitimize a virtual occupying army of police in the ghettos. South Central L.A. is a stark example. For three consecutive nights in April 1988, as the LAPD initiated its "Operation Hammer," a thousand cops hit the streets, rounding up some 1,500 black and Latino youth. We described this racist cop rampage in "L.A. Flashpoint U.S.A." (*WV* No. 555, 10 July 1992):

> "Armed with sledgehammers and battering rams, they completely demolished four apartments—smashing windows, walls and furniture, ripping out toilets and throwing washing machines into bathtubs, and spray-painting the walls with 'LAPD Rules.' Meanwhile those who were arrested were forced to whistle the theme song of *The Andy Griffith Show* as they were marched through a gauntlet of cops beating them with flashlights and fists."

Seizing on the *Mercury News* exposé, South Central Democratic Congressman Juanita Millender-McDonald invited none other than CIA head John M. Deutch to address a "town meeting" in the South Central ghetto. As Millender-McDonald did her best to plead for calm, Deutch's bald-faced assertions of CIA clean hands were met with boos, jeers and chants of "Bull! Bull!" from the audience.

After by and large ignoring the *Mercury News* story, major capitalist newspapers like the *New York Times* then retailed the official CIA denials in stories heavily laced with arrogant racist sneering over the "paranoia" of black people. But you don't have to be paranoid to believe that this capitalist government is capable of the most heinous crimes against black people. "The Government's medical people once experimented on black people by injecting them with syphilis," one woman at the South Central meeting exclaimed. "What's different about this?" In the infamous 40-year-long Tuskegee "experiment," which only ended in 1972, government researchers deliberately allowed 300 black men who had syphilis to be ravaged by the disease while telling them they were being treated.

Notwithstanding the recent hue and cry by black Democrats, the CIA crack scandal is hardly a revelation. As far back as December 1987, *Penthouse*, for example, ran a feature titled, "The Contras and Cocaine." The real purpose behind this CIA conspiracy was not to flood the ghettos with drugs, but to further the "war against Communism" abroad, with a long and stinking trail involving drug-running extending from Cambodia to Afghanistan to Central America. Given the CIA's repetitive lies to cover up its proven role in criminal endeavors throughout the world, why should anyone believe it *wasn't* deeply involved in backing drug dealers in South Central? Certainly its denials are a lot less plausible than those of Fidel Castro, whom the U.S. secret police have been accusing for over a decade of running drugs.

The Company's Drug Connections

Harry Truman, one of Bill Clinton's role models, created the CIA after World

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— Asylum Now! Full Citizenship Rights for All Immigrants! —

Britain: Desperate Hunger Strike in Prison Hellhole

FEBRUARY 2—For nearly four weeks now, upwards of 16 asylum-seekers in Britain have been on a hunger strike in protest against the government's brutal policy of imprisoning refugees from repression and torture. On January 26, five of the hunger-strikers began refusing fluids as well and now face death from starvation at the hands of the British state.

The Tory government of Prime Minister John Major has spurned the refugees' demands and defended its barbaric detention policy, while granting temporary admission to three Albanian refugees from the Kosovo region in Serbia who agreed to end their protest. Meanwhile, Nigerian Ejike Emenike was near death when he agreed to emergency rehydration last week. Having fled Nigeria after being arrested and tortured for protesting the execution of dissident Ken Saro-Wiwa, Emenike has been in a British prison since last February. From the hospital, he vowed to continue his hunger strike for freedom and refugee status.

Our comrades of the Spartacist League/Britain have joined in protest demonstrations, demanding freedom and asylum for the imprisoned refugees and full citizenship rights for all immigrants. The plight of immigrants seeking entry into racist "Fortress Europe" was starkly highlighted by the deliberate drowning of nearly 300 South Asian immigrants in late December. We print below a January 29 protest letter by the Partisan Defence Committee in London to the British Home Secretary, Michael Howard.

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29 January 1997

Home Secretary Michael Howard
London

To the Home Secretary:

We vehemently protest the brutal treatment of the asylum seekers at Rochester Prison in Kent. At least 16 have been on hunger strike for more

continued on page 11

WORKERS VANGUARD

50¢

No. 662

21 February 1997

Police Attack Leftists, Protect Fascists

Berlin: Militant Protest Spikes Nazi Rally

FEBRUARY 18—Emboldened by the German government's attacks on immigrants and mass deportations of refugees, with unemployment at its highest rate since Hitler came to power in 1933, the Nazi "Young National Democrats" announced they would stage a race-hate march for "Jobs for Germans First" through Berlin's Hellersdorf district on February 15. The fascists have repeatedly targeted Hellersdorf to terrorize immigrants and have even murdered an Arab woman with impunity. But not this Saturday. Despite a massive show of police force to protect the brownshirt Nazi scum, some 2,000 anti-fascist fighters—leftists, trade unionists, immigrants, Jewish students and others—boldly faced down a savage police attack and forcefully drove the Nazi rats back into their sewers.

The television news that evening showed what happened in Berlin on February 15: there were no goose-stepping Nazis, no immigrant hostels burned to the ground. Instead, there were scenes of cowering skinheads lying on the floor of a subway car under heavy police protection, as would-be *führers* escaped in police vans from a crowd of anti-fascists who gave chase, shouting "*Nazis raus!*"—Nazis out! Prominent at the head of the determined anti-fascist mobilization was the red banner of the Spartakist Workers Party (SpAD, German section of the International Communist League), which proclaimed: "Stop the Nazis Through Workers United-Front Action! Full Citizenship Rights for Immigrant Workers and Their Families!"

As the united-front action which spiked the Nazi provocation came to a close, Spartakist speaker Renate Dahlhaus declared to the hundreds of

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Cristian V. Polentz

February 15: Berlin anti-fascist protesters on train platform confront Nazis cowering in subway car behind police guard.

Avenge Steven Biko Through Workers Revolution!

Neo-Apartheid Regime: Enemy of South African Masses

Jordan/Sygma

Reuters

Left: 1977 funeral of Steve Biko, murdered by police. ANC government offers "amnesty" to apartheid killers, unleashes cops against South African masses. Right: February 6 protest in coloured township near Johannesburg in which four were killed.

JOHANNESBURG—Heaping contempt on the memory of those who fought apartheid terror, the South African government's Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) has accepted an application for "amnesty" for the cops who tortured and killed Steven Biko in 1977. At the time of his death at age 30, Steve Biko was the leader of the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) and the most prominent spokesman for a new generation of anti-apartheid militants. His murder was an outrage which shook the world, making him a symbol of all the many thousands martyred in the fight against the brutal apartheid system of racist segregation and repression. It is no less an outrage today that Nelson Mandela's African National Congress (ANC) in government seeks to amnesty Steve Biko's murderers.

Restricted to his cell for weeks, shackled and naked, Biko was beaten to the point of unconsciousness, then dumped in the back of a Land Rover for an eleven-hour drive to a prison hospital in Pretoria, where he died of brain damage. His killers are a group of former security policemen who have now confessed to taking part in the murder of at least ten Eastern Cape anti-apartheid activists, many of whom were drugged, tortured and shot dead, then burned on wooden pyres, with their remains dumped into the Fish River to conceal the bloody crimes. The racist killers today approach the TRC for amnesty in the full knowledge that dozens of their fellow apartheid butchers are "confessing" and getting off unscathed.

The apartheid regime rested heavily on a deliberate policy of naked terror to repress the nonwhite masses in the interests of the capitalist ruling class. When that form of rule became untenable—at bottom, when the black unions emerged, joining their social power to the township revolts and other anti-apartheid struggles—the South African capitalists and their imperialist godfathers turned to the ANC to preserve their system based on the superexploitation of black

continued on page 6

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Free Mumia Now!

Ominous Court Ruling Against Jamal

A recent ruling by the Pennsylvania Supreme Court sends a clear danger signal to all those who are fighting to free death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal. On February 3, the court granted a motion by the Philadelphia district attorney's office to strike Jamal's "Supplemental Reply Brief" challenging the prosecution's blatantly false rendering of testimony last October by Veronica Jones, a key eyewitness for Jamal. The ruling may indicate that the state Supreme Court is nearing a decision on Mumia's appeal seeking to overturn his 1982 frame-up conviction for the killing of Philadelphia policeman Daniel Faulkner.

At the October evidentiary hearing before Judge Albert Sabo, Jones described how she had been coerced by Philadelphia police and prosecutors to lie at Mumia's 1982 trial. Restating what she initially told the cops, Jones testified that she saw two men—neither of whom could have been Mumia—flee the scene of Faulkner's murder, which corroborates the testimony of four other witnesses. For coming forward to tell the truth, Jones was outrageously arrested on the witness stand (see "'Hanging Judge' Sabo Dismisses New Evidence of Jamal's Innocence," *WV* No. 655, 8 November 1996).

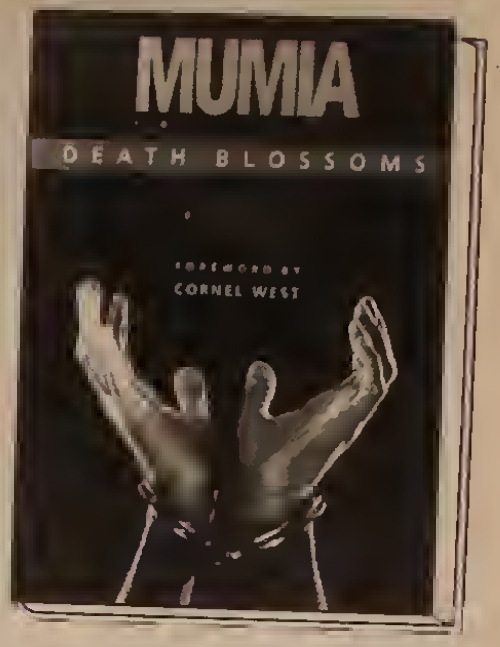
Responding to an "opening brief" on this testimony filed by Mumia's legal team with the state Supreme Court, the prosecution submitted an "answering brief" filled with lies. The D.A.'s office claims that Jones never saw two men flee, denies that she was coerced into recanting her initial testimony, and charges that Jamal's defense team failed to diligently try to locate her. Such lying charges are standard procedure for Philly prosecutors and cops, whose corruption and frame-up methods have achieved national notoriety. The defense's rebuttal of the prosecution brief should have been accepted as routine; that the court denied it is ominous.

The court currently has before it three briefs and two motions filed by Jamal. The main brief seeks a reversal of Sabo's August 1995 denial of Mumia's PCRA petition for a new trial, putting forth more than 20 constitutional arguments for a new trial. A second brief lays out additional arguments for reversing Jamal's conviction based on the new evidence from Veronica Jones. A supplementary brief calls for dismissing the charges against Mumia based on the recent decision by Pittsburgh federal district court judge Donetta Ambrose that Mumia's constitutional rights were violated by Pennsylvania prison officials and the governor's legal office, who intercepted, copied and read Mumia's legal correspondence with his attorneys.

With its latest ruling against Jamal, the Pennsylvania Supreme Court may now be preparing to decide his appeal without giving the defense any notice. The court could also be moving to reach a decision on particular motions, such as one to recuse Supreme Court Justice Castille—a clearly prejudiced, pro-prosecution judge—from hearing the appeal.

Mumia was targeted for death by the racist capitalist state from the time he was a prominent Black Panther Party leader in Philadelphia at the age of 15, and on through his years as a powerful journalist and supporter of the MOVE organization. As one of Mumia's attorneys, Partisan Defense Committee counsel Rachel Wolkenstein, told New York's WBAI radio recently, "He was made a target of COINTELPRO, the FBI's counterintelligence program which was designed to kill, frame up and otherwise extinguish the Black Panther Party." Wolkenstein explained that after over a decade of intense police surveillance and frame-up attempts, "when opportunity came to them with the killing of this police officer with Mumia on the scene but uninvolved, they seized the opportunity to arrest him and subsequently convict him and sentence him to death."

As part of our fight to sweep away this racist system of capitalist repression, we demand: Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the racist death penalty! To join the fight to free Mumia, contact the Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013-0099; phone: (212) 406-4252. E-mail: 75057.3201@compuserve.com. Urgently needed contributions for Mumia's defense, which are tax-deductible, should be made payable to the Bill of Rights Foundation, earmarked "Mumia Abu-Jamal Legal Defense," and sent to the Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, 163 Amsterdam Avenue, No. 115, New York, NY 10023-5001. ■



New book of writings by Mumia Abu-Jamal can be ordered through Plough Publishing House, Farmington, PA 15437.

TROTSKY

The Labor Bureaucracy: Defenders of Racist Capitalism

LENIN

The past few decades have seen the living standards of working people driven down, the trade-union movement gutted and the black poor subjected to ever more savage attacks. American capitalism has historically blocked or diverted the development of a class-conscious and militant workers movement by playing off ethnic and, especially since World War II, racial divisions within the proletariat. The pro-capitalist AFL-CIO bureaucracy serves as a key prop for the bourgeoisie in suppressing workers' struggles and fostering racist chauvinism. In the 1929 founding platform of the American Trotskyist movement, James P. Cannon insisted that overcoming the political backwardness of American workers required an intransigent struggle against the labor bureaucracy and for a revolutionary workers party.

The American workers are not class conscious, they have not yet developed even the concepts of social reformism or independent political action, and, on the whole, are permeated through and through with the ideology of capitalism. These incontestable facts are the starting point of the communist approach and indicate our fundamental task: to struggle for the creation of a class movement of the American workers, for the development of class consciousness, and to lead them toward revolutionary concepts in struggle.

The fight for a class movement of the American workers is in the first place a fight against the capitalist ideology which dominates them. The labor bureaucrats of the AFL and the unaffiliated unions of the same type are the direct bearers of this ideology in the working class and must be fought as such....

This bureaucracy is the chief influence against the class movement within the workers' ranks—the strongest, the best organized, and the representative of the most reactionary program. The specific nature of the American labor bureaucracy—its present source of strength—also makes it the more vulnerable in the period of growing radicalization. The very first steps of the workers towards a class movement can be taken only in direct struggle against them. The relentless and irreconcilable fight against the AFL leadership, based on a correct analysis of its specific role as the outspoken bearer of capitalist ideology, is a prerequisite for effective work in developing the struggle of the workers, increasing their class understanding, and leading them to the fight for broader political aims.

— "Platform of the Communist Opposition" (February 1929)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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The closing date for news in this issue is February 18.

No. 662 **21 February 1997**

Black History Month

LOS ANGELES

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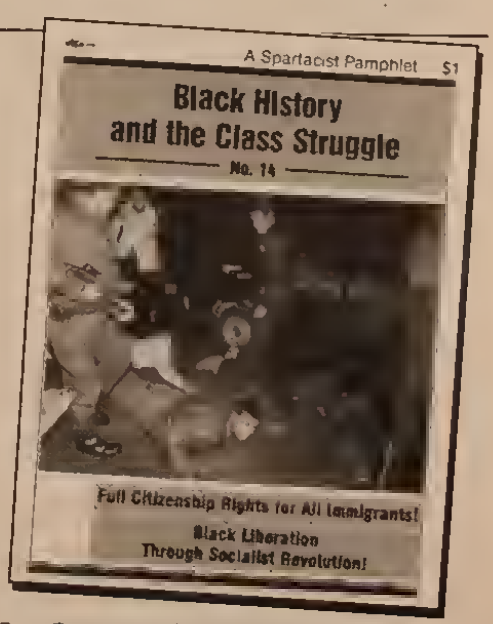

Order from: Spartacist Publishing Co., Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116

Young Spartacus

New York City

CUNY: Cops Off Campus!

We reprint below, slightly abridged, a New York Spartacus Youth Club leaflet which was issued on January 25 and distributed on several campuses in the area.

The City University of New York (CUNY), which had open admissions and no tuition for generations until 1976, is ruthlessly purging working-class and minority youth—and anybody who protests—with the budget ax and the police baton. Since the late '80s there have been sporadic upsurges of student protest against two decades of continuous and escalating cutbacks in staff, courses and financial aid. The administration has responded by increasing the presence of security and campus police and spying on student activists.

Lee/Newsday

NYPD thugs attack a massive March 1995 demonstration of high-school and college students protesting cutbacks in education.

CUNY, with the aid of the U.S. Department of Justice, has created an elite force of *armed* cops. Backed with a $30 million budget, this police force "monitors student protests and keeps tabs on campus activists" and also tracks student protesters *following* demonstrations (*Daily News*, 14 August 1995). This squad, with the Orwellian "newspeak" name of SAFE (Special Assistance for Events), keeps files on demonstrators, both students and workers, and through the NYPD is notified of students arrested at demonstrations. With Governor Pataki now proposing to hike CUNY tuition more than $400 a semester, this huge security apparatus is in place to crack down on student protest.

Throughout the U.S., campus repression, with an ugly racist edge, is dramatically increasing, as tuition is rising, classes are being cut, and campus workers face union-busting attacks. Last semester, campus cops brutally attacked and pepper-sprayed anti-racist student demonstrators at SUNY Binghamton. At Berkeley, there is a campus SWAT team. At Rutgers, armed campus cops routinely videotape demonstrations. In 1995, Rutgers students protesting the university president's racist remarks—straight out of the infamous *Bell Curve*—that black and Hispanic students are "genetically, hereditarily disadvantaged" were clubbed and gassed by local police called by the administration.

Already, student activists have been denied access to CUNY schools. David Suker from CCNY was suspended for a year for his role as a prominent campus activist in the protests against budget cuts. Meanwhile, the administration is moving to arm all campus cops and is introducing attack dogs. These and other measures are designed to intimidate students and staff on the campuses and quash dissent at CUNY, one of the more politically volatile universities on the East Coast. The true character of these so-called "safety" measures was displayed at Queensborough Community College in Queens last year, when two gay student activists were arrested and roughed up by CUNY thugs for the "crime" of kissing during a school dance. We say: Cops off campus!

The Democratic White House and Republican Congress joined together to ax welfare last summer. In New York and other states, those able to get public relief are being forced to work at starvation wages in union-busting "workfare" schemes. The passage of anti-immigrant Proposition 187 and anti-affirmative action Prop. 209 in California is part of an overall drive to deny access to education to a whole layer of black and immigrant youth. In racist America, the capitalist rulers foment racial hatred as means to further exploit and degrade all workers and the poor. While blacks and immigrants are increasingly locked out, the public education system as a whole is in an advanced state of decay. Having looted the economy, the ruling class has little interest in spending money on educating poor and working-class youth for jobs that no longer exist.

The budget cuts and tuition fee hikes at CUNY are cut of the same cloth, to increasingly make "higher" education inaccessible to black, minority and working-class youth. The Spartacus Youth Clubs say that education is a right, not a privilege for those who can afford it. We demand open admissions, free tuition, and a full living stipend for all students! Elite private universities, such as Columbia and New York University, which are bastions of class and race privilege, should be nationalized! All cops off campus! We call to abolish the administration and replace it with student/teacher/worker control of the university.

The Student Liberation Action Movement (SLAM) has organized a "two day strategy conference" for "building a student movement, fighting budget cuts, getting cops off campus, [and] ending workfare." The problem is that students on their own don't have the social power to prevail against budget cuts, the abolition of welfare, increasing racist reaction, cop terror and repression. These are the products of a system that is based on the exploitation of the many by the few, and the cops are the armed fist whose job is to defend the interests of the capitalist rulers against those they exploit and oppress. Thus, any strategy to fight these conditions must be based on a revolutionary perspective of struggle to get rid of this entire system. Without such a perspective any strategy that SLAM comes up with, despite all their liberation rhetoric, necessarily accepts the framework defined by the capitalist rulers and can lead only to the politics of so-called "lesser evilism," i.e. lobbying the Democrats in Albany to "fight" Republican governor Pataki.

In the spring of 1995, in response to massive tuition increases, tens of thousands of CUNY students took to the streets. The cops arrested more than 100 largely black and Hispanic students, including hunger-strikers. The Spartacus Youth Club intervened at teach-ins, meetings and rallies calling for students to unite with hospital workers, transit and other city workers in a one-day citywide strike to shut down New York City, as part of a struggle for jobs and free, quality education for all. Radical students must link their fight with the integrated labor movement to win.

In the hands of the multiracial working class, whose labor created all the wealth in this country, lies the social power to reclaim this wealth for the benefit of the majority rather than the profits of the few. The political obstacle to such struggle is the trade-union bureaucracy. Rather than deploying the weapons that are inherent in the unions' numbers, organization and most decisively their ability to shut down capitalist production, the labor misleaders operate as the agents for the capitalist rulers, tying the interests of the working class to the interests of their exploiters through the vehicle of the Democratic Party.

The Spartacus Youth Clubs are schools of revolutionary action and education for young communists. As the student/youth auxiliary to the Spartacist League/U.S., the SYCs seek to win a new generation to the side of the working class and to train the future leaders of the multiracial revolutionary party which is necessary to lead the working class in struggle to end this system of capitalist exploitation and oppression. If you are looking for a real strategy to fight against the shredding of education for black, poor and working-class youth, against the slave-labor "workfare" programs, against racist reaction and the all-sided increase in cop terror and repression, then it is time to join the struggle for a socialist future! Join us! ■

Protesters Arrested at Democratic National Convention Face Prison

Defend the DNC 5!

Five protesters during the Democratic National Convention (DNC) in Chicago last summer are facing possible prison sentences of five or more years on felony charges of mob action and aggravated battery against police officers. These false charges stem from an August 27 march of over 500 demonstrators organized by the liberal-left "Not On the Guest List Coalition."

As described by the *Chicago Reader* (14 February), hundreds of police on foot and horseback blocked marchers from going to the convention site. The cops singled out five activists, apparently for their leading roles in the protest and in demonstrations earlier in the week. The five—Bonnie Tocwish, Robert MacDonald, Ron Schupp, Ben Masel and Michael Durschmid—were arrested over the next two days. According to Durschmid, the arrests were intended to stop a "Festival of Life" march planned for the last day of the convention, when Clinton was due to arrive. On February 10, seven other DNC protesters were tried and acquitted of misdemeanor charges stemming from arrests at a different march.

These arrests were part of a pattern of police repression aimed at curtailing social protest during the convention. Chicago's Democratic mayor Daley was determined not to have a repeat of the mass protests that took place during the 1968 Democratic convention, when police thugs beat and bloodied protesters against the Vietnam War before the eyes of the world.

At this year's Democratic fête, Chicago cops went after not only demonstrators but also journalists working with the CounterMedia project, destroying film and equipment. They also raided the offices of the anarchist organization Active Resistance, terrorizing activists and sending two to the hospital with pepper-spray injuries. A CounterMedia press release (1 September 1996) reported that when Active Resistance supporters asked if the police had a warrant, the cops sneered, "We don't need a warrant, we believe you're conspiring against the U.S. Government."

Earlier that week, a phalanx of police also violently broke up a demonstration organized by the Progressive Labor Party (PLP) to protest Clinton's axing of welfare. With batons flying, cops beat and arrested 22 PLP supporters. Followers of ultrarightist crackpot Lyndon LaRouche helped set off the cop melee by fingering PLPers for arrest. Six PLPers still face serious felony battery charges stemming from the police attack.

Like the continuing victimization by Chicago cops of three anti-Klan protesters (see article, page 16), the prosecution of the DNC 5 is aimed at silencing all who would protest against the conditions of this racist capitalist society. All defenders of labor and minorities, all supporters of democratic rights, must come to the defense of the DNC 5 and all leftists arrested during protests around the Democratic convention. Criminal court proceedings against the DNC 5 are set to continue on February 19. If a motion to dismiss is denied, the case could move straight to trial that day. Drop all charges against the DNC 5 and Progressive Labor Party protesters!

India Office Library

Aslaweek

Left: Railway workshop in British-ruled colonial India, late 19th century. Right: Japanese motorcycle factory in India today. Under imperialism, more economically backward countries have always been dominated and exploited.

The "Global Economy" and Labor Reformism

How David North Embraces Karl Kautsky

The first two parts of this article were published in WV *Nos. 660 and 661 (24 January and 7 February).*

In claiming that the recent "globalization" of production represents a "qualitative transformation" in the world capitalist system, numerous bourgeois and leftist commentators, including David North's International Committee (IC), effectively ignore the development of modern imperialism over a century ago. To understand the actual significance and limits of the recent changes in the world economy, it is necessary to view these changes in a broad historical perspective.

In his 1916 pamphlet, *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, Lenin described modern imperialism as that

Part Three

epoch of capitalism marked by the export of capital and the division of the world into "spheres of influence" by a few major advanced capitalist states. The two key institutions of the pre-1914 imperialist order were colonialism and the gold standard.

Particularly Britain and France, but also other West European countries, the United States and Japan exercised direct state power over hundreds of millions of toilers throughout the world. British plantation owners in India did not have to worry that the Indian government would impose high taxes on their property or enact laws favorable to labor since the government in India was **their** government. Compared to British India, foreign investment in China in the pre-1914 era was relatively slight, because the country was beset by political disorder and was an arena of conflict among a number of rival imperialist powers.

At the same time, the gold standard assured a degree of financial integration among the advanced capitalist countries which has never been matched since. Exchange rates between currencies were fixed, there were few or no restrictions on the international movement of capital, and real interest rates were stable and closely linked in the major financial capitals—London, Paris, New York. British holders of American railway bonds did not have to worry that their assets would be devalued by hyperinflation or by the depreciation of the dollar against the pound.

World War I and the Russian Revolution

Under these conditions the globalization of capital flourished as never before or since, as can be shown with the following few statistics for Britain and France (taken from Herbert Feis, *Europe—The World's Banker 1870-1914* [1964]). The income derived by British capitalists from their foreign assets increased from 4 percent of total British national income in the 1880s to 7 percent by 1903 to almost 10 percent on the eve of World War I in 1914. Foreign investments were concentrated in Britain's own colonies (especially India, South Africa, Canada and Australia) as well as in the United States and, to a lesser extent, Argentina. By 1914, total productive assets held by British capitalists outside Britain amounted to well **over one quarter** of the capital stock within Britain itself!

While the globalization of pre-1914 British capitalism was historically unique, the role of foreign investment for French capitalism in this period likewise **greatly exceeded** that of any present-day imperialist country. Between 1909 and 1913, almost 5 percent of French national income was derived from French investments abroad (mainly in Russia, Turkey, the Balkans and France's own African and Asian colonies). By 1914, the total value of French long-term foreign investment (45 billion francs) amounted to 15 percent of the productive wealth within France (295 billion francs).

Now let us look at comparable figures for the United States at present. In 1994, total income derived from the foreign assets of American capitalists, both direct investment and stock and bond holdings, was $167 billion. That amounted to slightly **less than 2 percent** of the U.S. gross domestic product of $6.7 trillion. The current total value of American direct foreign investment is about one trillion dollars, slightly less than 10 percent of the $10.5 trillion in privately owned industrial assets (plant and equipment) within the United States. In the case of Japan, the relative weight of foreign investment is even less than it is in the U.S., and in the case of Germany it is substantially less.

As the above figures indicate, World War I and the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution in Russia brought about a profound and long-lasting disruption of the world capitalist economy. To begin with, the war killed off the gold standard. All combatants financed their huge, unprecedented military expenditures by printing money while imposing tight controls over all international transactions. When the war ended in 1918, price levels in the major capitalist countries bore no relation whatsoever to either prewar foreign-exchange parities or real purchasing power.

An attempt to resurrect the gold standard in the mid-1920s was buried under the wreckage of the Great Depression of the 1930s. That decade saw the collapse of world trade, the rise of "beggar thy neighbor" trade protectionism, the widespread use of foreign-exchange controls (especially in Nazi Germany) and the establishment of regional economic blocs dominated by a single imperialist power (e.g., Japan's "Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere").

Added to the effects of the Great Depression and intensifying interimperialist conflict were the consequences of the Russian Revolution. Not only had a major country been ripped out of the sphere of capitalist exploitation, but the imperialist bourgeoisies were now imbued with a fear of "red revolution" elsewhere, especially in backward countries where social and political conditions were manifestly unstable. The huge losses suffered by French financiers and other holders of Russian tsarist bonds cast a long shadow over world capital markets in the 1920s and '30s. Lending

Der Spiegel

Russian Orthodox priest on Yeltsin's barricades, Moscow, August 1991. International Communist League leaflet declared, "Soviet Workers: Defeat Yeltsin-Bush Counterrevolution!"

to semicolonial countries like China and Mexico was inhibited by the perceived danger of revolutionary turmoil and left-wing governments which would repudiate the country's foreign debt. The only significant foreign investment in China during the interwar period was undertaken by the Japanese in Manchuria—after they had conquered and occupied this region in 1931.

From World War II to the Cold War

The struggle of the major capitalist powers to redivide markets and spheres of exploitation led in 1939-41, as it had in 1914, to an interimperialist world war, though this time one in which a chief combatant was a (degenerated) workers state, the Soviet Union. (Thus, while taking a defeatist position toward all the imperialist powers in World War II, as in the previous world war, revolutionary Marxists called for unconditional military defense of the USSR.) The outcome of the Second World War perpetuated and deepened the disruption and segmentation of the world economy. By defeating its main imperialist rivals, Germany and Japan, the United States became the hegemonic capitalist power. But the global hegemony of American imperialism was blocked by the Soviet Union, which had emerged from the war as the second-strongest state in the world. From East Asia to West Europe to South America, the course of economic developments between 1945 and 1991 was integrally connected with the Cold War.

In West Europe and also Japan, the devastation of the war combined with the leftward radicalization of the working class militated against a return to the "free trade" and "free market" policies of the pre-1914 era. Except for the U.S., all major advanced capitalist countries engaged in a high degree of state intervention in economic activity during the first phase of the postwar period. Almost all foreign-exchange transactions in West Europe were subject to strict government regulation and bureaucratic approval. The pound, franc and deutschmark did not become "freely" convertible until the late 1950s.

Currency convertibility is a basic economic precondition for large-scale foreign investment in manufacturing and services, since the revenue generated from these activities is usually denominated in the currency of the country in which the investments take place. The oil extracted by Exxon in Saudi Arabia is sold on the world market for dollars. But the automobiles produced by General Motors in Germany are sold to Germans for deutschmarks. Thus, it was only in the 1960s—after the introduction of convertibility gave them the option of repatriating their profits—that American corporations bought out or built industrial plants in West Europe on a significant scale. The total value of U.S. direct investment in manufacturing in West Europe went from $3.8 billion in 1960 to $12.3 billion (discounting for inflation) by the end of the decade.

It was, however, in the economically backward regions of the world that the postwar period saw the most radical political changes affecting the international movement of capital. In the course of defeating the Nazi Wehrmacht, the Soviet Red Army occupied East Europe. Over the next few years, under the hostile pressure of American imperialism, these countries were transformed, bureaucratically from above, into "people's democracies"—i.e., deformed workers states structurally similar to the Stalinized Soviet Union, based on planned, collectivized economies, the state monopoly of foreign trade, etc.

Bureaucratically deformed workers states also emerged in China, North Korea and Vietnam, as a result of indigenous, peasant-based social revolutions led by Stalinists. It was above all fear of war with the Soviet Union which prevented Washington from using its nuclear weapons against Mao's China during the Korean War in the early 1950s and a few years later against the Viet Minh forces which were defeating the French colonial army in Indochina. A large part of the world was thus removed from the sphere of capitalist exploitation, although still subject to the powerful political, economic and military pressures of imperialism.

At the same time, radical political changes also took place in those economically backward countries which remained within the sphere of capitalist exploitation. The weakening of the West European imperialist states caused by World War II combined with the radicalization of the colonial masses led to the "decolonization" of much of Asia, the Near East and Africa. State power in these regions now passed into the hands of indigenous bourgeoisies, who sought to pursue their own national interests within a global context dominated by international finance capital.

Despite some CIA-organized coups (e.g., against Mossadeq in Iran in 1953), the ability of U.S. imperialism to control the governments of the former colonial and semicolonial countries was limited by the countervailing power of the Soviet Union. Moscow's backing allowed bourgeois-nationalist regimes like Nasser's Egypt, Nehru and Indira Gandhi's India and Saddam Hussein's Iraq to exercise a degree of political and economic independence of the imperialist powers which they could not have attained on the basis of their own national economic resources.

During the 1960s, Soviet funds and engineers helped build the Aswan High Dam—one of the largest in the world—in Nasser's Egypt. By the early '70s, the USSR had become the largest market for India's exports, while Moscow provided the New Delhi regime with over-60 percent of its imports of military hardware. At the same time, Western and Japanese

Brown Brothers

Leaders of victorious Western powers in World War I at 1919 "peace" conference in France. War was fought for redivision of colonies, spheres of influence.

Simon and Schuster

British munitions factory during World War I. Huge military expenditures destroyed the gold standard and profoundly disrupted the world capitalist economy.

corporations were discouraged from investing in countries like Egypt and India for fear of punitive taxation, restrictions on the repatriation of profits and the possibility of nationalization without adequate compensation. The 1960s and '70s thus marked the heyday of economic nationalism and statified capitalism in what was then called the "Afro-Asian bloc."

But with the collapse of the Soviet Union, there was no longer even a partial counterweight to Western/Japanese imperialist domination in the Third World. The 1991 Gulf War signaled that, without the protection of the USSR, those bourgeois-nationalist regimes which flouted the dictates of Washington would be subjected to the devastating power of the Pentagon war machine.

However, even with the relatively greater room for maneuver they had when the Soviet Union still existed, the bourgeois-nationalist regimes in the Third World did not and could not chart a course truly independent of imperialism, nor could they bring about the economic and social modernization of their countries. Despite their "non-aligned" posture and even "socialist" rhetoric, the semicolonial bourgeoisies remained tied to the imperialist bourgeoisies by a thousand strings, subordinated and subservient to the power of the imperialist world market. Thus, India's exports remained concentrated, as in the colonial era, in light manufactures produced by unskilled labor. Egypt remained economically dependent on the export of cotton (as well as tolls from the Suez Canal). Ba'athist Iraq and Qaddafi's Libya on the vicissitudes of the world oil market controlled by the "Seven Sisters" monopolies. And Algeria under the radical-nationalist FLN regime relied heavily on money sent back by Algerians working in France. Only through the revolutionary overthrow of the local bourgeoisies, as part of a perspective of world socialist revolution reaching into the imperialist centers, can these countries achieve true independence from imperialism.

The End of the "American Century"

What is now termed economic "globalization" was rooted in the recovery of German and Japanese capitalism from their devastation and defeat in World War II. By the 1960s, German and Japanese manufactured goods were making huge inroads into world markets, including the American market. The competitive position of U.S. imperialism was further weakened in this period by the inflationary pressures generated by its long, losing colonial war in Vietnam. America's large, permanent balance-of-trade deficits, especially with Japan, fatally undermined the use of the dollar as the global medium of exchange and store of value—the international monetary system originally set up at the 1944 conference in Bretton Woods, New Hampshire. Nixon's August 1971 devaluation of the dollar in terms of gold, and the subsequent recourse to fluctuating exchange rates, signaled the end of the short-lived "American Century" of U.S. imperialist hegemony in the capitalist world.

The weakened competitive position of U.S. capitalism was further exposed by the large losses experienced by corporate America during the 1974-75 world economic downturn. The American bourgeoisie responded with a concerted drive to increase the rate of exploitation. An anti-labor offensive was marked by "giveback" contracts, two-tier wage systems for younger workers and outright union-busting. Unionized plants in the Midwest and North, which paid relatively high wages, were shut down as production was shifted to the "open shop" South and Southwest.

At the same time, American industrial capital undertook a major expansion in East Asia and Latin America. Between 1977 and 1994, there was a **fivefold increase** in manufacturing plant and equipment owned directly by U.S. corporations in Third World countries, from $11 billion to $52 billion (in real terms, discounted for inflation). Japanese industrialists soon followed their American competitors in going offshore. By the mid-1980s, Matsushita was producing many of its TV sets and air conditioners in Malaysia, Yamaha its sporting goods in Taiwan, Minebea its miniature ball bearings in Singapore and Thailand, TDK its magnetic tapes in Taiwan and South Korea, etc.

Nonetheless, investment by Western and Japanese corporations in neocolonial countries was still inhibited by the uncertainties of the Cold War. A popular uprising or even an election or military coup could suddenly bring about a left-nationalist regime backed by Moscow. For example, in 1979 a revolution in Nicaragua toppled Washington's puppet dictator Somoza and brought to power the radical petty-bourgeois nationalist Sandinistas. At the same time, a major leftist insurgency was raging in neighboring El Salvador. Thus, even Yankee imperialism's own "backyard" was not secure for Wall Street banks and the Fortune 500 corporations.

Economic "Globalization" and Capitalist Counterrevolution

A **fundamental political condition** for the present triumph of capitalist "globalization" was the retreat of Soviet global power under Gorbachev, the disintegration of the Moscow Stalinist bureaucracy and the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union in 1991-92. It was no accident that the electoral overthrow of the Sandinista regime in 1990, capping a contra war armed and organized by Washington, coincided with the beginning of a massive investment boom by U.S. banks and corporations in Mexico. At the same time, capitalist counterrevolution in the former Soviet sphere has opened up a new, huge sphere for exploitation, especially for German imperialism. A few years ago, a spokesman for German industry exulted: "Right on our own doorstep in Eastern Europe, we have for the first time a vast pool of cheap and highly trained labor."

During Cold War II in the 1980s, North's IC joined in the imperialist anti-Soviet chorus along with other pseudo-Trotskyists like the United Secretariat of the late Ernest Mandel, as well as mainstream social democrats and Eurocommunists. Having done all within their means to promote counterrevolution in the Soviet Union and East Europe, the Northites now proclaim that the restoration of capitalism there—a historic defeat for the international proletariat—was objectively determined. Their 1993 pamphlet, *The Globalization of Capitalist Production & the International Tasks of the Working Class*, informs us: "The

continued on page 14

South Africa...

(continued from page 1)

workers. Accordingly, the ANC regime installed in 1994 seeks "reconciliation" with the racist torturers and those who profited from their hideous crimes. Headed by Bishop Desmond Tutu, the TRC was consciously designed as an impotent safety valve for the victims of apartheid injustice to vent their suffering while their racist tormentors typically not only remain free but in positions of power. Mandela's bourgeois-nationalist ANC serves as the black front men and junior partners for the white ruling class in neo-apartheid South Africa.

The ANC statement on the bid for amnesty by Biko's killers expresses "hopes that former security police officers and medical practitioners implicated who were involved in such activities would break ranks with the past." This was also their line when former defense minister Magnus Malan was let off last October. At that time we pointed out: "For the white racists, the Malan verdict confirmed that the ANC regime would continue to shield them from the vengeance of the black masses" (*WV* No. 654, 25 October 1996).

As the ANC presides over capitalist austerity on behalf of the white racist ruling class and foreign investors, this has led to an exacerbation of ethnic and tribal tensions among the nonwhite masses. In early February, barely two weeks after the news about Biko's killers emerged, the ANC government unleashed police and troops against protesters in the predominantly coloured ("mixed-race") townships of El Dorado, Westbury and Newclare in southern and western Johannesburg. As cops fired buckshot and live ammunition into the crowd, four people were killed and several others injured. The township revolts erupted over government attempts to collect rents and utility rates, as residents accused the regime of reneging on a 1994 agreement to cancel all past unpaid charges. But the anti-government protest, whose basic demand was entirely justified, was marked by general hostility to blacks among the coloureds involved.

The government's violent response to the coloured revolt—in marked contrast to the conciliatory attitude extended to earlier tax-rate protests by whites in yuppie suburbs like Johannesburg's Sandton—was also intended as an unmistakable message to the residents of black townships who might consider protesting over rates and social services. The latest events underscore yet again that the only road to justice and equality for South Africa's masses lies in a proletarian revolution to sweep away neo-apartheid capitalism, replacing it with a black-centred workers government.

AFP

AP

Neo-apartheid Mandela regime fronts for racist capitalist rulers. Right: Cop attack on 1994 supermarket strike.

Biko and the Black Consciousness Movement

Biko's death in detention after days of interrogation and repeated assaults held up a magnifying glass to the bloody system of apartheid. His personal courage and outspoken leadership earned him a mass following and scores of activists adopted the outlook of the Black Consciousness Movement. Biko founded the BCM in 1970, at a time when older nationalist groups like the ANC and Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) had been banned and driven into exile by the massive crackdown which followed the 1960 Sharpeville massacre.

Biko became the leading exponent of BCM, which proposed black self-reliance through self-help community projects and racial pride. Biko's movement was strongly influenced by eclectic nationalist writings, from Malcolm X and Stokely Carmichael (Kwame Ture) in the U.S. to Frantz Fanon and Julius Nyerere in Africa. Biko saw black pride as a counterbalance to white racism and encouraged the unity of all those discriminated against on the grounds of colour or race, including the coloured and Indian sectors of the population.

When a new generation of activists embraced Biko as their young leader in the aftermath of the June 1976 Soweto uprising, the racist police turned their sights on him. Repeated bannings and limited circulation of his writings left Biko's views open to broad interpretation by various nationalists from PAC to the Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO). His political career cut short by assassination, like Malcolm X, Biko in death became an icon easily claimed by divergent political viewpoints.

Defending the BCM leaders against apartheid repression, we pointed to the fundamental weakness in their ideology: the absence of any recognition of the centrality of the black working class in the struggle against white supremacy. One year after the Soweto protests, as the jackboot of apartheid repression again came down on Soweto youth, we wrote: "The failure to strongly mobilize black workers underscores...its lack of a program to link the struggle for democratic rights with the mobilization of the social power of the black proletariat around its class interests" (*WV* No. 164, "Soweto Bleeds," 1 July 1977).

That Steve Biko's killers can walk the streets with impunity while anti-apartheid fighters remain imprisoned to this day is a grotesque illustration of what passes for justice in the "new" South Africa. Biko's family has courageously opposed his racist killers' bid for amnesty. Thousands of outraged demonstrators should have taken to the streets. But most left and "radical" groups, including the nationalists in PAC and AZAPO which claim Biko's legacy, have refused to organise protests against the TRC sham. This passivity is a reflection of their tailing after Mandela's nationalist popular-front government, which is based on the "tripartite alliance" of the ANC, the reformist South African Communist Party and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU). The ANC and PAC are applying for amnesty for their own guerrilla fighters, which obscenely equates those who resisted apartheid terror with their executioners.

Special issue of *Black History and the Class Struggle* (No. 12) devoted to South Africa, available for $1 from SPC, Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116.

For a Black-Centred Workers Government!

The Mandela government's claim to be constructing a "nonracial" society is a hoax. The rigid structures of racial segregation—the Group Areas Act, the language restrictions, the pass laws—are gone, but the brutal exploitation of black and also coloured workers by the white industrialists, mine owners and wealthy farmers continues as before. The courts, cops and military that enforced apartheid rule remain intact, even if some ANC faces appear in high places. As a reporter for the London *Independent* (26 December 1996) put it: "There are still two South Africas; one white, the other black. Whites generally drive cars; blacks queue for mini-buses. Road-repair gangs are black; foremen white."

The bourgeois-nationalist ANC government cannot possibly meet the aspirations of the masses for jobs, homes, decent living standards, medical care and education. In the absence of a conscious struggle for workers revolution, the different sections of the oppressed are being pitted against each other in a dog-eat-dog struggle for crumbs. The government is consciously playing blacks against coloureds and Indians, South Africans against immigrant workers, in order to divert attention from the real enemy: neo-apartheid capitalism, under which the overwhelming majority of the population is kept in desperate poverty, and the blacks remain on the bottom.

We have often written that the explosive situation in South Africa will either be resolved by a class-struggle fight for proletarian power or this society will fracture along racial, ethnic and tribal lines. An example of how the legitimate grievances of one sector of the oppressed can be channeled, in the absence of a class-struggle axis, into hostility toward other sectors was seen in the recent coloured township revolt. The primary organiser was Basil Douglas, a local councillor and member of the murderous Inkatha Freedom Party, which is based on the reactionary Zulu tribalism of Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who was sponsored for years by the Nationalist apartheid regime. The coloured protesters blamed black squatters and neighbouring black Sowetans as the source of their woes.

Meanwhile, some black Sowetans denounced the coloureds as having "had it good" under apartheid. This was an echo of the demagogy being pushed by the regional ANC government. Tokyo Sexwale, the ANC premier of Gauteng province, in 1994 denounced the coloureds' request to wipe out unpaid back rent, saying he wanted to "vomit" when "others try to use" blacks' "legitimate grievances" (*Cape Times*, 19 September 1994).

At the same time, the ANC government is orchestrating and manipulating a xenophobic backlash targeting immigrant workers from neighbouring African states—a key sector of South Africa's proletariat, especially in the gold mines. This escalating drive is being spearheaded by leading ANC women politicians who direct the country's first privately run deportation camp, called Lindela, in Randfontein. An article aptly headlined "Deporting for Cash" (*Weekly Mail & Guardian*, 13 February) details how the camp was set up by top ANC women including deputy parliamentary speaker Baleka Kgositsile, deputy minister of home affairs Lindi Sisulu and Adelaide Tambo. One of the ANC members involved maintained that the deportation camp was a "way of contributing to the normalisation of South Africa.... As much as we are not against foreigners coming into South Africa, we must assist our government in curbing the influx."

The ANC touts this as an example of "black people in general and African women in particular seeking a stake in the economy of our country"! Their understanding of fighting the oppression of women and blacks is to elevate a few privileged elements of the aspiring black bourgeoisie to grind the black South African and immigrant working masses. Many of the refugees come from countries like Mozambique, which were devastated by the military and economic

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Down With Strikebreaking Government Intervention!

Clinton Orders American Airlines Pilots Back to Work

Minutes after 9,000 members of the Allied Pilots Association (APA) went on strike against American Airlines, President Bill Clinton vetoed the pilots' right to strike with a stroke of the pen, invoking the 1926 Railway Labor Act against airline workers for the first time since 1966. Trade unionists across the country were watching the impending battle with hopes of winning one for a change, since the pilots obviously have the capacity to shut down the nation's second-largest airline. But the APA leaders immediately complied with Clinton's strikebreaking order, while an AFL-CIO spokesman rushed to announce that the labor tops "respect the decisions that were made" by the man they helped re-elect to the White House. Now Clinton's hand-picked "emergency board" will spend 60 days trying to strong-arm the APA into buckling under to American Airlines and the capitalists' "national interest."

Keganv/NY Times

"Informational" picket by pilots at Chicago's O'Hare Airport three days before strike deadline.

Clinton's action was an expression of his role as CEO of the capitalist state. The government will occasionally countenance strikes—when they can be defeated through widespread scabbing and thuggery by the cops, the paid strikebreakers of the bosses' state. But professional jet pilots can't easily be replaced by scabs. Crowing over Clinton's move, the labor-hating *New York Times* (16 February) wrote: "While the American pilots may have had few political allies, they have enormous economic power—too much, Mr. Clinton decided, to permit a strike. Much like a strike at a single, critical parts plant can shut down most of General Motors' assembly lines, the pilots had the power to ground American." This was a warning to all workers: if you exercise your power to hurt profits, you lose the "right" to strike.

The American Airlines bosses and even more so their mouthpieces like the *Times* tried to whip up popular sentiment against the threatened pilots strike. The pilots, with their six-figure incomes, were portrayed as selfish and arrogant compared to the lower-paid flight attendants and baggage handlers. As if the multimillionaire corporate managers of American were going to pay the flight attendants more from any money they "saved" on the pilots' contract. The capitalist rulers' anti-strike propaganda was simply one of their standard divide-and-rule tactics. Key to overcoming such attempts at dividing the workforce is to form a *single industrial union* covering all airlines, embracing pilots, mechanics, flight attendants, baggage handlers, cleaners, ticketing agents and other workers.

Clinton's anti-strike action came as no surprise to anyone. During the last few weeks of negotiations between the APA and American, everyone was speculating that the White House would not permit a major airlines strike. And both the APA leaders and AFL-CIO bureaucracy, despite the new, supposedly more "militant" regime of John Sweeney, made it clear that they would accept government arbitration. This, too, is a surprise to no one. The labor misleaders are wedded to the defense of the capitalist profit system, and thus they serve to police the workers movement on behalf of the bourgeoisie and its state. As we wrote in a 1994 Spartacist League document:

> "The clear lesson of this period is that no major strike can be won without defying the country's harsh anti-labor laws. Today's labor bureaucrats, the children of Taft-Hartley, know no other tactic than arbitration. (In fact, given the vast financial-legal resources of the corporations as well as the pro-business biases of government officialdom, this perspective is a sure loser.)"
>
> — "The Post-Soviet World: Perspectives and Tasks of the Spartacist League/U.S." (*Spartacist* No. 51, Autumn 1994)

To win a major strike, the workers have to defy the bosses' laws and play hardball. This points to the necessity to oust the pro-capitalist labor traitors who now run the union movement and replace them with a class-struggle leadership as part of the fight for a revolutionary workers party. ■

T J Lemon

Nurse during October 1995 strike carries sign protesting ANC regime "gravy train."

warfare of the white-supremacist regime in Pretoria because they provided bases for the ANC guerrillas. We demand full citizenship rights for immigrant workers! In counterposition to the nationalism of the ANC, we fight for a socialist federation of southern Africa.

A house painter in the coloured township protests exclaimed: "Blacks are on the gravy train now. We were with them in the struggle but they aren't thinking about that now. The blacks are turning white and they are leaving us behind." The notion that the mass of blacks, not just a handful of ANC leaders (who include coloureds and Indians), are now on "the gravy train" bears no relation at all to the realities of the "new" South Africa. If anything, rising unemployment has meant a worsening of economic conditions for blacks, as well as coloureds.

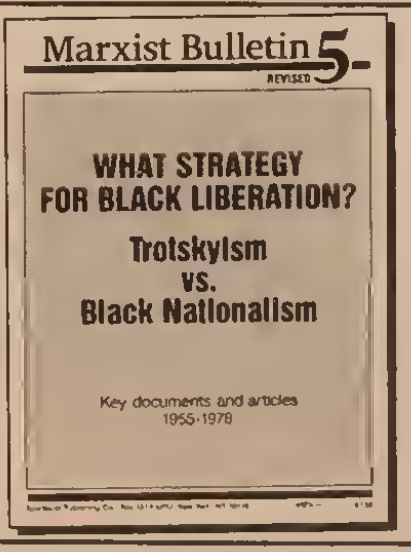
A recent report by the COSATU trade-union federation sharply criticised the "neo-liberal" austerity policies of the Mandela government with which it is allied, noting that "the economy in the new South Africa continues largely to represent what it was in 1993, except there is some jobless growth, and a few black faces and companies participating in it." The increasing disaffection of COSATU from the ANC government is significant, because this mass labour organisation contains not only the bulk of the organised black workers but also coloured and Indian, and even some white, workers. Thus, it poses the potential for working-class struggle transcending and cutting across national-ethnic divisions.

If the class principle does not prevail, the scrambling for crumbs off the table of the bourgeoisie can only intensify. Only the forging of a Leninist party that acts as a tribune of the people, defending all sectors of the oppressed as part of the struggle for proletarian state power, can cut through these rising ethnic hatreds born of the horrendous poverty produced by capitalist superexploitation and the divide-and-rule policies of the apartheid masters. Under a black-centred workers government, there will be an important role and full democratic rights for coloureds, Indians and other Asians, and those whites who accept a government centrally based on the black working people. Such a workers government would expropriate the country's industrial and mineral wealth for the benefit of the toiling masses and would strive to extend the revolution internationally, ultimately to the advanced capitalist countries of West Europe, North America and Japan. As we wrote shortly after Mandela became South Africa's first black president:

> "So long as the struggle over the redistribution of the country's wealth is defined in national-ethnic terms and limited to a purely South African framework, it could well trigger race war, bloody tribalist conflict and economic collapse. Only a *proletarian internationalist* perspective, linking the reconstruction of South Africa to a world socialist revolution, can ensure that a just and egalitarian society will be erected on the ruins of the apartheid state."
>
> — "South Africa Powder Keg," reprinted in *Black History and the Class Struggle* No. 12 (February 1995)

The ANC's wretched willingness to amnesty Biko's murderers makes it patently clear that the cry for justice in South Africa will only be answered when the white racist capitalist class and its black front men are swept away by proletarian revolution. The ANC regime's coddling of the apartheid-era butchers contrasts with what happened to the ousted dictator Batista's killers in Cuba following the seizure of power by Fidel Castro's guerrilla forces in 1959. On the road to consolidating a bureaucratically deformed workers state, the Cuban government organised revolutionary tribunals to put Batista's bloody henchmen on trial, executing some 550 of the most notorious criminals. The difference is that in Cuba there was a *social revolution* in which the old state apparatus was smashed, while in South Africa the ANC entered into a "power sharing" deal with the apartheid rulers.

To avenge the murder of Steve Biko and bring to justice the butchers of countless other anti-apartheid fighters requires a government where revolutionary workers tribunals, including the families of Steve Biko and other murdered fighters, will prosecute and sentence the racist criminals. We Spartacists fight to forge a Trotskyist vanguard party, based on the perspective of permanent revolution, which will champion the interests of all the oppressed, and fight for socialist revolution and its necessary international extension to the industrial centres of the capitalist world. ■



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Memorial Meeting Honors Our Comrade

Cesar Armendariz

Our comrade, Cesar Armendariz, died on December 30 after sustaining fatal head injuries in a car accident two days earlier. Cesar had been a member of the Spartacist League since 1979 and had served since 1990 as the organizer of our Washington, D.C. branch. He was 45 years old.

Cesar's horrible, untimely death was a devastating blow to the many comrades who respected and learned from him over many years of joint work and struggle. On February 1, family members, friends and comrades gathered at a Spartacist League memorial meeting at the AFSCME District Council 1707 union hall in New York City to remember and celebrate Cesar's life and his life's work. The many comrades who had known and worked with Cesar spoke movingly about his wide-ranging interests and capacities in fighting to build our party to lead a world socialist revolution. Comrades recalled his dedicated work advising the party's Medical Commission, his role in international campaigns, in historical research and, especially, in the recruitment and training of young communists.

Cesar's multifaceted talents, warmth and intense commitment were apparent to all who knew him. His funeral took place in El Paso on January 3. His close friends and comrades, Robin and Brian Mendis, and their daughters Elena and Nora traveled from Washington, D.C. to join the nearly 200 people who came to honor Cesar. Brian wrote: "He was buried in the desert, close to his father, Cesar Sr. Cesar's mom told me yesterday that our symbol, the hammer and four, will be on the gravestone."

A week later, on January 10, Cesar's co-workers and patients at the Providence Hospital in Washington, D.C., where he worked as a doctor, held a memorial service to which our comrades were invited. It was clear that Cesar's professionalism, compassion and boundless sense of humor would be sorely missed by those who had worked the long, grueling shifts side by side with him in the emergency room. In a collection of written remembrances put together by doctors, nurses, clerical workers and others, one co-worker wrote: "He was gentle and his life's work he put towards relieving the suffering of many. But he was hard and uncompromising when it came to fighting injustice. He wasn't all he appeared to be. He was more, much more."

The memorial meeting in New York was attended by comrades from every branch of the SL/U.S. and some from outside the U.S., as well as by Cesar's mother, Alice Welch, his brother Marty and his companion Michale. Comrade Gene Herson presided at the meeting, which was addressed by comrades Deborah Mackson, Robin Mendis, Brian Mendis, William Gruen, Francisco Garcia and Amy Rath. Others, including Cesar's mother, his companion and numerous comrades, got up to speak to share their memories of Cesar.

WV Photo

1951-1996

Nora Mendis read one of Cesar's favorite poems, Pablo Neruda's "Ode to the Tomato." Her sister Elena read a poem she had composed in Cesar's memory and also played a violin piece in his honor, the "Ashokan Farewell." A display of photos, books and correspondence paid tribute to the rich diversity of Cesar's contributions and interests: his work for the party, his love of Neruda's poetry and of music and cats, his avid interest in the history of the American Civil War, his travels throughout Europe and to Mexico. Cesar's infectious sense of humor was remembered by every comrade close to him. Comrade Brian recalled "the many evenings spent around the table in our dining room just laughing and laughing and laughing 'til the tears would run down our eyes."

Among those who traveled to New York to attend the memorial meeting was Cliff Carter, a black trade unionist from the Virginia Tidewater area who first worked with the Spartacist League in building the November 1982 labor/black mobilization which stopped a KKK race-hate provocation in Washington, D.C. Recalling the many political discussions they had had over the years, Cliff concluded, "Cesar was nothing but the naked truth."

Statements were read from the sections of the International Communist League and from numerous individual comrades around the world who were unable to attend. Writing from Tokyo, comrade Dan, who had worked with Cesar in the Washington, D.C. branch, recalled the "steely tenacity which I respected very much. Cesar was no fair-weather revolutionary.... He had his eyes on the prize." The meeting concluded with the singing of the *Internationale*.

We print below a selection of the remarks made at the memorial for Cesar which testify to the many contributions this remarkable man made to the forging of a revolutionary workers party and to the special qualities he brought to our collective struggle.

* * * * *

Deborah Mackson: It is with a very great deal of sadness and a very large sense of loss that I'm speaking from this podium today. Cesar was my friend and my comrade for 17 years. To know Cesar was a special experience. He was an honest man, a man of no pretense. Intelligent and caring, he looked at this life, at this world in which we live and said very simply, "I understand." And with that understanding he devoted himself to changing it.

This was no easy task. But as all of us who had the good fortune to know him can testify, Cesar never sought the easy road in life. Instead he sought ways he could ease the road for others. He never compromised about who he was or what he thought was right and the life he chose meant a lot of struggle against the American status quo. He was a Hispanic man who grew up in El Paso, Texas, where life was not particularly kind to the nonwhite or poor. But he set his sights on becoming a doctor. And he became a good one—extremely knowledgeable and, rare in that profession, profoundly compassionate. He became a communist who struggled to build the Leninist party in the United States and the world. And he was a passionately gay man in a very anti-gay society.

Cesar joined our party because he knew that to defeat the kind of oppression he faced himself and the kind of exploitation so rampant in this capitalist society it

Cesar during 1988 *Workers Vanguard* subscription drive at Howard University (left). With comrade Robin at September 1996 University of Maryland campus protest against U.S. terror bombing of Iraq.

Young Spartacus photos

Spartakist

Comrades in Berlin honor Cesar with wreath at annual "3 L's" commemoration for Lenin, Liebknecht, Luxemburg, January 12.

WV Photos

Left: Comrade Robin Mendis addresses February 1 memorial meeting. Displays documented Cesar's life and work.

would take uncompromising class struggle. As a doctor, Cesar was infuriated by the inhuman and indecent limits faced by the poor in their access to medical care. As a communist, he understood the broader political context: the escalation of exploitation and racism, the cutbacks in benefits and social services, all flowed from the irrational system under which we toil, impacted by larger historical events.

It was that understanding which led Cesar to insist upon going to Berlin in 1989-90 to be part of our International's intervention, aimed at providing a proletarian revolutionary leadership in the unfolding political revolution in East Germany. Cesar was extremely proud of his work there. He was unfamiliar with the German language so he used his camera to capture the events unfolding around him. The archives in Berlin are full of his pictures and he brought copies home, too, to share with those who were unable to go.

The counterrevolution in Germany and later in the Soviet Union had its impact on our party. Some people gave up the fight. But not Cesar. He was a comrade who to the best of his abilities was fighting to help his party make the necessary turn. Jim Cannon once said, "Soldiers of this great cause are not too many these days. For that reason each individual soldier must be appreciated all the more highly." And that's what we're here to do today, to appreciate Cesar's life.

Cesar Armendariz was born in Dallas, Texas on April 29, 1951. He was the second of six children. Cesar's mom told me that his high school years were fully devoted to having fun—and I'm sure he was good at that! Cesar's sense of humor and enjoyment of a good time, anytime, are well known in this room. He went to college at the University of Texas in El Paso in 1969 where he fell in love with learning. He majored in biology, took a minor in chemistry and was awarded a Bachelor of Science degree with honors in 1973. He received a full four-year scholarship to UCLA's medical school and later they invited him to complete his internship and residency at their own hospital.

Cesar could no doubt have succeeded in any specialty that he chose and risen to the top of his field. He was an excellent scientist, researcher and practitioner. But he didn't choose his profession because he wanted to make a lot of money. He chose it because he wanted to help people. So he chose family practice.

Alice told me that when he took his state boards, which is a real headache of a four-hour exam, the only parking spot he could find was at a two-hour meter, and he did *not* want to get a ticket. So he figured he had to get through that exam really *fast*. All the while he was taking the exam, he was worrying about that parking meter. Well, he didn't get a ticket and he scored in the top 5 percent in the state.

In 1979, Cesar met the Spartacist League. Our Marxist worldview completed his search for a way to change the world for the better. He joined the party in the summer of that year, and applied all of his intelligence and skill to building this organization into a party that could fight for power, the power to eliminate poverty, racism, injustice—all the things that he hated. In Los Angeles, Cesar immediately became a force for expanding the party's reach. He took the job of sales director and used his substantial knowledge of the city to get *Workers Vanguard* into the hands of the growing Latino workforce there.

By 1982, he was a member of the local's executive committee. That November, the Spartacist League initiated a labor/black mobilization to stop the Klan in Washington, D.C. It would have been the first time since 1925 that the Klan marched in the nation's capital. And we said, no, this will not happen! Cesar got on a plane to Washington to help organize that demonstration, which was 5,000 strong and sent the Klan packing, literally. They had to stuff their regalia in brown paper bags and scurry into an underground parking garage under police protection. That demonstration was important for us in a lot of ways. We understood the importance of having a presence in the American South, and Washington was a gateway.

We were able to set up a local committee there and after a year here in New York, Cesar moved to D.C. In 1990, shortly after his return from Berlin, he stepped forward to become the branch organizer. All during Cesar's years in Washington, our small branch regularly worked not just D.C., but Maryland and Virginia, especially the Tidewater area. A group of black workers had come from there to our 1982 anti-Klan demonstration in D.C. And the branch also often joined in regional trips to the Deep South. Whenever humanly possible, Cesar was on those trips. He loved getting out there and introducing people to a worldview that made sense.

We in the communist movement know that our most precious resource is our cadre. The Marxist program is brought to the proletariat from without, by human beings who know and understand its importance and the importance of the working class. Cesar was a real cadre. He was capable of independent command. He possessed all the skills a man needs to lead people in struggle: he could and did give classes, forums, agitational speeches; he could write leaflets, research articles and take the pictures to go with them; and above all he could talk with people, explain our perspective on the world, and draw these people in to work with us for the better future he so urgently wanted.

WV Photo

1992 photo taken by Cesar of farm workers at dawn in El Paso.

I think one of the best examples of this was his work in El Paso. El Paso is right across the river from Juárez, a city of two million in the *maquiladora* belt, an important concentration of industrial workers in northern Mexico. Cesar would go home to visit his family, and during those trips he would devote a good deal of his time to trying to bring our program to new people. During a one-week trip in 1991, he visited the picket lines of striking garment workers in El Paso who, by the way, knew how to strike. When they walked out, they took their machines with them! He found the head of the Mexican agricultural workers union in Juárez, with whom he had a wide-ranging political discussion covering everything from the Industrial Workers of the World to the Soviet working class. He researched the atrocities of the American Border Patrol, forwarding all of his materials to *WV*, and went to the University of Texas, where he visited campus organizations and introduced them to our newspaper. The reports he sent in over the years showed how he maintained contact with his acquaintances in the labor movement in El Paso and Juárez.

In the summer of 1992, he went home for his sister Jenny's wedding; he wrote, "My sister's wedding was fun, the mariachis were great and *La Cruda* (hangover) the next day not too bad." But he was working as well. He wrote:

> "I arrived at the [Santa Fe] bridge at 3 a.m. with the new *Espartaco* and the *Espartaco* "Huelga" [strike] offprint of the *WV* article. In a somewhat eerie setting the farmworkers gather from midnight to 5:30 a.m. at Santa Fe and 6th St. on the El Paso side of the bridge that comes from Juárez. They wait to be hired by the farm contractors and to be driven out to the farms for a day's labor. These men and women have virtually no money but their response to our article was quite warm. I talked about the need for international labor solidarity, about the need for a workers party—one worker asked me how to subscribe and did so."

In the beautiful displays that you see out in the hall, you'll see a wonderful picture Cesar took that morning.

It is hard to do justice to Cesar's contributions to the party. There wasn't any assignment that he wouldn't try and very few he couldn't do. He was particularly involved with bringing the case of death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal to trade unions, campuses and community organizations, always making the point that it was the same state power which locked up Jamal and was waging war on the labor movement, rolling back welfare, cutting health care, education and social services. What was to be done was always clear to Cesar—it was to build the revolutionary party.

Cesar knew how to do that. There was little more precious to him than our young comrades. He devoted much of himself to winning young people to our program. In 1988, he was instrumental in bringing a busload of black Howard University students, the "Frederick Douglass Brigade," to Philadelphia to stop the Klan from demonstrating there. And he was really good at educating, training and integrating new members into our organization. It was part of his contribution to the future.

The example he set with his life

continued on next page

continued from previous page

is one sorely needed by the betrayed youth of today's America. Cesar was a man rich in talents, which he gave freely to a cause bigger than himself or any of us. Because of that and the work he did, Cesar had the respect and confidence of his comrades, which meant the world to him. I remember how proud he was when he was elected an alternate delegate to the National Conference of the SL/U.S. in 1994.

I worked with Cesar in many different capacities over the years, but the one constant was our work together on the medical front. Our Medical Commission exists to help comrades and their families fight their way through the increasingly callous medical system. We lean heavily on our party doctors for information, for advice, and often to run interference for our comrades when they fall ill. Cesar was meticulous in his research into medical problems and his compassion knew absolutely no bounds. We just got a letter from a young comrade in Germany, Jan, which describes the way Cesar was with people:

> "In the end of 1995, I fell ill with cancer. What a shock that was! Not knowing anything about my disease. I was completely frightened, willing to do anything that the doctors in the hospital proposed. The idea that a doctor from afar could help me to enter into discussions and arguments with my doctors in Berlin about my treatment seemed very strange to me. (It seemed very strange to the doctors in the hospital as well. In fact, they refused to talk to him.) Cesar helped me to get over my initial shock, helped me to understand my disease and told me literally everything I needed to know about treatments, curability, etc.
>
> "He spent a big amount of his time to cheer me up. Obviously he had a good sense of what a patient feels like in his hospital bed. At one point he shared some gossip with me and I asked how he found out about it. I wasn't familiar with the American expression: 'I heard it through the grapevine.' In order to explain this expression to me, Cesar started singing the Marvin Gaye song."

Apparently he had to do it a couple of times before he got the tune right. And Jan ends, "His life as a communist will be an inspiration for many young communist fighters who will join our ranks in the future."

This makes his tragic death at 45 seem to me so especially unfair. A big part of our work together was keeping our comrades and friends in good health. I will really miss being "on the case" with Cesar, discussing a problem, hitting the books, working out a plan of attack, trying to out-smart the medical establishment, going to bat for our comrades and perhaps making things a little better.

Cesar was a cherished friend, not just of mine but of so many people in this room. It's hard to say good-bye to a man who loved life so much, who got so much fun out of it even when the chips were down. My heart goes out to his family. And to you, Michale. We were all so happy when you found each other. You got more than you expected, though, didn't you? I bet you didn't know that when you got Cesar you got all the rest of us, too! And the friendship, really the life, that Cesar shared with Robin and Brian and Nora and Elena was a rare gift, taken away from you way too soon. But I hope you can take some comfort in what you did have. Many people go through this life never experiencing the kind of friendship you had. Cesar loved you without reservation.

I was looking at some of Cannon's speeches this week, and I came across a passage that he wrote when a friend of his, Bill Brown, died. And I said to myself, but that's Cesar! Cannon wrote:

> "I recall [him] as a herald of the happy future when social relations will be organized sanely and will be lighted up by human joy and laughter. He was a good soldier in the emancipation struggle of the toilers.... Those who survive him and carry on the struggle, which alone gives life hope and meaning, will gratefully remember...the lion hearted fighter, the soft hearted friend."

Good-bye, Cesar.

* * * * *

Mendis family

Cesar and his companion, Michale Satchell, in 1994. At the New York City memorial meeting, Michale recalled of Cesar: "He stood for what was right and I know he stood by me."

Robin Mendis: We both joined in 1979. Cesar was a beautiful, amazing and extraordinary man. He was my comrade, my closest collaborator and best friend for over a decade. There is now a big hole in our party and in my life. He was the best communist. He made us laugh, he led our branch, he fought against injustice, against every racist outrage and the horrors of capitalism.

He understood that, "Without a penetrating, resolute and courageous party leadership, the victory of the proletarian revolution is impossible." That's from *Lessons of October* by Trotsky. Nothing was routine to him. His life was the life of our movement. He was a leader in our party, which fights to be the conscious factor in history, and his life touched many, many people.

He was everywhere: Philly, Atlanta, Springfield, Birmingham, New York, El Paso. November 27, 1982 was one of the best days of his life. He really inspired us. He was an internationalist. He went to Germany, desired to be a founder of our Mexican section and intensely followed our international sections. He had an enthusiasm for talking to youth, listening and explaining, encouraging, raising confidence and fighting with them politically. He was a doctor, but his profession was as a revolutionary. This is from *Struggle for a Proletarian Party* by Cannon. The party:

> "requires an active professional leadership, composed of individuals democratically selected and democratically controlled, who devote their entire lives to the party, and who find in the party and in its multiform activities in a proletarian environment, complete personal satisfaction.... The essence of politics is to understand the realities of a given situation, to know what is possible and what is excluded; above all, to know what to do next—and to do it."

Sometimes he had a hard time when things went wrong in the local, but he got better in recent years and he always learned from his mistakes. He was an excellent organizer with a keen sense of collaboration, organizing the sum of our parts, our strengths and weaknesses. He often substituted himself to get work done. He was kind but not a pushover, and he led many fights.

He was not Hispanic- or gay- or "doctor"-centered. He understood the black question and the Civil War, the Russian Revolution, the woman question. He helped organize our South African study group in 1987. His favorite poster—"Government Out of the Bedrooms!"—was at every forum. He was a great salesman of our press, and especially good at getting names of interested people. He always won our local sub drive.

It was great to see El Paso, where he grew up, with his wonderful family whom he loved so much. We saw where the cotton fields used to be, where he made his secret forts, where he watched *The Wizard of Oz* and still feared that tornado. We saw where he had stood on a hill, looked into Mexico with its miles of shacks and decided to join the Spartacist League.

It was hard when his dad died. What he wrote about his dad reminds me of him:

> "Together with my mother, both working people, through times of scarcity and better times, they provided, protected and nurtured. He provided music. He brought magic into our lives and we brought it into his. He loved to hear his children play. In that, there was the greatest of satisfaction. In his struggle to provide, when faced with racial discrimination or other oppression, he stood his ground, he had dignity. And as he had just retired, his desires and ideas were ever so expansive. He looked southward to the impoverished of Mexico with vague but real dreams of helping. He dreamed of a better world. A man forever giving. A man with dignity. He was proud. He commands my respect. He draws my deepest love."

Cesar was a second dad to our children. He bought them ice skates for Christmas and bathing suits for birthdays. He'd tease Nora about being our political chairman as she would suggest topics from *WV* for our forums and teach the youth the *Internationale*. He liked to hear Elena play the violin. He was very proud of both of them.

Deb spoke of the Medical Commission. He cared very deeply about the health and safety of his comrades and those they loved, all so precious to us. Cannon writes about what socialist America will look like:

> "Among the heroes of the new society, whom the youth will venerate, will be the doctors of all kinds who will

Spartakist

Le Bolchevik

Left: Cesar in Berlin as part of ICL mobilization during unfolding political revolution in East Germany, December 1989. Right: Cesar and comrades at the Wall of the Communards in Père Lachaise cemetery, Paris, with ICL wreath, 1992.

really be at the service of man in the struggle for the conquest of those diseases which lay him low."

We took care of each other. I was there when he was in the hospital, when he got results from a medical test, when he had a minor car accident, when he was beat up by the Farrakhanites, had a kidney stone or a brain overload. He was there when Nora and Elena were born, he called when I was late, he had Jeff follow me home when there was a carjacking scare, he cleaned my car during ice storms and fed me when Brian was out of town. I knew where he was, what he was doing and what he was thinking almost every moment of his life for the past decade. We never took each other for granted.

He had a beautiful, determined and full life. He liked to dance. He was gorgeous, had beautiful hands and loved many kinds of music. I was never mad at him, sometimes I would be exasperated, but never mad. Our friendship didn't affect our political relationship. He fought with me politically many times.

He would prioritize his life. The party was first fiddle, I was second, work was third, etc. He met Michele and I went right down the list. As things came up I would tease him about being down to fifth or sixth fiddle. The party was always first.

His last day was a typical crazy Saturday when we all had three assignments. We had an exec meeting where we discussed the tasks and perspectives motion that he had written. He wrote of our spring and summer of recruitment and consolidation, of an upcoming forum and class series, of political problems and necessary reorientation of the branch, of the need for continuing education, of work directed to political opponents. He wrote: "Weaknesses of the branch are best countered through maximal collective input and collaboration." He was excited about the strikes in South Korea. I met him later in the office right before he left. I even hugged him good-bye.

His last political act was to pay his sustaining pledge to the party. He deeply understood that we get our money from ourselves, not the state. This was a man who didn't care about material things in his personal life. The point about money is that socialist revolution was not a dream to him, but real and concrete. He could have led thousands.

Saying good-bye is really unbearable. We sang the *Internationale* without him on New Year's. The ICL was the essence of his life. He is a part of us and we will honor and celebrate his life by continuing to fight for the Trotskyist program both internally and externally. We believe as he did, that we are the hope for mankind and our program for workers revolution is the only way to create a world that can raise many, many children as kind and loving and wonderful as Cesar.

* * * * *

Alice Welch: I want to take this opportunity to thank everyone for this memorial, particularly all of those who went out of their way to get it organized. And I'm really surprised to see such a big, big crowd and, of course, a contingent from Washington, D.C.

I think I was the pushy one of the family. My husband was a very loving and kind man. I think Cesar took that especially from him. I think the determination was from me. I wanted to say that my husband and I had a perfect son, in many, many respects. I don't want to flood the hall with tears, but everything you've said, all the praises, the accolades, and everything that you've said—they're true! Thank you very much.

When he was going to UCLA with a group of other medical students, they were all determined they were going to work for *la Raza*, to help the people. Once they graduated, the other doctors felt the greed and the money, and they fell by the wayside. Cesar was the only one going on straight with his principles and his beliefs. And I was very proud of him.

Another person who always looked up to him and loved him was my sister. My sister and I are totally different. She's a writer, a playwright, and she writes short stories. After the funeral, she came up to me and she said, "Alice, I was always so jealous of your son. And the reason is I wanted to have a son like him all my life, because I knew what he was fighting for and I knew what he believed and all his principles."

* * * * *

William Gruen: In my four years at Howard, Cesar's unbending determination to politically intervene, often in the face of hostile audiences and black nationalist pressures, had a profound effect on my recruitment to the youth and on my political development as a whole, helping me realize the necessity of a sharp understanding of the nature of black oppression in this society and why communist revolution was the only way to break the chains of capitalist slavery and achieve black liberation.

Just before I left D.C. to come to work in New York City, I discussed with Cesar my preliminary New York schedule, which was to be split between campus work and work in the party's maintenance department. He stressed how important it was to pay close attention to the task at hand and learn the methods used in both preparing and executing tasks.

The most important note that Cesar wrote me was part of a farewell card when I departed D.C. The other comrades who signed the card wrote very thoughtful compliments regarding my political growth while I was there. Uniquely though, Cesar used this occasion as a chance to point out some of my weaknesses, and most importantly to prescribe a path forward. He wrote:

> "Stood your ground with the Farrakhanites like a rock of granite! I'll miss you in D.C., although just down the road, I-95.... Need more depth by reading—self-study persistently. Good luck. A communist leader you can be."

These words will live with me forever. The intensity that Cesar put into his work to fight for revolutionary change to free humanity from oppression through workers revolution, that will never die, too. That will live forever. In a very real way, he tried to prescribe a path for all young comrades, and all comrades who were fortunate enough to work with this beautiful man.

* * * * *

Francisco Garcia: As a Chicano student at UCLA, Cesar was on the receiving end of police billy clubs. Also, at the time he was reading *Quotations from Chairman Mao*. Many of his peers were doing the same. But about two years before he got to know us better, a comrade managed to sell him some of our polemics against Maoism at a demonstration. That literature that we sold him rendered him unfit for Maoism ever after.

In 1988, he was looking into the possibility of transferring to Mexico as part of an international effort to get a station started. But the Mexican state would not let him, a Mexican born in the U.S., practice on Mexican soil because he did not go to school at an accredited Mexican institution.

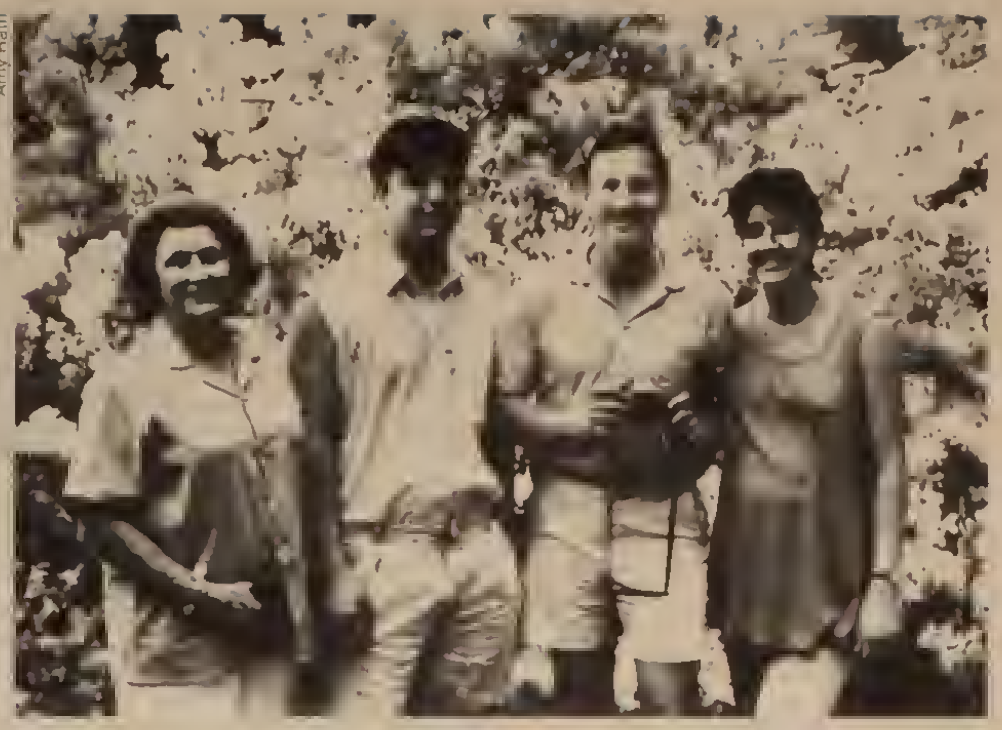
Then, one year later, in the winter of 1989-90, during the German campaign, he was looking into every possibility he could to find a job so that he could do effective work into the unfolding political revolution as a disciplined member of the party that, if given the opportunity, would take power, no hesitation.

* * * * *

Brian Mendis: The true value of a man is measured and treasured in the life he lived and the character of the service he rendered to humanity. On both counts Cesar stands with the best.

I want to tell one story from a few years ago. As most of you probably remember, we organized a campaign in defense of Jalalabad and, for several years after that, we were on good terms with people from the Afghan embassy. Down in D.C., they would invite us to their annual affair, to which they invited the diplomats from all of the "friendly" countries. When the U.S. build-up was occurring in the Persian Gulf in 1990, we were pushing for the Soviet government to fulfill its responsibilities toward Iraq. We had written letters and contacted various Soviet embassies around the world. So we had an opportunity at the Afghan soiree, since the Soviet ambassador to the U.S. was there. He was an elderly bureaucrat, pasty-faced and all the rest. The Afghans were very friendly, introducing Cesar and me to people and all I could understand were the words "Jalalabad" and "Partisan Defense Committee." We had a letter from the ICL with us. Cesar just walked right up to the Soviet ambassador and gave him this spiel: "You must defend Iraq and you must fulfill your responsibilities," and so on. The Soviet ambassador looked like he had seen a ghost. He turned completely pale and he must have been thinking, "This isn't very diplomatic!"

To say that there was not a mean bone in Cesar's body is an understatement. He had no enemies, at least not personal. And it's not because he was afraid to pick a fight, because he was quite willing to pick fights. But his fights were always free of personal animosity, arrogance or rancor. And we can do no greater service to him than to continue his fights, the fight to make a revolution here. ■



Amy Rath

Cesar with his mother Alice, brother Marty and sister Jenny at Botanical Gardens, Washington, D.C.

Amy Rath

Cesar with Elena, Nora and Brian Mendis. At memorial meeting, Elena read a poem she composed to honor Cesar (below) and Nora read one of his favorite poems by Pablo Neruda (excerpted at right).

Now I will tell you a poem.

CESAR

Cesar our best friend
just left us last night
Me and my sister knew
him since first sight We
all love him dearly
so don't have a fright,
He's still in our memories
and he was our best
friend for life

WE LOVE
YOU CESAR!!

By Elena Mendis

Ode to the Tomato

The street
drowns in tomatoes:
noon,
summer,
light
breaks
in two
tomato
halves,
and the streets
run
with juice.
In December
the tomato
cuts loose,
invades
kitchens,
takes over lunches,
settles
at rest
on sideboards,
with the glasses,
butter dishes,
blue salt-cellars.
It has
its own radiance,
a goodly majesty.
Too bad we must
assassinate:
a knife
plunges
into its living pulp,
..

Berlin...

(continued from page 1)

anti-racist protesters: "Berlin is a labor and left city, a Jewish city, a Turkish city, a Kurdish city. It's our city and we aren't going to let the Nazis march here!" An SpAD press release issued that afternoon reported:

> "Under massive protection of the state, the Nazis wanted to crawl out of their rat holes in order to recruit to their program of firebombing, murder and genocide. But it didn't happen here! The determined action of all the anti-fascist fighters on 15 February was a fitting memorial to the martyred Frank Böttcher, a 17-year-old leftist youth who was brutally stabbed to death just days ago by a Nazi gang in Magdeburg."

On one week's notice, several organizations swung into action with calls for demonstrations against the fascists. A call to mobilize at the same time and place where the Nazis intended to start their rally was issued by the Trade Unionists Against Racism and Fascism, Anti-Fascist Action and other "antifa" groups. Meanwhile, the Social Democrats (SPD), the ex-Stalinist social-democratic Party of Democratic Socialism (PDS) and others appealed to the state to "ban" its Nazi dogs of war, and called for a demonstration some distance away from the site of the intended Nazi assembly. The SpAD and the Spartakist Youth called on all opponents of Nazi terror to join the former demonstration, at the same time and place where the Nazis intended to mobilize.

The rapidly shifting events and challenges in the course of building this protest were a test in action of the competing political programs of the anarchists, the SPD, the PDS and the authentic communists represented by the SpAD. A February 11 SpAD leaflet emphasized: "*Only a united-front action based on the social power of the workers and which defends and draws in all the oppressed and exploited can stop the Nazi terror, which ultimately is aimed at the organizations of the workers movement itself.*"

The SpAD counterposed its call for worker/immigrant mobilizations to appeals to the Fourth Reich by the trade-union tops and PDS Hellersdorf district mayor Uwe Klett (echoed by local Christian Democratic [CDU] politicians) to "ban the fascists." Our comrades warned: "You can't stop the fascists together with the bourgeois state which protects and uses them.... Only the proletarian united front, which the Trotskyists fought for in the '30s against the betrayal of the SPD and against the shameful 'social fascism' politics of Stalin/Thälmann, could have prevented the Nazi regime and the Holocaust and opened the way to overthrowing the bourgeoisie which Hitler served."

Today, the government's hounding of immigrants is used to whip up German nationalism—and the fascists are the most consistent German nationalists. The assault on immigrants is the spearhead of a mobilization by the capitalist class against the entire workers movement. Meanwhile, across Europe the workers have responded with class struggle to defend their living standards.

With their chauvinist call for "jobs for Germans first," the fascists hope to seize on widespread despair in the face of escalating unemployment to push their genocidal program against immigrants and workers of Turkish and Kurdish descent. As our comrades' leaflet pointed out, this is particularly true in eastern Germany in the aftermath of capitalist *Anschluss* (annexation):

> "That is the result of the capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet Union and the sellout of the East German deformed workers state by the SED/PDS. As we warned at the time in our call for the Treptow rally at the beginning of January 1990, where 250,000 demonstrated against the Nazi desecration of the Soviet memorial: 'Resurgent fascism is still an extremist fringe phenomenon. It would again threaten all of humanity as soon as the first crises appear in a reunited Greater Germany.' We Trotskyists fought then for a proletarian political revolution to overthrow the Stalinist bureaucracy in the East and for a socialist revolution in the West—for a Red Soviet Germany.
>
> "Today we see the effects of *Anschluss* in the former DDR, where practically all large-scale industry was smashed by the counterrevolution. In this situation the fascists again smell their chance to come to the aid of the capitalists with their hate-mongering slogan, 'Jobs for Germans first,' deflecting rage over the bankruptcy of the 'market economy' against immigrant workers—as was done in 1933 against the Jews. The sharpened rivalries between the imperialists and the accompanying massive attacks on the workers have led across Europe to the growth of fascist movements."

Spartakist

Spartakist Workers Party contingent leads militant protesters in stopping Nazi provocation. Banner reads: "Stop the Nazis Through Workers United-Front Action! Full Citizenship Rights for Immigrant Workers and Their Families!"

The SpAD leaflet excoriated the trade-union bureaucrats who have bought into the bosses' anti-immigrant frenzy—like IG Metall chief Zwickel, who scandalously echoed the Nazis' battle cry with a demand for "foreigner quotas." It's an outrage that such a racist demand is voiced by the head of IG Metall, which organizes more immigrant workers than any other union in Germany. Meanwhile the police terror against immigrants is increasingly aimed at these very trade unions, including bloody baton attacks on trade-union rallies.

Cristian V. Polentz

Berlin cops protect Nazi skinheads holed up in train car. Cops brutally beat anti-fascist protesters, arrested over 100. Drop the charges!

A Test of Program in Action

As opposition to the Nazi mobilization mounted throughout Berlin, the government and its mouthpieces in the bourgeois press worked overtime to lull and demobilize the Nazis' intended victims. The bourgeois press ran lying stories that the Nazis' threatened provocation was canceled, and Berlin interior minister Schönbohm announced on February 13 that the Nazis would instead rally at an undisclosed indoor site under police protection.

The SpAD played a critical role in countering the government's cover-up for the Nazis. Our comrades blanketed Humboldt University and some of the heavily integrated factories in Berlin with a second leaflet calling to "Stop the Nazis!" and warning: "Don't be fooled by any tricks.... Full steam ahead. A joint demonstration of thousands of working people and all potential victims of the Nazis must *guarantee* that there is no place for Nazis in Berlin."

The political battle continued on the morning of February 15, as our comrades fought to pull together the diverse forces at the site into the largest possible united mobilization to counter the massive cop presence and to put the Nazis on the run. This required political combat with the do-nothing PDS/SPD/CDU "stay away" crowd and some chaotic anti-communist, anarchoid types. The SpAD built a substantial contingent and sent out effective "agit-prop" teams to the other, PDS-led demonstration to agitate and appeal for *organized united-front action* to *stop* the Nazis.

Bullhorning to the 700 assembled at the PDS "peaceful, legal" gabfest, our comrades warned against any confidence in the bourgeois state and urged: "Enough has been said here, now it is necessary to act—that means to *stop the Nazis*. That's why we are now leaving, to unite with those at Kaulsdorf train station who want to stop the Nazis." Our speech hit the crowd like a tidal wave. Scandalously, "Trade Unionists Against Racism" denounced us as "splitters" and declared they would "spontaneously" decide where to go. As we replied that we had no time to wait for their "spontaneity," some 300 of the demonstrators—including a contingent of Jusos (SPD youth) led by the Cliffite group Linksruck, which is buried inside the SPD—surged forward to link up with the other anti-Nazi forces, chanting "Smash the fascists!"

Meanwhile at Kaulsdorf, the AA/BO (Anti-Fascist Action/National Organization) called from their sound truck to *dissolve the demonstration*, dangerously urging protesters to proceed individually to where the Nazis had been sighted at Wuhletal station. The SpAD contingent immediately turned toward Wuhletal and chanted, "Stand together to stop the fascists!" A number of *Autonom* (anarchoid) youth, Turkish and Kurdish student youth and others joined us and marched off as a disciplined, determined, anti-fascist

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series

BOSTON
Alternate Wednesdays, 7:00 p.m. Next class, March 5: ***Marxism and Special Oppression: The Black Question***; Boston University, School of Education, Room 206
Information and readings: (617) 666-9453

NEW BRUNSWICK, NJ
Saturdays, 3:00 p.m. Next classes, March 8, ***The Marxist Program***; March 15: ***The State***; Rutgers College, room to be announced
Information and readings (212) 267-1025

NEW YORK CITY
Alternate Thursdays, 7:30 p.m. Next classes, March 6: ***The Marxist Program***; March 20: ***The State***; Spartacist Public Office, 41 Warren Street (one block below Chambers Street, near Church Street)
Information and readings: (212) 267-1025

SAN FRANCISCO
Alternate Thursdays, 5:30 p.m. Next class, February 27: ***The Marxist Understanding of the State***; San Francisco State University, Student Union, Room C116
Information and readings: (415) 777-9367 or (510) 839-0851

CHICAGO
Alternate Thursdays, 6:00 p.m. Next class, March 6: ***The Marxist Understanding of the State***; University of Chicago, Cobb Hall, Room 207
Information and readings: (312) 454-4930

SANTA CRUZ, CA
Alternate Tuesdays, 7 p.m. Next class, March 4: ***The Revolutionary Party and the Working Class***; University of California, Santa Cruz, Kresge 325
Information and readings: (510) 839-0851

TORONTO
Alternate Thursdays, 7 p.m. Next class, February 27: ***The Degeneration of the USSR: How the Soviet Workers State Was Strangled***; International Student Centre, 33 St. George St., University of Toronto
Information and readings: (416) 593-4138

VANCOUVER
Alternate Wednesdays, 7 p.m. Next classes, February 26: ***The State and Revolution***; March 12: ***The Bolshevik Revolution***; UBC, Student Union Building, Room 213
Information and readings: (604) 687-0353

bloc...while the AA/BO leadership stayed behind!

As the anti-fascists—with SpAD banners in the lead and anarchists and Jusos behind us—neared the Wuhletal train station, they met a cordon of police vans and a phalanx of cops with water cannon. Some clever and courageous anti-racist youth had spotted the train car the police had reserved for the Nazis on the elevated platform and were already giving the fascists a good drubbing. Taking the relatively few cops at the subway entrance by surprise, our comrades stormed up the stairs. Our chants of "*Nazis raus!*" echoed loudly through the station. Meanwhile, in consonance with their wishy-washy politics, the Jusos hesitated and left a space for the cops to close in behind us.

A pitched battle ensued, as the cops went directly for the anti-fascist protesters' heads. One young woman comrade of the Berlin Spartakist Youth was smashed in the face by a cop and sent to the hospital with a broken nose requiring surgery. We were told that other protesters had been brutally beaten in police vans. Over 100 leftists were arrested. We demand: *Drop the charges against all anti-Nazi protesters!*

At the same time, cops were picking skinheads up off the platform and moving them into special subway cars and waiting police vans to speed them to safety. Andreas Storr, self-appointed *führer* of the fascist "Young National Democrats," was seen scurrying for police protection. When reports came in that antifa motorcycle scouts had spotted more Nazis at a nearby train station, Kaulsdorf Nord, the SpAD formed up the remaining anti-fascist forces, still several hundred strong, and marched there at top speed. Finding no Nazis there, the protesters joined with the SpAD in a victory rally.

A report in *Neues Deutschland* (17 February), which is sympathetic to the PDS, falsely credits the PDS with a key role in stopping the Nazis, while acknowledging that Spartakists and *Autonomes* tried to drive the fascists off the train platform. The very next day, in an interview with the Berlin daily *Tagesspiegel*, PDSer Klett distanced himself from the "brawl" on the train platform and called it "questionable" whether those who led the breakaway from the PDS rally in order to *stop* the fascists "could be considered leftists," a standard Stalinist slander of Trotskyists now used in the service of the Fourth Reich.

Reuters

Job trainees at recent march in the Ruhr industrial area protesting unemployment. Signs read: "More Than Four Million Jobless" and "We Demand Training for Everyone!"

Klett's craven repudiation is in line with the PDS's actual role, which was to *demobilize* the anti-Nazi forces. After shamefully standing on the sidelines of the battle, the PDS then joined in *against* the anti-fascists. Acting in concert with the cops, PDS mayor Klett bellowed over a sound system that the attacks against the Nazis on the platform must stop. And while the PDS tries to paint itself as in the vanguard of the fight against fascism, its support to German nationalism has in the past led it into sordid embraces of right-wing chauvinist forces, including a 1993 meeting between a prominent PDS spokesman and a leader of the Nazi "Nationale Offensive."

The PDS and SPD promote suicidal illusions in bourgeois democracy, looking to the capitalist state to ban the fascists in order to "clean up" the Fourth Reich's image in the eyes of the world. But, as Spartakist spokesman Toralf Endruweit said to a roar of applause at the anti-fascist protest: "We aren't here to show the clean face of Germany, because there isn't any. We aren't here for a 'well-fortified or watchful democracy,' because this bourgeois democracy protects the fascists and beats up on immigrants and leftists. We're here to stop the fascists!"

Only Socialist Revolution Can Eradicate the Fascist Threat!

Across Europe, racist attacks on immigrants are at the cutting edge of the capitalist rulers' assault on the living standards and union organizations of the entire working class. The interests of labor and minorities must advance together or they will fall back together.

In Germany, fascist arson attacks against immigrant hostels have become so common that they no longer even get reported unless people are killed. Fascist terror is also on the rise in Italy and France, where Le Pen's National Front (NF) recently won governmental control of yet another southern city. The NF has already been implementing its program with "ethnic cleansing" and murderous thug attacks on leftists and immigrants. To combat the fascist threat requires not just militant street actions, although they certainly have their place, but a program for revolutionary struggle.

The fascists are recruiting precisely because they are the only force which appears to offer a "radical" social program. The anarchists offer no program for fighting capitalism, while the bankrupt reformist misleaders—tailed by the centrists—seek to divert working-class anger against skyrocketing unemployment into the same anti-immigrant chauvinism pushed by the fascists. We Trotskyists fight for a program of proletarian revolution to sweep away the capitalist system and its fascist dogs of war. The only way to eradicate unemployment, to provide decent housing, education and social services for all, to eliminate the danger of new imperialist wars and new Holocausts, lies through the expropriation of the bourgeoisie and the creation of an egalitarian socialist society internationally. For a Socialist United States of Europe!

This requires an uncompromising fight against the poisonous racism which divides the working class. Indifference to racial oppression flows directly from a program of *class collaboration* with your own bourgeoisie. We Trotskyists of the International Communist League fight for a new, revolutionary leadership—a proletarian internationalist Leninist party—to unite the working class in opposition to its class enemy and to fight for new October socialist revolutions worldwide. ■

Geronimo...

(continued from page 16)

was their informant; one, Fred Willis, produced his notebook from 1970 which recorded discussions with Butler.

Butler's assistance to the government paid off. With the D.A.'s agreement, he got no jail time for the felonies. Nor was he ever charged with possession of the gun, despite the fact that the FBI, the LAPD, the D.A. and the sheriff's department knew that this convicted felon owned it. Just days after Geronimo's conviction, Butler's fine for the Taylor beating was reduced, and all the charges were reduced to misdemeanors through the intervention of prosecuting attorney (now L.A. Superior Court judge) Richard Kalustian—so that Butler could become a lawyer!

The defense summary brief outlines how the prosecution's failure to disclose its information on Butler prevented Geronimo from exposing as a lie Butler's testimony in 1972 that he was "never in the world a snitch" and showing that Butler had gained by helping frame up Geronimo. A startling piece of new evidence presented at the recent hearing involved an Internal Affairs investigation of Sergeant Rice. That was when investigating officer Edmond Lutes first learned from the FBI of Butler's letter and of four FBI interviews with Butler and Rice. Lutes also discovered that Butler's gun had been signed out of the police evidence room by the FBI. Despite the fact that *Lutes' entire investigation was tape-recorded*, none of this evidence was disclosed to Geronimo's lawyers. There was no testimony at the trial about the gun, the FBI or the existence of the tapes!

The chief of the D.A.'s intelligence unit testified at the recent hearing that he'd had personal contact with the FBI and LAPD in the period before Geronimo's trial and had filled out the confidential informant cards on Butler. While claiming he never checked the cards before the trial, he admits that the whole purpose of his unit was to provide all of this information to the prosecuting attorney, who never revealed any of it to the defense.

Butler continues to claim he was not an informant, despite testimony to the contrary by five officers from the LAPD and D.A.'s office. Noting conflicting stories presented by Butler and D.A. investigator Morris Bowles, Judge Dickey told the hearing, "It's always unfortunate when the Court has to reach the conclusion that somebody is deliberately lying on the witness stand." As Geronimo's brief points out, had such irreconcilable testimony been aired at the original trial, the jury might well have disbelieved Butler and questioned the entire case against Geronimo.

The evidence presented at the hearing and summed up by the legal papers is iron-clad proof that Geronimo was framed up, and cries out for the immediate release of this fighter for black rights. But proof of innocence is no guarantee against prosecution in this capitalist system of racist injustice, where the state and its courts exist to protect the wealth and power of the ruling class. And there are plenty of people in high places whose careers were made through participating in this frame-up, for whom an overturn of Geronimo's conviction would be an admission of their criminal complicity in the FBI/police vendetta.

The fight to free Geronimo is part of the struggle against racist oppression in America—and we must redouble our efforts on his behalf now. As we wrote last month: "There is no way to rectify the vicious actions of the ruling class and its state against him—injustice has been irrevocably committed. Geronimo doesn't need a new trial; he needs his freedom" (*WV* No. 659, 10 January).

Geronimo's supporters should come to Orange County Superior Court—Department 35, 700 Civic Center Drive West, Santa Ana, at 9:00 a.m. on February 27. The hearing begins at 10:00 a.m. Send desperately needed funds to the Prisoner Litigation Trust Fund, c/o Stuart Hanlon, 214 Duboce Street, San Francisco, CA 94103. ■

International Communist League
(Fourth Internationalist)

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Spartacist League/U.S.	Spartacist League, Box 1377 GPO New York, NY 10116, USA

Global ...

(continued from page 5)

collapse of the Soviet Union was only the first major political convulsion produced by the transformation of the forms of production. The qualitative advances in the integration of world economy dealt the final blow to the autarchic national policies of the Stalinist regime."

By their own terms, for the Northites the Soviet working class simply did not exist as even a potential factor in deciding the fate of the Soviet Union. The IC has effectively **repudiated** the Trotskyist program of **proletarian political revolution** against the Stalinist bureaucracy as even a historical possibility in this supposedly new era of "globalized" capitalism. The 1938 Transitional Program, written when the Soviet Union was relatively far more economically backward and geographically isolated than in the 1980s, stated, "either the bureaucracy, becoming ever more the organ of the world bourgeoisie in the workers' state, will overthrow the new form of property and plunge the country back into capitalism; or the working class will crush the bureaucracy and open the way to socialism."

What did Trotsky mean here about opening "the way to socialism"? Wouldn't a Russian-centered Soviet workers state, even if administered on the basis of proletarian democracy and governed by a genuinely communist vanguard party, still be surrounded by hostile and economically more advanced capitalist states? Yes, of course. However, the overthrow of the Stalinist bureaucracy by the Soviet working class, under the banner of proletarian internationalism, would have reawakened and inspired revolutionary fervor among the workers, rural toilers and oppressed peoples throughout the capitalist world. And a communist government of the USSR would have provided invaluable political, economic and, if necessary, military support for proletarian revolutions in capitalist states, including the imperialist powers.

For Proletarian Political Revolution in China!

As against **all** the various pretenders to Trotskyism, not least North's IC, our tendency unambiguously and consistently called for unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union and the deformed workers states against imperialism and internal counterrevolution, as we do today in regard to the remaining deformed workers states—Cuba, China, North Korea and Vietnam. The International Communist League mobilized all the limited resources at our command during the political turmoil in the East German (DDR) deformed workers state in 1989-90, fighting for proletarian political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracy which, in league with West German imperialism and its Social Democratic lackeys, pushed for a capitalist reunification of Germany. Uniquely, the ICL opposed capitalist *Anschluss* (annexation) down the line, calling instead for a "Red Germany of Workers Councils" as part of a Socialist United States of Europe.

And during the terminal crisis of Stalinist rule in the USSR, our tendency actively intervened in the Soviet Union with the program and perspective of proletarian political revolution to "open the way to socialism." The counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union was no more objectively inevitable in 1991-92 than in 1941, when the USSR was invaded by Nazi Germany. The direction taken by Russia, the Ukraine and other Soviet republics when the Kremlin bureaucracy disintegrated under Gorbachev, while conditioned by the pressures of the world capitalist market, was determined by the struggle of living social and political forces. A decisive factor in the outcome was a retrogression in the political consciousness of the Soviet working class brought about by three generations of Stalinism in power. Widespread apathy and cynicism as well as, to a certain degree, illusions in Western-type bourgeois democracy among the masses allowed the ascendancy of the counterrevolutionary forces centered around Boris Yeltsin in Russia and around anti-Soviet nationalists in the non-Russian republics.

In the case of the USSR, the Northites maintain that the capitalist counterrevolution which actually did take place was inevitable. In the case of China, they maintain that a capitalist counterrevolution has already taken place when it has **not yet** occurred. A major article in their *Fourth International* (Winter-Spring 1994), titled "The Political Background of the Restoration of Capitalism in China," asserts:

> "The state which issued from the Chinese Revolution no longer defends or maintains the limited gains won by the workers and peasants in 1949....
>
> "The Chinese state is not, even in the most distorted sense, an instrument for the defense of the working class.... The state defends the interests of the bureaucracy as a privileged social layer increasingly linked to the rising capitalist class and, through them, the interests of imperialism itself."

Despite the significant inroads made by capital, both domestic and foreign, over the past several years, the People's Republic of China remains a **bureaucratically deformed workers state**. The author of the article quoted above, one Martin McLaughlin, is here plagiarizing without attribution the Maoist doctrine of "capitalist roadism" and applying it to Mao's one-time chief rival within the Beijing Stalinist regime, Deng Xiaoping. Significantly but predictably, not once is the Trotskyist program of proletarian political revolution mentioned in this lengthy article, which purports to cover the entire history of China in the 20th century.

In contrast, a "Perspectives and Tasks Memorandum" adopted by our international tendency in January 1996 states:

> "The next period is likely to see the breakdown and terminal crisis of Stalinist rule in China as powerful elements in the bureaucracy, directly tied to offshore Chinese capital and actively supported by Western and Japanese imperialism, continue to drive toward capitalist restoration. The Chinese working class, although heretofore limited by police repression to actions at individual workplaces, has in recent years exhibited massive discontent with the social degradation, insecurities and blatant inequalities generated by Deng's 'market socialist' program. The rural economy has experienced the rise of a class of relatively wealthy peasant smallholders while an estimated 100 million landless peasants have flooded into the cities. We can thus foresee monumental class battles leading either to proletarian political revolution or capitalist counterrevolution in the most populous nation on earth."

Tyler/NY Times

Workers in state-owned auto factory in China. Drive of Beijing Stalinist bureaucracy toward capitalist restoration can be defeated only through proletarian political revolution.

"Transnational" Corporations and Imperialist States: Antagonists or Partners?

A central element in the theory of a new "globalized" capitalist economy is that transnational corporations have supplanted nation-states as the dominant institutions in world power politics. In his latest book, *Global Dreams: Imperial Corporations and the New World Order* (1994), leading American left-liberal intellectual Richard J. Barnet maintains:

> "The architects and managers of these space-age business enterprises understand that the balance of power in world politics has shifted in recent years from territorially bound governments to companies that can roam the world. As the hopes and pretensions of government shrink almost everywhere, these imperial corporations are occupying public space and exerting a more profound influence over the lives of ever larger numbers of people."

A more extreme version of the same thesis is presented by another American radlib intellectual, David Korten, in his 1995 book, *When Corporations Rule the World*.

The current view of the International Committee is essentially similar, as North stated in a 1992 speech:

> "Under the aegis of imperialism, the globalization of production collides against the nation-state form within which capitalist rule is rooted....
>
> "The web of alliances being formed by various transnational corporations, such as Toshiba, IBM and Siemens, expresses the organic drive of the productive forces to organize themselves on a world scale. But the other side of the same process is the growing antagonism among nation-states and the eruption of various forms of national and communal conflict."
>
> — *Capital, Labor and the Nation-State* (1992)

Transnational corporations are here counterposed to imperialist nation-states. Moreover, the former are presented as (relatively) progressive, since they serve as agents of global economic integration, while the latter are viewed as reactionary and obsolete. North's statement is diametrically counterposed to what Lenin argues in his *Imperialism*. In particular, North's view of the capitalists as an international class flies in the face of the Marxist understanding that the bourgeoisie cannot transcend national interests (for further discussion, see "On Bourgeois Class Consciousness," *Spartacist* No. 24, Autumn 1977).

In the Barnet/Korten/North view, corporations like IBM, Siemens and Toshiba are devoted solely to maximizing their profits on a global scale; their directors and stockholders supposedly don't care whether their actions strengthen or weaken the American, German and Japanese bourgeois states. This view expresses a **liberal idealist outlook** since it implicitly assumes that capitalists do not need state power—i.e., armed bodies of men—to protect their property against challenges from both the exploited classes and rival capitalists in other countries. Wall Street bankers and the CEOs of the Fortune 500 corporations understand (as Richard Barnet and David North apparently do not) that Mexican and South Korean workers are not devout believers in the sanctity of private property. Replying to similar arguments at the time, notably by German Social Democrat Karl Kautsky, Lenin in his 1916 study of imperialism quoted the German economist Schulze-Gaevernitz:

> "Great Britain grants loans to Egypt, Japan, China and South America. Her navy plays here the part of bailiff in case of necessity. Great Britain's political power protects her from the indignation of her debtors."

The same applies to the U.S., Germany and Japan, whose armed forces are prepared to act as "bailiff in case of necessity." Whether undertaken by corporations, banks or other financial institutions, foreign investment depends on the political, economic and military power of the states controlled by the owners of these capitalist enterprises.

North & Co. have not yet revised or repudiated the position that the Republican and Democratic parties represent the interests of the American bourgeoisie. Why then do the political leaders of these parties continue to expend hundreds of billions of dollars a year on the U.S. armed forces? Even an old-fashioned liberal like Russell Baker has observed: "The era of big government is over except for the Pentagon" (*New York Times*, 24 September 1996). That's because the Pentagon provides and organizes the security guards, so to speak, to protect the property of American capitalists in other countries. Citibank and Exxon are no more independent of, much less antagonistic to, the American imperialist state than Barings Bank and Royal Dutch Shell were independent of the British imperialist state in the pre-1914 era.

Indeed, if the recent merger announcement by Boeing and McDonnell Douglas demonstrates anything, it is that "multinational" corporations—especially so in strategic industries like electronics and aerospace—are very much rooted in their own nation-states. This monopolistic merger is aimed not only at reinforcing the U.S. aerospace and weapons industry but at increasing its competitive edge against rivals like the West European Airbus conglomerate.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

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Chicago...

(continued from page 16)

anti-Klan demonstrators with batons. Many were injured."

As legal papers for the defendants have pointed out, the actions of city and police officials on June 29 were part of a series of attempts to quash any and all protest in Chicago in the months leading up to the Democratic National Convention last August. The anti-Klan defendants were arrested for the "crime" of exercising their First Amendment right to protest. If the cops and courts get away with punishing anti-fascist protesters for taking a stand against race-hate provocations in Chicago, a heavily labor, black and minority city, it will be a green light for the racist terrorists everywhere. All out to defend the Anti-Klan Three! Be there: February 28, 8:30 a.m., Circuit Court of Cook County, 1340 South Michigan Avenue.

Below we print a slightly abridged and edited speech by Spartacus Youth Club spokesman Michael Davidsson at a January 22 speakout at the University of Chicago to defend the Anti-Klan Three.

* * *

I want to discuss what the Klan is in the context of how to fight it. Simply stated, the Klan is a fascist paramilitary organization with a long and sordid history of race-terror in this country. Its purpose is to perpetrate genocide and to smash workers' organizations—two goals that are intimately linked. As those who are repulsed by such a grotesque organization, how do we respond to it?

One's first inclination might be to ignore the Klan, rationalizing that they are not a threat. But this rationalization is dead wrong. When the Klan is ignored, they commit their crimes unopposed, with impunity, and at an ever greater rate. Klan rallies are the organizing sites for lynch mob terror. Klan rallies are not a "free speech" issue. Their public appearances are forums to recruit to genocide,

Young Spartacus

Spartacus Youth Club spokesman Mike Davidsson addresses University of Chicago speakout, January 22.

not academic debates over the legitimacy of racism as an ideology. The increasing presence of the Klan throughout the Midwest is echoed in the epidemic of malicious arson attacks directed against black and integrated churches in the South and in highly publicized racist assaults.

And the North is far from immune from this infection. Immediately prior to the PDC-initiated mobilization against the Klan in Springfield, Illinois in 1994, Cathy Long, a black mother of two in South Bend, Indiana, was brutally murdered by four white-supremacists. Two weeks prior to the June 29 mobilization, a cross ominously was burned outside the Blue Island home of a black family. Wherever it raises its ugly head, the Klan has proved a deadly threat to blacks, Jews, Hispanics, gays, Catholics, labor and leftists. Yes, the Klan is an unwavering enemy of organized labor and leftists. The fascist ideology at the root of its once-routine lynchings of labor and civil rights organizers and of the 1979 massacre of five leftists in Greensboro, North Carolina thrives in the form of the recent cross-burning against a poultry workers' organizing drive in Alabama.

In the climate of racist reaction fostered by both the Democrats and the Republicans, the Klan gains some legitimacy. Its race-terror is in lockstep with the actions of the rulers of America, who dismantle social programs for the working class and the poor, with minorities cast prominently in the role of scapegoats.

The unions have the potential to fight against capitalist exploitation, but they require a revolutionary leadership to unleash that potential. The union bureaucrats oppose class struggle and act only as front men for Clinton and the Democrats. These labor misleaders, along with the black Democrats, stifle the justified rage of the working class and the oppressed against the rulers of America as well as the Klan. They redirected social protest from the streets into Clinton's reelection campaign. They have acquiesced to federal control over the unions. They have aided and abetted the racist war on immigrants and pushed chauvinistic protectionism. Then, when the bipartisan ax chopped into the very heart of welfare, they were silent.

Prominent Nation of Islam (NOI) leader Farrakhan is a symbol of defiance for many. But he wants blacks cravenly to atone for their own oppression so that he can promote a handful of black capitalists who seek to exploit "their own." His program of racial separatism mirrors that of the Klan. In fact, he appeals to many of the same prejudices as the Klan. He is anti-woman, anti-gay and anti-Semitic. The NOI provided security at a recent speaking appearance of the Hitler-loving propagandist David Irving in downtown Oakland, and the NOI has accepted donations from fascists. Farrakhan's program is anathema to those who fight for black liberation through socialist revolution. Integrated struggle against the common source of oppression—the capitalist system—is the means to combat racism.

Misleaders often plead for reliance upon the cops to stop the Klan. But this strategy is as deadly as ignoring the Klan, because the cops *protect* the Klan. The police assault on the June 29 anti-Klan demonstrators was not unique. The cops have shielded the Klan in the past and were determined to clear the streets of social protest so that the unrest of the 1968 Democratic National Convention would not repeat itself. This silencing of social protest also is part of a larger gutting of fundamental democratic rights, as the chasm between the few exploiting capitalists and the mass of workers widens.

With the widening of this chasm, the cops are granted ever greater powers to target the same people that the Klan does. The police that demand the vindictive prosecution of the Anti-Klan Three are members of a department mired in frame-ups and corruption. The case of Rolando Cruz, who sacrificed nearly a decade of his life on death row before his conviction was overturned, is illustrative. Three former prosecutors and four sheriff's deputies were indicted by a special grand jury for fabricating evidence and presenting false testimony at his frame-up trial. Of more recent vintage, seven Austin, Illinois cops were arrested on federal charges of conspiracy to commit robbery and extortion. Atrocities abound in which the cops have executed innocent workers and minorities in Chicago, such as 22-year-old deaf black wrestler Eric Smith. Since the cops are not our friends, we should not abdicate in the fight against the Klan, but rather should inform the Klan ourselves in no uncertain terms that they are not welcome to rally for genocide.

Another losing strategy is allowing anti-fascist protesters to be herded into police pens. In fact, many other leftist organizations will lead you straight into these pens. But those in the pens are at the mercy of the cops and have diluted their potential strength. The pens are police traps to contain social protest.

We must adopt the only viable means to fight the Klan, unleashing the social power of labor. The integrated labor movement and all opponents of racist terror must build mass mobilizations of all the Klan's intended victims. Mobilizing labor is both necessary and possible. In 1982, an SL-initiated, 3,000-strong mobilization of unionists, blacks, Jews, gays, leftists and others greeted a gang of Nazi stormtroopers who tried to rally under the protection of hundreds of cops in a bid to disrupt Gay Pride Day in Chicago. In January 1994, the PDC initiated a 500-strong labor/black mobilization against the Klan in Springfield, Illinois, at which a hard core of Chicago labor and students protested in a sub-zero blizzard.

As students and youth, we must take the decisive step and align ourselves with the working class. This identification of our interests with those of the working class is not as dated as the racist rulers of America would have you believe. Throughout the world today, students join with labor to fight racism and to defend picket lines. In France, the move to deport 300 immigrant workers last August triggered mass protests of 20,000 people, in which trade-union contingents marched together with youth of African and North African descent. In Australia that same month, Aborigines, building workers and miners together with university students stormed Parliament House in protest against assaults on welfare and proposed anti-union legislation.

A key element absent from these struggles was revolutionary leadership, a leadership that will fight to break the reliance of the unions upon the state, a leadership with a perspective to seize state power so as to sweep the racist, corrupt capitalist system into the dustbin in order to build an egalitarian socialist society. Class-struggle mobilizations of labor and minorities are what's needed to *stop* the Klan. Today, it is the duty of students as well as labor and minorities to defend the Anti-Klan Three!

* * *

Join this crucial fight! Send protest statements demanding that the charges against the Anti-Klan Three be dropped to: Richard Devine, State's Attorney of Cook County, Richard J. Daley Center, 55 W. Randolph Street, Chicago, IL 60602. Send donations for legal defense (earmarked "Anti-Klan Protesters") and copies of protest statements to the Partisan Defense Committee. Contact the PDC in Chicago at P.O. Box 802867, Chicago, IL 60680-2867, phone (312) 454-4931; or in New York at P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013-0099, phone (212) 406-4252. ■

Young Spartacus

Student contingent at January 1994 labor/black mobilization against the Klan in Springfield, Illinois.

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Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth Club Events

Race and Class in "Segregation City":
Break with the Democrats—
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Saturday, March 8, 7 pm
Ida Noyes, West Lounge, second floor, University of Chicago

Spartacus Youth Club University of Chicago
Students/Workers Organizing Meeting

Defend the Anti-Klan 3! Drop All the Charges!

Thursday, February 20, 2 pm
Reynolds Club, South Lounge, second floor, University of Chicago

CHICAGO For more information: (312) 454-4930

WORKERS VANGUARD

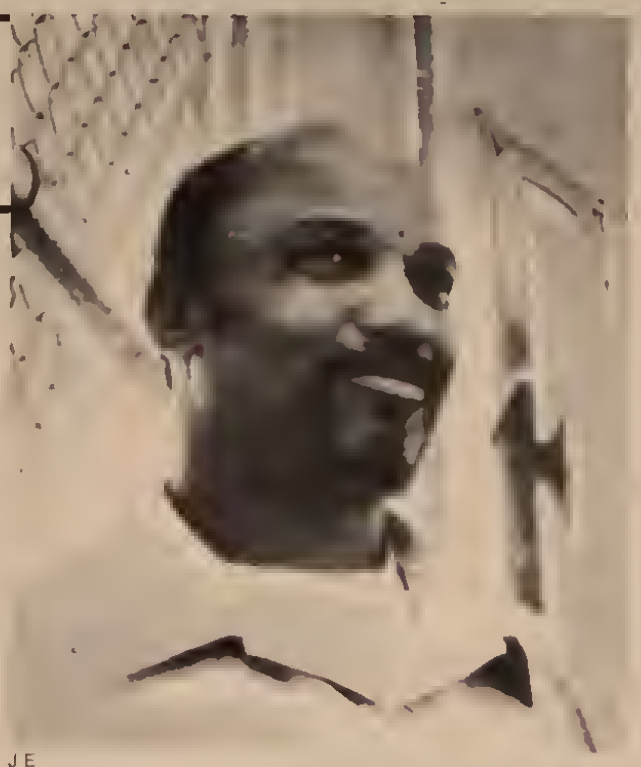
Prison Officials Place Former Black Panther in Deadly Danger

Fight for Geronimo's Freedom!

Court Hearing Airs Dramatic Proof of Frame-Up

The fight to free former Black Panther Party leader Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt) is at a critical stage. A month-long hearing on a petition to overturn Geronimo's 1972 frame-up conviction for a murder the government knows he did not commit has now adjourned. On February 27, defense attorneys Johnnie Cochran and Stuart Hanlon will present final arguments before Judge Everett Dickey in Santa Ana, California. Supporters of Geronimo's cause should fill the courtroom that day in solidarity!

In a sinister development, Geronimo has once again been put in a life-threatening situation by California prison officials. Just three days after the court hearing adjourned, Geronimo was transferred to Chino state prison, where he was thrown into solitary confinement and had his legal materials seized. Prison officials undertook these punitive measures on the grounds that this was a "high notoriety case" and with the lie that he belonged to a black prison gang—a claim that makes Geronimo a target for physical violence by prison guards and other inmates. This is the state's retaliation for Geronimo's efforts to reverse his conviction and for the growing media coverage of his case.



Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt), imprisoned for 26 years for a murder the government knows he did not commit.

JE

On February 13, Valerie West, staff counsel for the Partisan Defense Committee, went before Federal Court in San Francisco to seek protection for Geronimo. As part of a suit begun in 1989 to stop a years-long pattern of retaliatory persecution of Geronimo for exercising his First Amendment rights, West requested a temporary restraining order prohibiting the prison system from housing Geronimo in Chino and from using the pretext of gang membership or "notoriety" to put him in solitary. Despite previous court rulings against prison authorities' harassment of Geronimo, the motion was denied by Judge Stanley Weigel. At the same time, the assistant attorney general made clear in open court that the state had already agreed not to take Geronimo to Chino on his way to and from the February hearing and that they had "made a mistake" in asserting gang membership.

The Santa Ana hearing centered on the overwhelming evidence that Julius Butler, the key witness against Geronimo in 1972, was a longtime government informant. Butler was a key player in the frame-up of Geronimo, who was targeted for repression by the FBI's Counter-Intelligence Program (COINTELPRO) solely because he was a leader of the Black Panther Party. Despite cover-up attempts by witnesses from the district attorney's office and the Los Angeles Police Department, what emerged at the hearing was a compelling picture of collusion to keep Butler's status as an informer for the FBI, LAPD and the D.A.'s office hidden from Geronimo's defense team and from the trial jury in 1972.

Papers filed by Geronimo's legal team on January 31 document Butler's role as a government fink, as well as his lies then and now. Butler had already been informing on the Black Panthers to the LAPD for two years before he turned over a letter to police sergeant Duwayne Rice which described a "confession" by Geronimo that never took place. Butler's letter was written just after he had been hit with four felony charges for the beating of one Ollie Taylor and after he found out that the FBI was threatening him with prosecution for possession of a machine gun. The FBI was present when Butler gave the letter to Rice and went on to have over 30 contacts with Butler in the ensuing three years. Two days after he handed in the letter, Butler turned the gun over to the LAPD, claiming it belonged to the Panthers.

Three "confidential informant" cards presented at the hearing gave clear proof that Butler was also acting as an informant for the D.A.'s office at the time. While some *4,000* pages of documents on the case were destroyed by the D.A.'s office, the acting chief of the D.A.'s intelligence bureau stated that the cards were kept because they were "sacred" and "pertained to people that provided information" who "could be in jeopardy should that information get out." Three D.A. investigators testified that Butler

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Young Spartacus

WV Photo

Demonstration in support of Anti-Klan Three outside Cook County Circuit Court at January 23 hearing.

Chicago SYC Speakout: Defend the Anti-Klan Three!

For Labor/Minority Mobilizations to Stop the Fascists!

Opponents of racist terror are continuing to mobilize support for three activists who face one to two years in prison on bogus charges stemming from their participation in a June 29 Chicago anti-Klan protest during which a violent KKK attack was spiked. On February 28, a united-front protest initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee will take place outside Cook County Circuit Court, where an evidentiary hearing will be held challenging the police frame-up against the Anti-Klan Three—PDC Labor Coordinator Gene Herson, Refuse & Resist supporter Jeffrey Lyons, and Dennis Glass, a young black worker. A wide range of labor, leftist and other organizations have called for dropping the charges against the Anti-Klan Three, most recently including United Auto Workers Local 719, United Steelworkers Local 1010 and a number of local labor officials.

In going after the three anti-Klan protesters on trumped-up charges of assault and battery against police and obstructing police, the state is retaliating for the trouncing the Klan got on June 29. Despite a concerted effort by city officials to black out any news of the Klan's plans to rally that day, over 100 people joined the united-front protest, which was organized on 24 hours' notice by the PDC and Chicago Labor Black Struggle League. In an article on the AFL-CIO's "Union Summer" program, Chicago's SEIU *Local 73 Journal* (October 1996) described how some Union Summer participants "protested against the Klan when it showed up at Daley Plaza in downtown Chicago one day. Police pushed back the

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 663 7 March 1997

For Workers Political Revolution to Stop Capitalist Restoration!

What Next for China?

Kubota/Magnum

Habib/Impact Visuals

Stalinist bureaucracy's "market reforms" are pushing China toward capitalist restoration: while millions of impoverished peasant laborers flock to the cities looking for work, stock exchange in Shanghai exemplifies growing strength of capitalist forces.

Deng's Death and the Crisis of Stalinism

Reuters

Funeral of "paramount leader" Deng Xiaoping was accompanied by massive security crackdown out of fear of social instability.

Last October, central Beijing saw the gala opening of the Chang An Club. For an annual membership fee of $9,000, top government officials, Hong Kong tycoons, mainland Chinese businessmen and resident foreign executives can enjoy tennis courts, bowling alleys, a swimming pool, an electronic golf simulator, a sauna and the use of corporate boardrooms. Two traffic lights away, an old man in his seventies and his grandson were begging in the streets for their next meal. This is a good example of what China's "paramount leader" Deng Xiaoping, who died two weeks ago, called "socialism with Chinese characteristics."

The eulogies for Deng by the leaders of Western and Japanese imperialism have hailed him as the "architect of modern China." Yet there was also a note of nervous apprehension that Deng's death has removed a central pillar in the fragile internal stability of the most populous nation on earth. The Beijing bureaucrats are themselves keenly aware that they are sitting atop a volcano of popular unrest—fueled by the "market reforms" which marked Deng's reign. Even unofficial expressions of mourning were suppressed through a massive mobilization of security forces, for fear they could turn into political protests.

Conventional wisdom in the West is that what used to be called "Red China" has become capitalist or has gone so far down that road that it will automatically become capitalist in the near future. Deng "Chose Capitalism," declared the front-page headline of the *New York Times* in reporting his death. Yet even the *Times* recognizes that matters are not so simple and straightforward. Its editorial commentary praised Deng for "the dynamism of his reforms" but also worried "how incomplete and therefore tenuous those reforms remain." The term "reforms" is, of course, a code word for those policies—e.g., opening China to foreign investment, the privatization of small and medium-sized industrial enterprises—which have undermined the collectivized economy and brought China to the brink of capitalist restoration.

Through threats of economic sanctions and other measures, Washington has been pushing hard for the Beijing bureaucracy to escalate the drive toward full-fledged capitalism. Currently, the U.S. and other imperialist powers are demanding that China slash investment in state-owned industries as a condition for joining the World Trade Organization and "to speed the opening of the country's economy" (*New York Times*, 2 March). Looming over all this is the rivalry between the U.S. and Japan over economic domination of the region, as they scramble for the "right" to untrammeled exploitation of China's huge proletariat and race for resource-rich Siberia, reopened to imperialist plunder as a result of the destruction of the Soviet Union. Recall that World War II in the Pacific was fought primarily for control over China. However, that prize was ripped out of the hands of American imperialism by the 1949 Revolution. As Trotskyists, we have always called for unconditional military defense of the Chinese deformed workers state against imperialism, including upholding its right to a nuclear arsenal.

From its inception, the Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy has undermined the gains of the revolution through its nationalist hostility to the extension of socialist revolution internationally, seeking instead an accommodation with imperialism. Today China is approaching a decisive turning point. Whether the increasingly assertive forces for capitalist restoration succeed in destroying the gains of China's social revolution or are defeated through a proletarian political revolution which sweeps away the venal Stalinist bureaucracy will not only determine the fate of the Chinese people, but will leave a huge imprint on the countries of all East Asia and beyond.

China on the Brink

The political heirs of Mao Zedong have brought the Chinese Revolution to the abyss. The 1949 seizure of power by Mao's Chinese Communist Party (CCP) and its peasant-guerrilla army from the Guomindang (Kuomintang) Nationalist regime of Chiang Kai-shek shattered capitalist rule and liberated the country from its subservience to Japanese and Western imperialism. The revolutionary overturn created the conditions for enormous gains for workers, peasants and women. The Chinese Revolution was a huge defeat for the U.S. and other imperialist powers. This was brought home by the intervention of China's People's Liberation Army (PLA) in the Korean War of 1950-53, which saved North Korea from being overrun by U.S. imperialism and its South Korean puppet regime.

But what issued out of the 1949 Revolution was a *bureaucratically deformed* workers state, ruled by a parasitic caste headed by the CCP and PLA leadership. A key factor conditioning this outcome was the atomized state of the Chinese proletariat after years of Stalinist betrayal (most notably in the defeat of the 1925-27 Chinese Revolution), Guomindang terror, Japanese imperialist occupation and severe economic decline related to the world depression of the 1930s. Modeled on Stalin's USSR, Maoist rule was based on the anti-Marxist dogma of building "socialism" in a single country. Denying the fundamental Marxist understanding that socialism can only be built at the highest level of technology and economy—necessitating international socialist planning—this nationalist schema expressed the privileged interests of the bureaucratic caste which usurped power in the Soviet Union in 1923-24 and of its counterpart in China which has ruled from the inception of the People's Republic.

The collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991-92 after decades of military and especially economic pressure from world imperialism demonstrated the fallacy of this Stalinist schema. But if "socialism in one country" was utopian

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Temple University Cancels Mumia's Radio Commentaries

Let Mumia Abu-Jamal Be Heard!

MARCH 3—Attorneys for Mumia Abu-Jamal were notified today of two new Pennsylvania Supreme Court rulings which severely damage Mumia's appeal and indicate the Court's intention to uphold the frame-up conviction that sent Jamal to death row in 1982. The first decision denies Mumia's defense the opportunity to present oral argument in his appeal before the Court. This move is clearly aimed at preventing the kind of courtroom exposure of Jamal's frame-up which helped gain worldwide publicity for his cause during his 1995 PCRA appeal hearings.

Even more dangerously, in an almost unheard of procedure the Court is allowing prosecutors to file additional legal papers against Mumia—on top of the standard briefs that both sides have already submitted—while denying the defense the right to reply. This means that the District Attorney's office will have the final word on Mumia's appeal papers, allowing prosecutors to rehash their lying case against him and their misrepresentation of what has happened to date in the appeal process. These rulings underscore the futility of any reliance on the capitalist courts and the need for mass protest and pressure to demand Mumia's freedom now.

On February 24, moments before a well-publicized scheduled airing of commentaries by death row political prisoner and MOVE supporter Mumia Abu-Jamal, Temple University's WRTI-FM radio pulled the plug on the *Democracy Now* program. These may well be the last audio recordings of Jamal allowed by jail authorities, yet WRTI shamelessly capitulated to the Fraternal Order of Police (F.O.P.) and the state that wants to silence him forever. WRTI's cowardly cancellation of Amy Goodman's popular show deprived not only Philadelphia from hearing Mumia's eloquent voice, but eleven other area stations lost their broadcast relays.

This muzzling of Jamal is literally the policing of the airwaves, as WRTI jumps to the command of the F.O.P. For the trigger-happy cops and the politicians and prosecutors who push the racist death penalty, it's unthinkable to let the public hear Mumia's powerful, incisive voice. His innocence in the 1981 killing of Philadelphia policeman Daniel Faulkner is clear to anyone who looks at the farce of a trial conducted by notorious "hanging judge" Albert Saho. The F.O.P. and their media allies know and fear that those who hear Jamal's searing indictments of this hypocritical *injustice* system will be moved to fight the racist and barbaric death penalty.

Mumia's censorship by WRTI comes on the heels of an ominous court ruling by the Pennsylvania Supreme Court that granted the Philly D.A.'s motion to strike Jamal's "Supplemental Reply Brief," which challenged the prosecution's false rendering of last October's testimony by Veronica Jones, a key eyewitness for Jamal. This signals that the state Supreme Court may be close to deciding Mumia's appeal without giving his defense team any notice. Mumia and his supporters have also been subjected to a new round of harassment by prison authorities, who recently barred a visit to Jamal from attorney Jere Krakoff, who is handling Mumia's civil suit against prison authorities.

On February 11, Krakoff filed an important appeal to overturn restrictions and loopholes contained in the 1996 ruling by U.S. Magistrate Kenneth Benson on Mumia's motion to enjoin prison officials from policies undermining his constitutional rights. The ruling established that Mumia was punitively denied media access by prison officials because of the publication of his book, *Live from Death Row*. However, Benson's decision still allows prison authorities a pretext to open Jamal's legal correspondence and denies him visits from his attorney's designated paralegals. The latest appeal also challenges the state's claim that it has the right to punish Jamal for running a "business," when in fact he was merely exercising his First Amendment right to publish his articles, columns and books. The state's claim that publishing constitutes a "business" was left standing by Benson. This could provide a basis for prison authorities to punish Mumia.

This appeal is an important component in Mumia's fight for effective legal defense as well as against harassment by prison authorities for his writing, including his just-released book, *Death Blossoms*. Officials have also threatened to force the cutting of Mumia's hair in violation of his religious beliefs. And once again, Mumia's mail has been tampered with: recent confidential legal correspondence from Jamal's lead attorney, Leonard Weinglass, was torn open and "cop killer" scrawled next to Mumia's name!

To speed up the machinery of death, the F.O.P. and the pro-death politicians and prosecutors demonize Jamal as a violent, crazed cop killer who must be prevented from being read or heard at any cost. As Jamal co-counsel and PDC staff counsel Rachel Wolkenstein noted, "Temple's censorship of Mumia's broadcasts recalls the gag order by National Public Radio in 1994 on the eve of a similar series of broadcasts by Mumia. We are again fighting to stop the silencing of Jamal which is nothing but a transparent attempt to make it easier to execute this compassionate and articulate man who continues to be the 'voice of the voiceless' even from death row."

The PDC adds its voice to the many thousands in Philadelphia and throughout the nation who demand: Let Mumia Abu-Jamal be heard! The entire history of persecution of Jamal, a courageous fighter on behalf of the oppressed, underscores the fact that the cops, courts, prisons and government are joined together in a *system* of racist injustice. Key to staying the executioner's hand after a death warrant was signed by Pennsylvania governor Tom Ridge in 1995 was the wave of international protests. We look to the power of social protest centered on the labor movement in alliance with all the many victims of racist capitalism. Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the racist death penalty!

To join the fight to free Mumia, contact the PDC, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013-0099; phone (212) 406-4252. E-mail: 75057.3201@compuserve.com. Contributions for Mumia's defense, which are tax-deductible, should be made payable to the Bill of Rights Foundation, earmarked "Mumia Abu-Jamal Legal Defense," and sent to the Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, 163 Amsterdam Avenue, No. 115, New York, NY 10023-5001. ■

TROTSKY

LENIN

For Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

International Women's Day, March 8, originated in 1908 in the struggles of women garment workers in New York City. While feminists look to the capitalist state—and particularly Clinton's Democratic Party—to defend abortion rights which are increasingly under threat and to achieve equality for women, as Marxists we understand that the oppression of women today is rooted in capitalist class society, particularly in the institution of the family. We fight for women's liberation through socialist revolution, led by a proletarian vanguard party which acts as a tribune of all the oppressed. Our journal Women and Revolution *stands in the tradition of the Russian Bolsheviks'* Rabotnitsa *(Working Woman), which fought to draw women into the communist movement as active fighters in the struggle against capitalist exploitation and oppression. The following excerpt is translated from the first issue of* Rabotnitsa, *which appeared on International Women's Day, 1914.*

Bourgeois women advocate their special "women's" rights; they always oppose themselves to men and demand their rights from men. For them, contemporary society is divided into two main categories: men and women. Men possess everything, hold all the rights. The question is one of achieving equal rights.

For the working woman, the woman question becomes quite different. The conscious working woman sees that contemporary society is divided into classes. Each class has its special interests. The bourgeoisie one, the working class another. Their interests are opposed. The division between men and women does not have great importance in the eyes of the working woman. That which unites the working woman with the working man is much stronger than that which divides them. They are united by their common lack of rights, their common need, their common conditions, which are the exploitation of their labor, their common struggle and their common goals. "All for one, one for all!" This "all" means the members of the working class—men and women alike. The "woman" question for working men and working women is a question of how to organize the backward masses of working women, how best to explain to them their interests, how to make them comrades sooner in the common struggle. Solidarity between working men and working women, common activity, common goals, a common path to these goals—such is the solution of the "woman" question among workers. The struggle for women's rights against those antagonistic to women's rights—men—is the solution to the "woman" question among the bourgeoisie. The journal *Rabotnitsa* will seek to explain to the insufficiently conscious working women what their interests are, to indicate the communality of their interests with the interests of the entire working class. For this every incident in the life of working women will be used to make a close connection with the general conditions of capitalist production, with the general conditions of the entire country. *Rabotnitsa* will elucidate everything occurring in the country from the point of view of the interests of the working class. It will awaken in working women the consciousness of the great liberating task of the workers movement and will call for a struggle for these great goals.

— Nadezhda Krupskaya, *Rabotnitsa* (1914)

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EDITOR: Len Meyers

EDITOR, YOUNG SPARTACUS PAGES: Joe Sol

PRODUCTION MANAGER: Susan Fuller

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SPARTACIST LEAGUE/U.S. LOCAL DIRECTORY

National Office
Box 1377 GPO
New York, NY 10116
(212) 732-7860

Boston
Box 390840, Central Sta.
Cambridge, MA 02139
(617) 666-9453

Chicago
Box 6441, Main PO
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Box 29574
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Box 77494
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Box 75073
Washington, D.C. 20013
(202) 872-8240

TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA/LIGUE TROTSKYSTE DU CANADA

Toronto
Box 7198, Station A
Toronto, ON M5W 1X8
(416) 593-4138

Montréal
C.P. Les Atriums
B.P. 32066
Montréal, QC H2L 4V5

Vancouver
Box 2717, Main P.O.
Vancouver, BC V6B 3X2
(604) 687-0353

Exchange on Workers Communist Party of Iran

Permanent Revolution vs. "Stagism"

We print below the translation of a letter to our comrades of the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany (SpAD) on the article "For a Socialist Republic of United Kurdistan!" (WV No. 651, 13 September 1996), which polemicized against the Workers Communist Party of Iran (WCPI). The International Communist League's reply, published here, was sent by the SpAD to Dr. Heinrich.

9 December 1996

Dear Ladies and Gentlemen,

In *Spartakist* No. 125 (November-December 1996) I found an article, translated from *Workers Vanguard*, on Kurdistan. You refer to the WCPI. Reading this article, I was surprised because you made assertions about the WCPI which are completely contrary to what I have heard and read until now about this party. Particularly after rereading basic documents of the WCPI, I could find no indication that they follow the Stalinist dogma of "two-stage revolution." To my knowledge, the WCPI rejects the concept of a bourgeois-democratic revolution for national independence as a first step toward proletarian revolution. Also they do not consider themselves at all a Kurdish organization; rather, according to their own description of themselves they split from the CPI precisely because they accused them of being Kurdish nationalist. They also do not orient (at least in theory) to any bourgeois, ostensibly progressive, regime.

It is known, after all, that they view all the world's countries, including the USSR since the late 1920s, as capitalist.

For that reason, I questioned how reliable the other information in *WV* on the WCPI is, particularly the quotes from leaflets. One member of the WCPI, for example, vehemently denied that there exist any letters by his party to the UN.

Now, since we know that political organizations by no means always do in practice what they stand for in theory, I do not want to assume without proof that the assertions in your article are simply invented. I would like to ask you to send me copies of the quoted documents. I will close by saying that I write for various publications about this region and also intend to make an issue of this case....

Many thanks for your help and with kind regards,

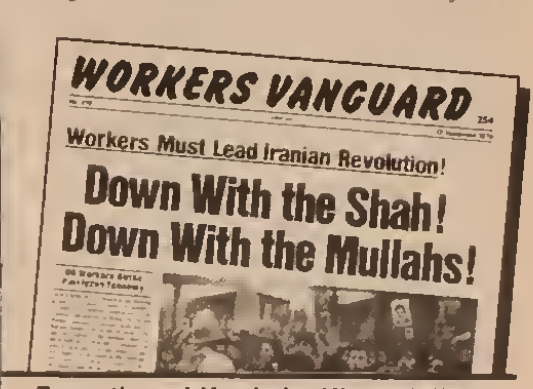
Dr. Lothar A. Heinrich

WV Replies

It is true that neither the Workers Communist Party of Iran (WCPI) nor its affiliated party in Iraq openly claims to adhere to the Menshevik/Stalinist schema of two-stage revolution—first the "democratic" revolution, then socialism. Moreover, proclamations issued by the WCPI, particularly those translated into Western languages, are filled with abstract rhetoric in favor of "worker-communism" and denunciations of bourgeois nationalism. However, an examination of the actual practice of the WCPI as well as its formal programmatic statements demonstrates that it has never transcended the two-stage framework.

A good example is the attitude to Khomeini. Today the Islamic fundamentalist regime in Iran is widely hated for its brutal crimes against leftists, women, national minorities and workers. However, in 1978-79, under the guise of supporting the "mass movement against the shah," the entire Iranian left backed Khomeini. Khomeini was falsely hailed as an "anti-imperialist," and his accession to power was supported as a "people's revolution." The International Communist League (then the international Spartacist tendency) was virtually unique for our opposition to Khomeini at the time. We said, "Down with the shah! Down with the mullahs! For workers revolution!"

AP



Execution of Kurds by Khomeiniite forces, 1979. Mullahs' rise to power, hailed as "revolution" by Iranian left, signaled massive defeat for workers, women, national minorities. We warned against political support to Khomeini's movement.

Neither the WCPI nor its predecessor organization, the Communist Party of Iran (CPI), existed in 1979. However, in writing about this period, the WCPI tries to draw a nonexistent distinction between the "revolution" that overthrew the shah and the accession to power of the mullahs. Thus a political resolution of the CPI referred to the "experience of the suppression of the 1979 revolution by the Islamic regime" (*Bolshevik Message*, February 1989). An even more explicit statement along these lines is contained in "A Brief Look at the Situation of the Working Class in Iran," a pamphlet by Mostafa Saber published by the CPI in 1990 and still circulated by the WCPI:

> "In the 1979 revolution the working class was the backbone of the revolutionary movement and the workers' nationwide strikes were the most radical blows struck at the Shah's regime. The slogan 'Our oilworkers are our staunch leaders' which then became the universal slogan of the revolutionary masses, reflected this vanguard and decisive role played by the workers. Although, in general, workers were not able to free themselves from the domination of the bourgeois-religious opposition, they put forward their own independent demands. For example, through the oilworkers they demanded to be present in the 'Revolutionary Council' which was formed in the wake of the Shah's downfall....
>
> "The revolutionary period 78-81 was the period of the richest experiences for workers and their direct intervention—in their millions—in the fate of society, leaving its stamp on the consciousness of the whole working class. But this period ended in 1981 with the Islamic regime's massacring of the workers' councils, the crushing of the political organisations and the establishment of an unprecedented repression."

Workers strikes were indeed instrumental in bringing down the shah. However, the proletariat did not play an independent class role but was politically subordinated by its misleadership to the Khomeiniites. To claim that the workers played the "vanguard role" among the "revolutionary masses" in 1979 is wishful thinking in the service of de facto capitulation to the Islamicists. Minimizing the counterrevolutionary role of the Islamic opposition, the CPI talks about a broad "revolutionary movement," glorifies the pro-regime *shoras* as workers' councils, reports positively the oilworkers' demand to join the Revolutionary Council, and claims there was a "revolutionary period" right up to 1981. This account accepts in practice a two-stage schema, implying that the workers had their big chance *after* the victory of the mullahs.

The Communist Party of Iran was formed in 1983 as a lash-up of the state-capitalist Unity of Communist Militants and the larger, ex-Maoist Kurdish group Komala. This was an unstable fusion, reflecting its heterogeneous composition. Despite its claimed perspective of proletarian revolution, the CPI through its Komala forces pursued a strategy of peasant-based guerrillaism in Kurdistan. Its propaganda was a mish-mash of contradictory slogans. It claimed to be for a "workers state" while simultaneously calling for a "revolutionary democratic republic" (a classic "left" version of two-stage revolution). Meanwhile the economist wing of the party, including such elements as Mansoor Hekmat, now the central leader of the WCPI, sought to address the working class, but with a program more akin to social democracy than to Lenin's Third International. Thus, in the fashion of the Second International, Hekmat and the CPI elaborated a "minimum program" and sought to win other tendencies to unite around slogans like a 40-hour week, unemployment benefits, the right to strike, and even in drafting a "democratic labour law" (see "Interview with Comrade Mansoor Hekmat," *Bolshevik Message*, February 1988). The disparate groupings within the CPI eventually fell out, and Hekmat announced a split to form the Workers Communist Party of Iran in 1991. Their sister group, the WCP-Iraq, which was founded in 1993, is based almost exclusively in Iraqi Kurdistan.

WCPI Appeals to UN Imperialists

The split with Komala simply accentuated the social-democratic component of the WCPI. While denouncing Kurdish nationalism, the WCPI in practice draws no distinction between imperialist powers and semicolonial countries, or more generally between oppressor and oppressed nations. Thus, not only did the WCPI refuse to call for military defense of Iraq against U.S. imperialism during the war in the Persian Gulf, but on several occasions has made appeals for the intervention of the United Nations (whose predecessor, the League of Nations, Lenin labeled a "den of thieves"). Thus, as we noted in our article in *Spartakist*, reprinted from the Spartacist League/U.S. paper *Workers Vanguard*, the WCP-Iraq exile group in Australia demanded "the immediate withdrawal of the Ba'ath regime's forces" and called "to impose these demands on the UN." Similarly, a statement issued in London on 6 September 1996 by both the WCP-Iran and the WCP-Iraq, while condemning the U.S. military attack on Iraq, simultaneously pleaded with the UN to "put an end to the

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AP

Der Spieget

Iranian president Rafsanjani (far left) with Turkish prime minister Erbakan, who presides over genocidal war against Kurds in Turkey. WCPI calls for independence for Kurds in Iraq, but not in Iran and Turkey.

Potemkin Village Idiocy

In order to impress Tsarina Catherine with his self-promoting efforts at developing the barren Russian steppes in the 18th century, Prince Potemkin supposedly constructed elaborate façades of artificial villages for her to see when her carriage passed through the region. A "Potemkin village" is what came to mind when we saw the first issue of the *Internationalist* (January-February 1997), a 64-page, two-color journal recently published by a handful of defectors from our organization who call themselves the "Internationalist Group" (IG).

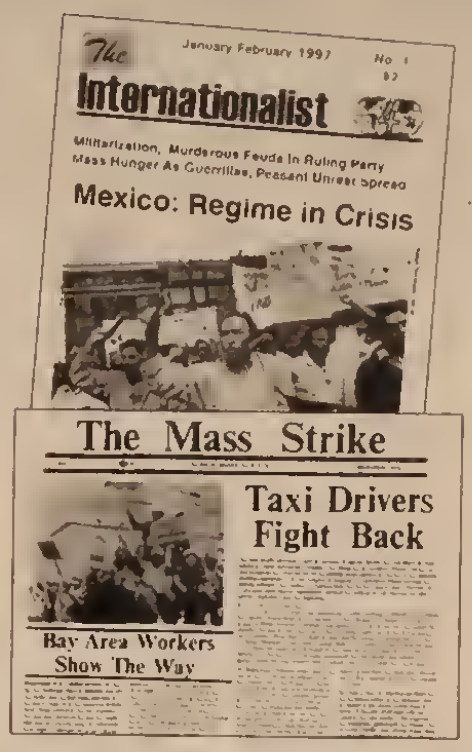
Former *Workers Vanguard* editor Jan Norden, his companion Marjorie Stamberg and his longtime protégé Negrete provoked their expulsion from our organization last June rather than wage an open struggle over their political differences. Norden's organizational pathology, we wrote at the time, reflected "an increasingly desperate search for, and accommodation to, social forces other than the proletariat and vehicles other than a Leninist vanguard party to advance the cause of the struggle for human emancipation" ("A Shamefaced Defection from Trotskyism," *WV* No. 648, 5 July 1996). We described this as "Pabloism of the second mobilization," referring to the liquidationist current which destroyed the Fourth International in the early 1950s.

Faced with the onset of imperialist Cold War and the creation of Stalinist-ruled deformed workers states in East Europe, the Pabloites denied the need to construct Trotskyist parties and instead sought to pressure the Stalinists and social democrats to outline a "roughly" revolutionary course. Norden's latter-day Pahloism, in turn, reflects despair over the destruction of the Soviet Union and imperialist gloating about the "death of communism." As we noted in our article:

> "For Norden the disproportion between what we strive for and the current consciousness of the working class had become a yawning, unbridgeable abyss.
>
> "He and Stamberg evidenced a deepening pessimism about the ability of our party and its revolutionary program to have any impact in the 'New World Order,' expressed in their ever more frequent broadsides against the ICL's supposed 'abstract' or 'passive' propagandism."

Norden and his small coterie increasingly came to see the struggle for programmatic clarity and revolutionary leadership as obstacles to their own accommodationist, tailist appetites. Our Leninist understanding of the need to fight to bring revolutionary consciousness to the defensive struggles of the working class became increasingly alien to the Nordenites, who looked to adapt to various non-revolutionary forces, from ossified remnants of the former East German Stalinist bureaucracy to trade-union opportunists in Brazil. The first issue of the *Internationalist*, with its glorification of a ubiquitous "fightback" against the "New World Order" and its disdain for polemical struggle, is more than testament to that.

The early issues of our journal *Spartacist* offer a point of comparison. The Revolutionary Tendency (RT), forebear of the International Communist League, was bureaucratically expelled from the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) in 1963 for waging a fight against the SWP majority's embrace of Pahloism, expressed particularly in its adaptation to Castroism and its capitulation to liberals and black nationalists in the civil rights movement. The first issue of *Spartacist* (February-March 1964) was devoted to our fight to get back into the SWP so that we could continue the internal struggle to win SWP cadre back to a revolutionary perspective. The front-page article was titled "Witch Hunt in the SWP." Another was headlined "Rescind the Suspensions!" Other articles included an analysis of the Castro regime and polemics against the SWP and other ostensibly revolutionary organizations on key political issues.



Norden's *Internationalist* recalls the phony "mass" paper that he edited in the early 1970s before joining the Spartacist League.

We continued to emphasize polemics documenting the SWP's rightward degeneration even as it definitively went over to reformism in 1965, manifested in its capitulation to the bourgeois-pacifist call to "Stop the War in Vietnam!" As a result, several groupings of leftward-moving elements from the SWP were won over to our party over the next decade.

Norden's "Mass Paper"

Contrast this with the Nordenites. Weeks after their departure, they declared that the ICL had undergone a "centrist turn." In August, they issued an "initial section of the founding statement of the Internationalist Group"—now reprinted in the *Internationalist* (evidently they never came up with a concluding section)—which proclaimed: "We have fought against this turn, and would be doing so today in the ranks of the ICL were it not for our expulsion, which had the character of a preemptive strike to forestall a factional struggle."

The assertion that they would still be fighting within the ICL is laughable. Our origins as a minority tendency which was bureaucratically expelled burned into our consciousness the fact that minorities *can also be right*. Thus, in contrast to other left groups, our organizational rules provide for the right of minority factions and tendencies—a right we continually urged Norden and his cothinkers to exercise in order to pursue a political debate according to democratic-centralist norms, rather than hurting the party by continuing his permanent underground factionalism. Less than a month before his defection, Norden wrote a document titled "On the Invention of 'Undeclared Factions'" (10 May 1996), in which he categorically insisted: "There is no 'undeclared faction of four' in the ICL." And on June 7, the evening before the party trial which they boycotted, Norden and Stamberg sent in a document in which they continued to complain that we were "trying to prematurely provoke the formation of factional groupings where there is insufficient political basis for them."

Since defecting, the Nordenites have attempted to put the greatest distance possible between themselves and our organization. Instead of seeking to win over our members by documenting our supposed "centrist turn" through polemics against its on key issues of the day, they have directed their appeals to a small pool of the most rightist and demoralized elements around the Spartacist League's periphery, fishing for people who are looking to justify their own prior departure from our organization. To the extent the *Internationalist* deals with the ICL, it is overwhelmingly in the form of reprints of earlier IG statements, which seek simply to alibi their defection.

The dearth of polemics in the *Internationalist* reveals the IG's centrist rejection of the struggle for a Leninist vanguard party. Mainly, the *Internationalist* is filled with long-winded, descriptive, journalistic articles, from the front page ("Mexico: Regime in Crisis") to the back ("Racist NYC Cop Terror Sets Off Angry Protests"). In appearance and content, it is designed to give the impression of larger forces and is addressed to an undifferentiated "mass" audience. We are reminded of what Leon Trotsky wrote in his 1935 article, "What Is a 'Mass Paper'?" When the French Molinier group launched a fake "mass paper" which promised to "speak the language of the factories and the fields," to "tell of the misery which reigns there," to "express its passions and rouse to revolt," Trotsky had the following scathing comment:

> "This is a very laudable intention, although the masses know perfectly well their own misery and their feelings of revolt (stifled by the patriotic apparatuses with the aid of the [centrist] Pivertists). What the masses can demand of a newspaper is *a clear program and a correct orientation*."

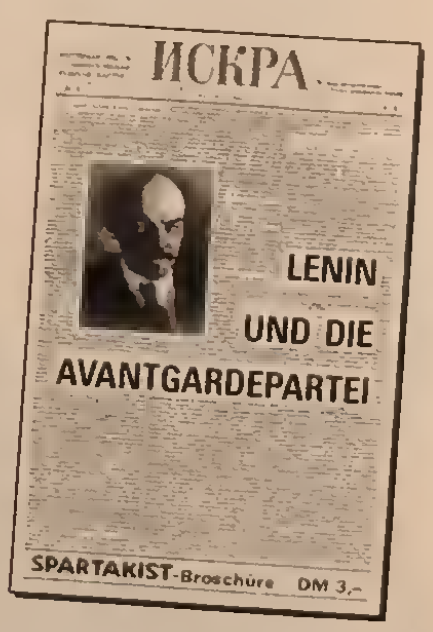
Cut of the same cloth is the notable absence of any attempt by the Internationalist Group to define itself as opposed to other organizations and tendencies which claim the mantle of Trotskyism. A Leninist party strives to recruit into its ranks the most advanced workers and revolutionary-minded intellectuals. To do so it must politically expose the pretensions of other tendencies in the workers movement, particularly the centrists who posture as revolutionaries. Thus the overwhelming preponderance of Lenin's *Collected Works* consists not of descriptions of how the working masses are oppressed but of polemical articles that sharply delineate the Leninist vanguard from Menshevism and centrism.

Alibi for a Shameful Defection

Since the Nordenites cannot point to a single programmatic departure to back their claim that the ICL "is moving

Spartakist photos

ICL fought for Leninist-egalitarian party in East Germany, 1989-90, initiated mass anti-fascist protest in Berlin's Treptow Park (below), where Spartakist spokesman denounced Stalinists, called for workers to power.



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toward centrism," they must invent a construct that we "abandoned" the class struggle in Brazil by breaking fraternal relations with Luta Metalúrgica/Liga Quarta-Internacionalista do Brasil (LM/LQB). The idea that fraternal relations are a testing process for solid programmatic agreement, requiring ongoing political struggle, is completely alien to centrists, as it was to the Nordenites when they were in the party. If anything, we can be accused of being *overly* patient with LM over the nearly two years during which we maintained fraternal relations. But Norden & Co. tried to undermine our struggle with LM for programmatic clarity from start to finish: from the September 1994 "Declaration of Fraternal Relations"—wholly written by Norden and Negrete to indicate a range and depth of programmatic agreement that did not exist—to their constant attempts to obstruct political fights, to their ultimate bloc with LM's amorphous centrism against the ICL.

For more than a year after we initiated fraternal relations with LM, there was no sign of progress toward a programmatically based fusion. We then invited a leading representative of LM to an authoritative January 1996 meeting of our International Executive Committee. The comrade fully accepted our political characterization that LM was a trade-union fraction without a party. He stated that he agreed on the need to transform LM into a Trotskyist propaganda group, the nucleus of a Leninist vanguard party in Brazil, through an agenda of common work—publishing a party propaganda organ, extending LM's presence to a major metropolitan center and seeking to win new recruits from the younger generation. At this gathering, we learned that a municipal workers union whose leadership was braintrusted by LM included a substantial proportion of cops. We fought with LM to wage a campaign to get the cops out of the union and invested significant resources to maintain an ICL representative in Brazil in order to assist in this and in transforming LM into a Trotskyist vanguard nucleus.

After six months of intensive political discussion, with an ICL representative on the spot and through repeated letters from our International Secretariat, it became clear that what LM/LQB wanted was a Potemkin village "International" which would finance and otherwise support their unprincipled trade-union maneuvers, including an LM leader's position as an unelected "adviser" to this cop-ridden union. In an 11 June 1996 letter to LM, we warned that to continue "subordinating the question of principle to the quotidian struggle for influence in the union's leadership can only lead to continued provocations by the police, the political forces who run the police and the 'leftists' who do their bidding.... The trustworthy base for revolutionary Marxists is to be found, and fought for, at the *base* of the union—among the actual workers."

Macho Posturing and Lies

But if LM wanted a Potemkin village "International," the Nordenites were equally committed to having a Potemkin village Brazilian "section." Posturing as oh-so-macho "class struggle" warriors, they repeatedly assert that an ICL representative told LM at a 16 June 1996 meeting that we must "pull our hands out of the boiling water." Norden's protégé Negrete is a renowned master at quoting half-sentences out of context, which when quoted in full are the opposite of what this mighty Wurlitzer of lying propaganda asserts. Norden and Negrete's LM/LQB allies have a tape of that meeting, so they know what was actually said. Our comrade explained to LM that their trade-union policy "is more like the politics of all the left in Brazil and Latin America, which consists of trying to control many unions to compete with their rivals." Citing LM leader Cerezo's view that the ICL didn't "want to get involved in real union work, where real struggles exist," the ICL representative responded that this was exactly the line of the centrist LBI group, which was hacking the pro-cop faction of Artur Fernandes in the municipal workers union. Our comrade continued:

> "I believe that you are giving in to the pressure and to their game. The bourgeois state, Artur, the LBI and all these organizations want to put us in a cauldron of boiling water. That is the situation now...and we are telling you, let's take our hands out of this boiling water and dedicate our attention, our time to building a revolutionary party! So our organization's proposal is that we work toward a conscious transformation of the Brazilian organization into a Trotskyist party that gives priority to the publication of a newspaper, that gives priority to the recruitment of young workers within the steel industry, that begins to organize the possibility that...we can do work in an industrial city where we can begin to get in touch with the proletariat and with the youth who are looking for a revolutionary orientation....
>
> "Lenin decided to leave Russia in his youth, go to England and from England put out a newspaper, *Iskra*, not because he was 'afraid' to do work in the unions—everybody was doing work within the unions. In 1903, he wrote *What Is To Be Done?*—a very important book where he says: You, the trade unionists, are not going to make the revolution—we need a party of professional revolutionaries. And we can't accuse Lenin of being afraid, of leaving Russia, of leaving the trade-union work, because thanks to that the Russian October Revolution was made."

First Issue of James P. Cannon's *Militant* (1928) sought to break CPers from Stalinism to Trotskyism. Likewise, first *Spartacist* fought our bureaucratic expulsion from SWP in struggle to win cadre.

In a new "joint statement" with LM/LQB and elsewhere in the *Internationalist*, the IGlets repeatedly "chicken bait" the ICL—which initiated the fight to get the cops out of the union—for supposedly "claiming that association with the LQB/LM in this work posed 'unacceptable risks for the vanguard'." Here is what the ICL wrote in our 17 June 1996 letter breaking fraternal relations, which was hand-delivered to LM:

> "Indeed, the provocations have continued and have now escalated to a campaign of dirty tricks and violence which threaten not only the perspectives for a Trotskyist vanguard, but the physical safety, possible arrest, and imprisonment (or worse) of LM/LQB comrades, as well as ICL representatives, and also threaten the very existence of the union itself. It is the height of political irresponsibility to maintain Cerezo's maneuvered post as a higher 'conquest' for the workers than their union or the party that is the necessary instrument for the victory of the proletariat within and beyond Brazil. This reflects a fatuous light-mindedness toward the bourgeois state. The opportunist maneuvering of LM/LQB at the top of the union is indeed *counterposed* to the task of forging a revolutionary Trotskyist party.
>
> "To step down from the post you were never elected to does not mean that you should run away from the political fight to mobilize the base of the union against encroachments by the capitalist state and its armed men. We have made every effort to assist in producing a Trotskyist newspaper in Brazil, not least to propagandize and agitate over the urgent questions posed in the union struggles today. The LM/LQB has continually delayed production of party propaganda and polemics against the fake-left witchhunters who must be exposed and discredited before the workers. The ICL has also politically and financially taken responsibility to assist in your legal defense...
>
> "The evidently ingrained practices of LM/LQB in the unions reflect an incomplete separation from the popular front and a continuation of the practices of the Brazilian fake Trotskyists who similarly maneuver their way in the unions as a power base and evasion of Leninist party building. Do you know where you are going?
>
> "As the LM/LQB is evidently adamant on its opportunist course, we therefore dissolve fraternal relations and separate our organizations. We look forward to opportunities for common struggle."

New York memorial meeting for Trotsky, 1940. ICL fights to reforge a Fourth International that Trotsky would recognize as his own.

As we wrote in an earlier article, "The real story is that given their own centrist appetites, the Nordenites find it incredible that we would break with a group of trade-union militants on something as unimportant to them as the party question" (*WV* No. 651, 13 September 1996). In fact, what the IG prefers are the tepid waters of amorphous centrist combinationism which mindlessly exalts the "struggle" of the masses and eschews the difficult struggle for revolutionary leadership.

IG "Disappears" Permanent Revolution

In our article, "A Break in Fraternal Relations with Luta Metalúrgica" (*WV* No. 648, 5 July 1996), we criticized the glaring omission of the program of permanent revolution in the 1994 Declaration of Fraternal Relations. In their own current joint statement, the IG and LQB simply proclaim "the continued validity of the fundamental points of agreement" in the earlier declaration, again conspicuously refusing to raise permanent revolution. Yet this is a central question of proletarian class strategy in semicolonial countries—that to accomplish even the tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution, the proletariat, standing at the head of the peasantry, must seize power from the local bourgeoisie and fight to extend socialist revolution to the imperialist countries. Those who reject this perspective necessarily end up promoting or apologizing for cross-class blocs—popular fronts—with sections of the "national" bourgeoisie in the name of an "anti-imperialist united front."

The theory of permanent revolution is premised on the understanding that because of the arrested development of the colonial and semicolonial countries as a result of imperialist domination, the weak local bourgeoisies are tied to their imperialist masters. At the same time, this gives the semicolonial bourgeoisies a certain latitude to occasionally mobilize the masses against imperialist encroachments. As Trotsky pointed out in "Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay" (1940), "The national government, to the extent that it tries to show resistance to foreign capital, is compelled to a greater or lesser degree to lean on the proletariat." But the "anti-imperialist united front" leads to often bloody defeat for the workers as the native bourgeoisie, fearing a challenge to its class rule, moves in league with the imperialists against the mobilized proletariat. As Chiang Kai-shek's bloody

continued on page 6

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Potemkin Village...

(continued from page 5)

suppression of the 1925-27 Chinese Revolution showed, the second stage of "two-stage revolution" is mass murder of communists! This only underscores the central emphasis of permanent revolution, for the political independence of the proletariat from the semicolonial bourgeoisie.

The IG's failure to raise permanent revolution in its joint statement with the Brazilian group is not an isolated omission. Two articles on Mexico, making up almost 20 percent of the *Internationalist*, contain neither the words nor program of permanent revolution. (We await Norden's usual lawyer's argument that their main article on Mexico, nine pages long, is only the first of two parts!) In one of the *Internationalist*'s rare polemical sallies, their lead Mexico article also takes us to task for asserting, "in a polemic directed against the Internationalist Group...that Latin American peasants are subjected to the remnants of feudalism." The article they refer to is in fact an introduction to a first-ever translation into Spanish of key writings by Trotskyist leader James P. Cannon, published under the title "The Fight for a Revolutionary Party" in the latest Spanish-language *Spartacist* (No. 27, December 1996).

AP

Bodies of poor peasants gunned down by murderous Brazilian military police. We fought with LM to wage struggle to oust cops from union whose leadership LM braintrusted.

AFP

During December 1995 strike wave in France, our comrades of the LTF emphasized need to forge a revolutionary party to lead workers' struggles to victory.

Citing our call for "the destruction of feudal peonage in the countryside" and our reference to "the inheritance of Spanish feudal colonialism" in Latin America, the *Internationalist* goes on to declaim: "The myth of Latin American 'feudalism,' now repeated by the Spartacist League, was invented by the Stalinized Communist parties to justify their stagist politics." Is the tG arguing that there are no remnants of pre-industrial society in Mexico and other Latin American countries? In his 1934 "War and the Fourth International," Trotsky wrote:

> "In South America, where belated and already decaying capitalism is supporting the conditions of semifeudal, that is, semislavish existence, the world antagonisms create a sharp struggle of comprador cliques, continual overturns within the states and protracted armed conflicts between the states."

If the tG denies that Latin America remains saddled with an inheritance of Spanish feudal colonialism, then it is theoretically dismissing the program of permanent revolution for that region outright. Indeed, the IG's article on Mexico does not even mention the question of agrarian revolution. In practice, this can only mean that the revolutionary proletariat and its vanguard party cede leadership of the struggle around this and issues such as debt peonage and racism against the Indian peasant population to peasant-guerrilla populists like the Zapatistas.

Pabloism of the Second Mobilization

It is notable that, since its formation, the IG has largely steered clear of writing anything on Germany. Yet it was over Germany that the internal political struggle with Norden was joined. Norden's opportunist appetites were given flagrant public expression in a January 1995 talk he gave at Berlin's Humboldt University, as part of his "regroupment" orientation toward the geriatric remnants of the former East German Stalinist ruling party, the SED, now found in the "Communist Platform" wing of the SED's sociat-democratic successor, the Party of Democratic Socialism (PDS). To this end Norden disappeared the central purpose and intent of the intervention of the tCL in East Germany during the tumultuous events of 1989-90: to organize for a political revolution against the Stalinist regime and the threat of capitalist counterrevolution.

In his talk, Norden repeatedly denied the ICL's role as the conscious revolutionary vanguard, which despite the disproportion in forces, was engaged in a political battle with the abdicating Stalinists. Instead, he tried to amnesty the SED by claiming it had been "paralyzed" in the face of counterrevolution. In the political struggle against this revisionism in our organization, we argued that far from being "paralyzed," the Stalinists had *led* the counterrevolution. Recognizing that they would be its target, the SED tops did everything in their power to prevent a political revolution—like demobilizing army units that had formed soldiers councils and dissolving the armed factory militias that could have become the organized political/military locus of such a revolution (see "For the Communism of Lenin and Trotsky!" *Spartacist* No. 47-48, Winter 1992-93).

The political battle between the Trotskyist program of proletarian political revolution and the treachery of the Stalinists was seen in the quarter-million-strong demonstration in January 1990 which we initiated against the fascist desecration of a Soviet war memorial in East Berlin's Treptow Park. Now, in reprinting a July 1996 document by Norden which seeks to justify his opportunist orientation to the Communist Platform, the *Internationalist* carries the photo of our spokesman on the platform at the Treptow demonstration with the caption: "If they [the SED] 'led' the counterrevolution, what was ICL doing on the platform with them at Treptow?" The real question was, why was a Trotskyist leader allowed to speak at a Stalinist-dominated rally? The SED-PDS—nervous about losing any remaining authority in the face of the growing restlessness of the working class and strongly pressured by the support our program was gaining, especially in factories in the Berlin area—moved in heavily to take over this demonstration after our initial call.

Where the Social Democrats (SPD) had been openly promoting capitalist counterrevolution, the SED carried on a pretense of defending the DDR. As part of our united-front effort, we sought to expose the SED's role before the working masses. Evidently, Norden cannot conceive of a united front as anything but a non-aggression pact. At Treptow, as in any genuine united front, the political struggle between the contending forces—the Trotskyist tCL and the Stalinist SED-PDS—was *heightened*. In the first public Trotskyist speech in a deformed workers state since the 1920s, our spokesman warned that "West German imperialism, aided by the SPD—can turn this political revolution into a social counterrevolution" and argued that "the SED party dictatorship has shown that it is incompetent to fight this." She concluded by calling for the forging of a Leninist-egalitarian party and for "workers and soldiers soviets to power!" For their part, the SED hacks at the front of the demonstration repeatedly jeered our comrade and tried to silence her.

Treptow was the turning point. The mass, pro-Soviet turnout at Treptow, and the presence on the platform of Trotskyists who denounced the SPD—the favored instrument of West German imperialism—as a "Trojan horse for counterrevolution," provoked howls of outrage from the bourgeoisie and its lackeys. Within a couple of days, under pressure from the parties of West German imperialism then sitting at the interim DDR governing "round table," the SED repudiated the Treptow demonstration. Days later, Soviet president Gorbachev gave a green light for capitalist reunification, the East German elections were precipitously moved up to suppress any potential opposition and the SED openly enlisted in the cause of counterrevolution. Their position as the rulers of the deformed workers state gave them the unique capacity to put themselves at the head of the betrayal of the DDR to the well-financed forces of Fourth Reich-inspired capitalist *Anschluss*.

In August 1917, Lenin's Bolsheviks led the fight on the battlefield against the reactionary General Kornilov's attack on the vacillating bourgeois Kerensky government, which had made its own counterrevolutionary role amply clear only a month before by its suppression of the Bolsheviks in the "July days." A few months later, the Bolsheviks led the October Revolution which overthrew Kerensky's regime and established the first workers state in history. If one were to apply the IGlets' methodology of looking through a telescope backwards to the Russian Revolution, then the next issue of the *Internationalist* (should one appear) might run a photo caption asking, "If they [Kerensky's government] 'led' the counterrevolution, what were the Bolsheviks doing on the battlefield with them against Kornilov?"

In response to Norden's fuming that to say the SED led the counterrevolution is to deny Trotsky's position on the dual nature of the Stalinist bureaucracy—as a nationalist parasitic caste which acted as a transmission belt for imperialism while sitting atop a collectivized economy—we previously observed that Norden here "takes a page from Pablo, who saw in the bureaucracy an inherently progressive side coexisting with a more reactionary side." The *Internationalist* does not even attempt to reply to this. In *The Revolution Betrayed*, Trotsky emphasized that the petty-bourgeois bureaucracy had an organic tendency to transform itself into a capitalist ruling class and that "a bourgeois restoration would probably have to

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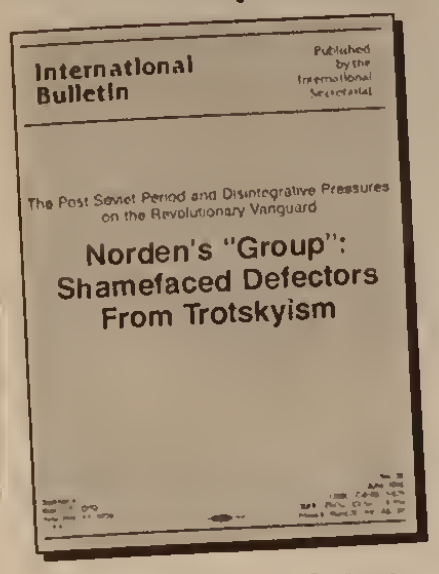

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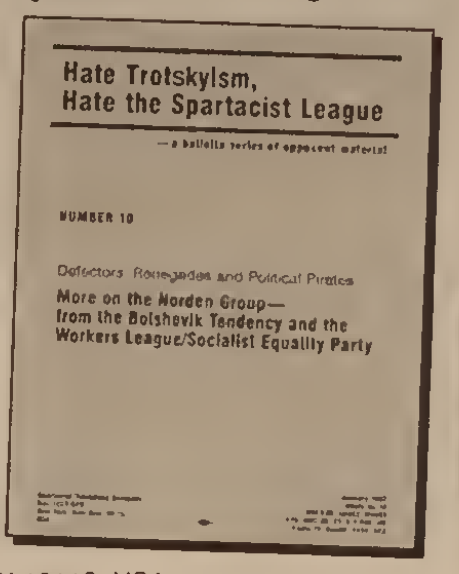

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clean out fewer people than a revolutionary party" would in the event of a proletarian political revolution.

And if to say that the Stalinists led the counterrevolution represents a revision of Trotsky, as Norden would have it, then Trotsky, too, is guilty of this "revision" in his writings on the Spanish Revolution of the 1930s. The SED represented a parasitic caste sitting atop the East German deformed workers state, while in capitalist Spain the Kremlin and its henchmen promoted the suppression of a proletarian revolution in the name of "anti-fascist unity." Yet Trotsky's characterization of the Stalinists' role in the popular-front Republican government is quite to the point. In his August 1940 article, "The Class, the Party, and the Leadership," Trotsky wrote:

> "The most consistent policy in the ruling bloc was pursued by the Stalinists. They were the fighting vanguard of the bourgeois-republican counterrevolution."

Norden is certainly not ignorant of Trotsky's writings on Spain. But he has renounced its key lessons. This was clear when, in his Humboldt speech to a crowd of Stalinist has-beens, he deep-sixed the Kremlin's bloody suppression of the Spanish workers revolution and reduced Stalin's crimes there to a matter of sending "only limited amounts of munitions" to the bourgeois Republican government.

IG: Ever Onward with Economist "Fightback"

While flourishes about the need for a revolutionary party are sprinkled throughout the *Internationalist*, at bottom the Nordenites glorify the existing economist struggles (and consciousness) of the working class. A clear example of this is their article on last December's truckers strike in France, which exults: "While European workers' struggles in recent years have been overwhelmingly defensive in character...the truckers' action was an offensive strike by a relatively lower-paid sector seeking to win new gains." In a letter on the IG article to our French section, International Secretariat member Liz Gordon pointed to the purpose behind the Nordenites' talk of an "offensive strike":

> "They are trying to deny the vast implications of the demise of the USSR in shaping the New World Disorder by painting a picture of a seething world of workers' struggles, a kind of universal 'fightback.' This serves their denial of the role of consciousness, and the indispensable necessity of a Leninist vanguard party in fighting for that consciousness in the proletariat. They glorify trade-union militancy in order to obscure the role of the vanguard which brings revolutionary consciousness to the class from outside —in order to suggest that the working class will acquire revolutionary consciousness 'spontaneously' in the course of its economic struggles, as those struggles 'inevitably' get bigger and bigger and more and more militant."

What the Nordenites expound is Pabloism: the denial of the Leninist understanding that, in the absence of intervention by the revolutionary party, the spontaneous economic struggles of the proletariat dissipate or are diverted by the reformist leadership from reaching revolutionary fruition in the struggle for power. This view of things, of course, also conveniently overlooks the fact that endless militant struggles which never reach the consciousness of the need to fight for proletarian power against the whole of the ruling class and its state will eventually lead, not to "spontaneous" revolution but to a hard and usually bloody response on the part of the capitalists, who in extremis will even turn to the fascists if necessary to break the back of the proletariat and re-establish "order."

The IG's definition of "offensive" struggles as those which are aimed at new economic gains, as opposed to defending gains previously won, is very convenient for those who want to paint the economic struggles of the proletariat as more than they are. In her letter, comrade Gordon observed:

> "It is perhaps useful to consider the example of Samuel Gompers, the longtime leader of the American craft unions prior to the rise of the CIO industrial unions. He was famous for his one-word slogan: 'More!' In this slogan he expressed his unashamedly pro-capitalist outlook—explicitly hostile to those (i.e., socialists) who thought the workers should fight for a different kind of social order, he insisted that the only purpose of unions was to fight for more material goodies under capitalism."

Yet by the IG's terms, the craven Gompers would be a paragon of "offensive"-minded trade unionism!

Norden Rediscovers His Roots

The IG's sneering dismissal of our supposed "passive propagandism"—a well-worn charge against Leninist-Trotskyists purveyed by all manner of centrists—is simply a cover for their own abandonment of the fight for a revolutionary party. It is noteworthy that in their tiny article calling to "Drop Charges Against Chicago Anti-Klan Protesters!" the IG makes no attempt to square our leadership of the June 29 united-front protest—which routed a violent KKK provocation—with their claims of Spartacist "abstentionism." When Norden had some say in the work of our German section, he pushed for our comrades to run around promoting economist "struggles" and photo-op "anti-fascist actions" with little political content, like a tokenistic defense of a Berlin immigrant hostel in January 1993. That episode stands in sharp contrast to the militant February 15 protest in Berlin which sent the Nazis packing from their attempted rally site in Hellersdorf. Our comrades of the Spartakist Workers Party—not least through sharp polemics against illusions fostered by the PDS in reliance on the capitalist state—provided revolutionary leadership to those hundreds who wanted to *stop* the Nazis. And the same PDS whose counterrevolutionary role in 1990 Norden seeks to whitewash today leads the pack in a violence-baiting witchhunt against those leftists who spiked the Nazi rally.

The "Internationalist" Group seeks to be yet another "left" cheerleader for the existing struggles of the working class and oppressed, adapting to the false consciousness of the workers who see the capitalist order as permanent. In contrast, we Marxists fight to instill in the proletariat the consciousness of the need for new October Revolutions, to transform it from a "class in itself" to a "class for itself." We chose *Workers Vanguard* as the name of our paper in 1971 as an expression of our aspirations. For Norden, the *Internationalist*, with its lack of polemics or any kind of programmatic angularity, is a step back to his pre-Spartacist roots. A comrade who worked with Norden in the Boston Mass Strike Organizing Committee before they joined the SL in 1971-72 noted recently that Norden criticized the early issues of *Workers Vanguard* for spending far too much time on polemics with other left groups and not enough on "workers struggles." Our comrade recalled:

> "The *Mass Strike* newspaper started out without any polemics whatsoever. But even toward the end, when it began to print articles critical of reformist outfits like the SWP and CP, it stayed away from politically attacking the 'organizations of the oppressed,' especially when they were under the guns of the imperialist state. This trait Norden has demonstrated in a pronounced fashion more recently, over the witchhunted DDR Stalinists, as well as Luta Metalúrgica."

Norden's political line during the Mass Strike days was an adaptation to the New Left politics pervasive among young radicals in that period. His current retrogression, driven by despair over world-historic defeats for the proletariat, is marked by classic centrist functioning: his desire not to swim against the stream; his infatuation with fake "mass work" and a "mass press" at the expense of hard Bolshevik polemics and party building; his preference for organizational maneuvering over principled struggle for program.

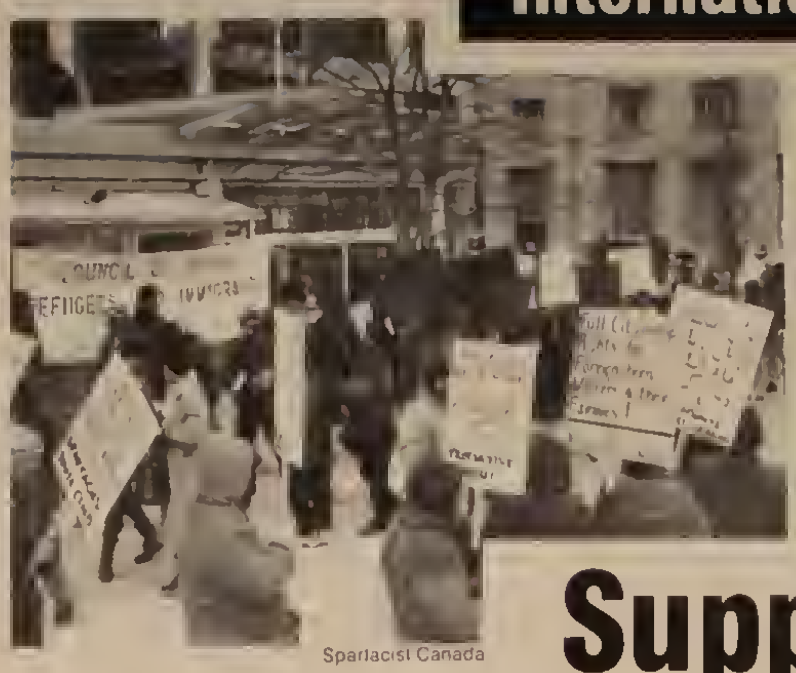
Where we fight to reforge a Fourth International Trotsky would recognize as his own, Norden and his circle prefer to rub elbows with centrist and reformist poseurs. In this regard it is notable that two of the three points of agreement in the "Joint Statement of Commitment to Fight to Reforge the Fourth International" between the IG and the LQB consist of denunciations of the ICL for breaking fraternal relations with LM and for the supposed "bureaucratic purge" of Norden & Co. Talk of "revolutionary regroupment" is all the rage among the centrist swamp internationally; the one common denominator for the many politically heterogenous rotten blocs flirting with each other is hatred for the authentic Leninism represented by the ICL. In their uncritical non-polemical new journal, the IG declares as its "aim to work toward an early fusion of our forces in a common Fourth-Internationalist tendency." Thus the IG has posted its big "for sale" sign. *Caveat emptor*—Let the buyer beware! ■

International Communist League
(Fourth Internationalist)

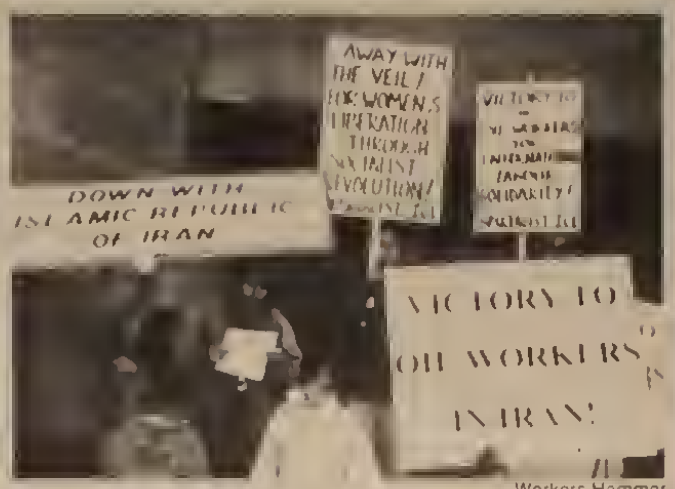
International Center: Box 7429 GPO, New York, NY 10116, USA

Spartacist League of Australia	Spartacist League, GPO Box 3473 Sydney, NSW, 2001, Australia
Spartacist League/Britain	Spartacist Publications, PO Box 1041 London NW5 3EU, England
Trotskyist League of Canada/ Ligue trotskyste du Canada	Trotskyist League, Box 7198, Station A Toronto, Ontario, M5W 1X8, Canada
Spartakist-Arbeiterpartei Deutschlands	SpAD, Postfach 5 55 10127 Berlin, Germany
Dublin Spartacist Group	PO Box 2944, Dublin 1 Republic of Ireland
Ligue trotskyste de France	Le Bolchévik, B.P 135-10 75463 Paris Cedex 10, France
Spartacist Group India/Lanka	write to Spartacist, New York
Lega trotskista d'Italia	Walter Fidacaro C.P. 1591, 20101 Milano, Italy
Spartacist Group Japan	Spartacist Group Japan PO Box 49, Akabane Yubinkyoku Kita-ku, Tokyo 115, Japan
Grupo Espartaquista de México	H. Herrera, Apdo. Postal 453 06002 México 1, D.F., Mexico
Spartacist/Moscow	write to Le Bolchévik, Paris
Spartakusowska Grupa Polski	Platforma Spartakusowców Skrytka Pocztowa 148 02-588 Warszawa 48, Poland
Spartacist/South Africa	Spartacist, PostNet Suite 248 Carlton Center Level 100, Shop 140 Commissioner Street Johannesburg 2001, South Africa
Spartacist League/U.S.	Spartacist League, Box 1377 GPO New York, NY 10116, USA

International Rallies Demand:



Spartacist Canada



Workers Hammer

Australian Spartacist

Support Iranian Oil Workers' Struggle!

On February 20, demonstrations were held in several cities around the world in solidarity with oil workers in Iran who have been waging a struggle for basic trade-union rights which began with a two-day strike in December. On February 16, the theocratic Iranian regime unleashed its "Revolutionary Guards" against more than 2,000 oil workers and supporters who were staging a protest picket outside the Oil Ministry building in Teheran. Hundreds were arrested and the union has been banned.

Supporters of the International Communist League joined in the solidarity demonstrations in London and Vancouver, which were initiated by the Workers Communist Party of Iran (WCPI) and supported by its cothinkers of the WCP of Iraq. The ICL also participated in earlier demonstrations on January 11 in Toronto, London and Sydney, Australia (see photo above) as well as in Tokyo and Vancouver. ICL signs called for support to the oil workers' struggle and for full citizenship rights for Afghan workers threatened with deportation. Our comrades also championed the national rights of the Kurdish people. Other ICL signs read: "Down With the Veil! For Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!"

A January 10 ICL statement declared: "Working people throughout the world must support the courageous actions by a key sector of the Iranian proletariat, which together with women, the Kurds and other national minorities has suffered nearly two decades of bloody repression under the theocratic Islamic Republic.... Back in 1978, amid the massive social turmoil directed against the hated shah, 37,000 Iranian oil workers staged a powerful sitdown strike which was initially independent of the reactionary forces around Ayatollah Khomeini. But the Iranian left subordinated the workers' struggles to the fundamentalists, helping to usher in an unparalleled disaster when Khomeini took power and unleashed his reign of savage terror. At the time, the ICL (then the international Spartacist tendency) said: 'Down with the shah, Down with the mullahs! For workers revolution in Iran!' Today, we continue our fight to build Leninist-Trotskyist revolutionary parties to lead workers revolution in Iran and throughout the world." ■

WCPI Exchange...

(continued from page 3)

arrogance of the United States." We are enclosing these two statements along with this reply.

As we stressed in our article, the various imperialist powers—today, first and foremost, U.S. imperialism—are the chief enemies of Kurdish independence. But it is precisely to the imperialists that the WCPI looks in the first instance. Moreover, they call for a UN-organized referendum, which is linked to a position for an independent *Iraqi* Kurdistan. This is elaborated in an article by Hekmat, "In Defense of the Demand for Independence for Iraqi Kurdistan," in the Farsi-language *International* (June 1995). Their schema is clearly premised on a big-power guarantor keeping Saddam Hussein's grubby hands out of Kurdistan. In short, this is implicitly a stages schema, in which the initial "democratic" stage is supposedly guaranteed by the UN, an instrument of imperialism.

The WCPI's appeals to the UN over Iraqi Kurdistan are no isolated aberration. Their main programmatic document, "A Better World," states: "The WCPI is in favor of an immediate solution to the Kurdish question in Iran through a free referendum in the Kurdish-occupied regions in western Iran *under the oversight of formal international organizations*" (our emphasis and translation). At the same time, even while acknowledging the national oppression of the Kurds and their right of self-determination, the WCPI makes clear that they presently oppose independence for the Kurds in Iran. And to the best of our knowledge the WCPI does not give *military* support to the petty-bourgeois nationalists of the Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK) in the genocidal war being waged by NATO Turkey, nor does it call for defense of the PKK against its suppression by the German state. In short, in Iraq where it has a significant Kurdish base, the WCPI is for independence. But it is opposed to Kurdish independence in Iran and Turkey, two neighboring states which are regional rivals of Iraq.

We of the ICL call for a socialist republic of united Kurdistan. In doing so, we apply Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution, the understanding that in regions which have been kept backward by imperialism the basic tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution can only be achieved through an internationalist struggle for proletarian power which sweeps away all the reactionary bourgeois regimes in the region. This view is in sharp contrast to the methodology of appealing to one or another imperialist power, or conciliating the bourgeois rivals of one's immediate oppressor, which characterizes the practices of the various Kurdish nationalist groupings. The WCPI does not transcend that framework.

"Socialism in One Country"—Nationalist Dogma

As you note, the WCPI claims that the Soviet Union became "state capitalist" by the late 1920s. This is the same operational conclusion drawn by Tony Cliff's Socialist Workers Party in Britain. This boils down to the assertion that capitalism was restored precisely at a time when the five-year plans were instituted and the USSR made a huge leap forward, developing an industrial society. This is a profoundly revisionist conclusion, at bottom crediting the bourgeoisie of a mainly peasant society with a progressive mission, that of qualitatively revolutionizing the material forces of production.

The WCPI claims that there was no qualitative political distinction between the Trotskyists and the Stalinists in the 1920s. In fact, however, they accept the false and *profoundly nationalist* ideology of building "socialism in one country" peddled by the Stalinist bureaucracy: "Firstly, in our opinion, theoretically and *irrespective of the question of the Soviet Union*, the establishment of socialism in one country, i.e., the establishment of relations based on common ownership, the abolition of wage-labour, i.e. what Marx envisaged to be the outlines of the lower stage of communism, is quite possible, and not only that, it is vital for the fate of workers' revolution" ("The Experience of Workers Revolution in the Soviet Union," by Mansoor Hekmat and Iraj Azarin).

Socialism (the lower phase of communism, in which the productivity of labor has been developed so immensely that classes cease to exist) necessarily requires the extension of proletarian property forms to the most advanced industrialized societies of the world. Those who posit the possibility of building socialism within the borders of a single state—in contradiction to Marx and Lenin—thereby deny the material necessity of extending the proletarian revolution worldwide and necessarily end up seeking or justifying "peaceful coexistence" with the imperialist bourgeoisies in the name of preserving "real, existing socialism." "Socialism in one country" meant betraying proletarian revolution everywhere else. In upholding this bogus schema, the WCPI rejects the decisive fights waged by Trotsky's Left Opposition, including for example its struggle against Stalin and Bukharin's betrayal of the Chinese Revolution of 1925-27, which was subordinated to the Guomindang and the butcher Chiang Kai-shek. As Trotsky pointed out in generalizing his theory of permanent revolution, the bloody massacre of communists and workers in China was the direct legacy of Stalin's resurrection of the theory of "two-stage revolution" pushed by the Mensheviks in tsarist Russia.

The WCPI's "state capitalist" viewpoint had other important consequences. Trotskyists unconditionally defended the Soviet degenerated workers state against internal counterrevolution and imperialist attack, while calling for proletarian political revolution to oust the parasitic Stalinist bureaucracy. When the Soviets intervened in Afghanistan in 1979, we said "Hail Red Army" and called for extending the social gains of the October Revolution to the Afghan peoples. While warning that the Kremlin bureaucracy was capable of selling out to the imperialists, we pointed out that the Red Army intervention was objectively in defense of the Soviet Union and a blow against the CIA-backed *mujahediu* who threatened to return women to virtual slavery, duplicating the horrors of Khomeini's Iran. But the CPI/WCPI viewed Soviet "imperialism" as equally reactionary as the *mujahediu*.

The events in Afghanistan expose yet again that "state capitalist" theory is worthless as a guide to understanding and intervening in the world. The Kremlin's withdrawal of the Soviet forces from Afghanistan led to the victory of the *mujahediu*, with today's hideous consequences for Afghan women, and gave a giant impulse to the forces of capitalist restoration which triumphed in the Soviet Union. Concerning the latter, the WCPI—unlike most "state capitalist" formations, such as the Cliffite tendency—did not cheer for Yeltsinite counterrevolution, and even predicted that the events in the Soviet Union and East Europe would have had consequences for the workers of the world. But according to the WCPI's own theory that the USSR had been state capitalist since at least the late 1920s, the rise to power of Yeltsin should have been an unimportant shift from one gang of "capitalists" to another.

Today the WCPI rightly opposes the deportation of Afghan refugees from Iran. But all those who joined the imperialist chorus demanding the defeat of Soviet forces bear responsibility here for the horrors of Taliban-ruled Afghanistan, where women are denied the right to work and to be educated, and in which medieval tortures have been reinstituted. We of the International Communist League seek to expose the betrayals that led to the victory of reactionary and counterrevolutionary forces in Iran, Afghanistan and the former Soviet Union, in order to educate a new generation of Marxist fighters who will forge Trotskyist parties that can lead the working masses forward to new October Revolutions. ■

Germany...

(continued from page 12)

the fascists today are still relatively small, they are emboldened by the capitalist counterrevolution in East Germany (DDR) in 1990 and by the Fourth Reich's escalating assault on immigrants. Nor is the symbolic significance of this race-hate rally in Munich lost on anybody. It was there, in 1923, that Hitler staged his abortive "Beer Hall Putsch." But Munich was also the center of a militant and victorious strike by 30,000 metal workers only two years ago. It is necessary to mobilize that proletarian power to crush the fascists *now*, before they grow.

The debacle in Munich stood in sharp contrast to the successful rout of Nazi skinheads in Berlin's Hellersdorf district two weeks earlier (see "Berlin: Militant Protest Spikes Nazi Rally," *WV* No. 662, 21 February). There our comrades of the Spartakist Workers Party (SpAD) provided the revolutionary leadership which was critical in organizing the hundreds of militants who wanted to stop the fascists and in countering the diversionary "peaceful, legal" efforts led in that instance by the Party of Democratic Socialism (PDS). In Munich, demonstrators snapped up a special *Spartakist* supplement on the Berlin victory sold by an SpAD sales team. Even *Der Spiegel* (24 February), Germany's principal newsweekly, made clear the significance of the victory over the fascists in Hellersdorf: "This defeat, together with the TV shots and press photos of skinheads quivering in fear, were considered deeply humiliating in the right-wing milieu."

The state's show of force in Munich was calculated to prevent a repeat of the successful anti-fascist action in Berlin. And only four days after the Nazis' rout in Hellersdorf, on February 19 a humiliated fascist stormed into a PDS bookstore in Berlin's Marzahn area and leveled three shotgun blasts directly at the PDS member, Klaus Baltruschat, who was working there. Left for dead, Baltruschat barely survived. He remains in the hospital after having his left forearm amputated. In a statement issued the day of the attack (translated in slightly abridged form below), the SpAD underscored the urgent need for *united-front defense based on mobilizing the social power of the trade unions* against the murderous fascist threat.

* * *

For years, the Nazi scum have gotten away with burning down the homes of and murdering dark-skinned immigrant men, women and children. Indeed these attacks have become so common that they go unreported unless there's a mortality. Today, in broad daylight, a bookseller in the PDS building in Marzahn was the victim of a near-fatal bloody attack by a fascist in a leather bomber jacket and jackboots, who fired a shotgun three times into the PDS member's back. *This underlines the urgency of united workers defense actions to crush these vermin—now—in the egg!*

Reuters

OPA

Above: Cops in Munich drag off anti-fascist demonstrator as they protect ominous Nazi mobilization, March 1. Right: Nazi skinheads in Berlin, February 15, cower in face of united-front action led by Spartakists.

Today's murderous attack was the Nazis' criminal act of revenge for the successful mass action which foiled a Nazi provocation in the streets of Hellersdorf, Berlin on Saturday, 15 February. Despite massive police protection for the Nazi killers, courageous *Autonom* youth, Spartakists, unionists, Jusos [SPD youth] and others stopped the Nazis. For this, the police brutally beat the leftist protesters and arrested 104 anti-fascists. *We hail the successful action against the Nazis on 15 February in Hellersdorf and warn: if the Nazis had been able to march through Berlin unimpeded last Saturday then the number of terrorist attacks on workers, immigrants, leftists and minorities would increase by a hundredfold.* Their criminal assault on the PDS bookshop keeper in Berlin, like the assassination of 17-year-old Frank Böttcher in Magdeburg, are the cowardly attacks of race-hate terrorists who fear the mobilizations that defeat them when they try to crawl out of their sewers.

Criminally, the PDS—which itself has become a victim of the Nazis' revenge for Hellersdorf—has joined the chorus against "left-wing violence" led by Berlin interior minister Schönbohm of the CDU/SPD Senate after his massive show of police force in defense of the fascists was foiled on 15 February. While the leftist bookshop keeper lies in the hospital after this terrorist attack, which took place in the same building which houses [PDS leader] Gregor Gysi's own campaign office, Gysi has outrageously denounced "violent attacks by leftist *Autonome*" and appealed for "debate" with the fascists and for the cops to "de-escalate" violence.

Gregor Gysi, as well as every trade-union official, every leftist, every member of a workers organization, every minority, ought to recall the haunting words of Lutheran pastor Martin Niemöller, who said in 1945:

> "First they came for the communists, but since I was not a communist I did not protest. Then they came for the Jews, but since I was not a Jew I did not protest. Then they came for the Catholics, but since I was not a Catholic I did not protest. When they came for me, there was no one left to protest."

The grotesque attempt by Gregor Gysi of the PDS to equate "left" and "right" extremists is a deadly syllogism which can only strengthen the bloody capitalist state, which the PDS serves and which is emboldening the fascists with its mass deportations of immigrants and vicious attacks on labor, women, minorities and the left. While the PDS beseeches the Fourth Reich to curb the excesses of "extremists," its sellout of the DDR and tepid appeals to "reform" the capitalist system all serve to breed the misery on which the fascists feed. The shameful condemnation by the PDS of the bold leftist action which spiked the Nazi provocation in Hellersdorf and suicidal appeals to the state to curb its own fascist dogs of war recall the role of the PDS' Stalinist and Social Democratic forebears [in allowing Hitler to come to power].

Hitler's victory was a fork in the road. With the desperate crisis of capitalism, the choice in Germany was international proletarian socialist revolution or fascist barbarism. History spoke its verdict clearly. The consequences of reformist accommodation to the capitalist order should not be forgotten or repeated.

Make no mistake: as the German bourgeoisie throws hundreds of thousands of workers out of their jobs, its anti-immigrant campaigns are directed against the labor movement. They hope to whip up German nationalism against "foreigners" to divide the workers at a time when maximum unity—especially with the significant Turkish and Kurdish components of the industrial proletariat—is required to resist the attacks on the living standards of the proletariat and to defend against the Nazi murder squads that have been incited by the government's policies.

Fascism is aimed first and foremost at the organized workers movement. The Nazis were able to carry out the Holocaust only *after* the workers movement had been crushed and atomized. The skinhead Nazis make no distinction between the reformists of the PDS and all other leftist parties. When they go after the PDS they are going after the workers movement. It is imperative that the social power of the German workers movement with its integrated industrial unions be organized to meet this brazen and murderous challenge by the Nazis.

We Trotskyists of the Spartakist Workers Party call on all opponents of Nazi terror to join together in *united-front defense*. While welcoming and encouraging open political debate with other organizations on the left, such as the PDS, Jusos, *Autonome*, etc., we believe that we must unite—march separately and strike together—and, based on the power of the trade unions, crush the Nazi murder gangs. For worker/immigrant defense patrols of immigrant centers, hostels, leftist offices, youth clubs, synagogues, mosques and other targets of the Nazis! *Organize, stop the Nazis!* ■

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series

BOSTON
Alternate Wednesdays, 7:00 p.m. Next class, March 19: ***Marxism and Special Oppression: The Woman Question***; Boston University, School of Education, Room 206
Information and readings: (617) 666-9453

CHICAGO
Alternate Thursdays, 6:00 p.m. Next class, March 13: ***The Marxist Understanding of the State***; University of Chicago, Cobb Hall, Room 207
Information and readings: (312) 454-4930

NEW BRUNSWICK, NJ
Saturdays, 3:00 p.m. Next classes, March 8: ***The Marxist Program***; March 29: ***The State***; Rutgers University, College Avenue Campus, Scott Hall, Room 102
Information and readings: (212) 267-1025

NEW YORK CITY
Alternate Thursdays, 7:30 p.m. Next class, March 20: ***The State***; Spartacist Public Office, 41 Warren Street (one block below Chambers Street, near Church Street)
Information and readings: (212) 267-1025

SAN FRANCISCO
Alternate Thursdays, 5:30 p.m. Next class, March 13: ***How the Working Class Took Power—The Bolshevik Revolution***; San Francisco State University, Student Union, Room C116
Information and readings: (415) 777-9367 or (510) 839-0851

Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste Classes

TORONTO
Alternate Thursdays, 7 p.m. Next class, March 13: ***The Fight for a Revolutionary Party Today***; International Student Centre, 33 St. George St., University of Toronto
Information and readings: (416) 593-4138

VANCOUVER
Alternate Wednesdays, 7 p.m. Next class, March 12: ***The Bolshevik Revolution***; UBC, Student Union Building, Room 213
Information and readings: (604) 687-0353

Spartacist Forums

CHICAGO

Race and Class in "Segregation City":
Break with the Democrats—For a Revolutionary Workers Party!

Saturday, March 8, 7:00 p.m.
For more information: (312) 454-4930
Ida Noyes, West Lounge, second floor
University of Chicago

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Capitalist Welfare-Bashers Enslave the Poor, Bust the Unions
Down With Slave-Labor Workfare!

Saturday, March 8, 2:00 p.m.
For more information: (202) 872-8240
Stamp Union, Room 1102
University of Maryland, College Park

BOSTON

Police Attack Leftists, Protect Fascists
Berlin: Militant Protest Spikes Nazi Rally!
— Eyewitness Report —

Monday, March 10, 8:00 p.m.
For more information: (617) 666-9453
Emerson 305, Harvard Yard
Harvard University

China...

(continued from page 1)

and reactionary under Soviet conditions, it was all the more so in backward China, which groaned under the weight of an impoverished peasantry making up three-fourths of its population. Now, in the "post-Soviet" world, imperialist pressures on China and on the other remaining deformed workers states—North Korea, Cuba, Vietnam—have increased qualitatively. In response to these pressures, the Beijing Stalinists have tied China even more closely to world capitalism, expanding market "reforms" while maintaining rigid control over the restive population. In 1992, Deng staged a well-publicized tour of southern China's capitalist "Special Economic Zones" (SEZs), where he called for extending "free market" enterprise throughout the country.

Unlike the October Revolution of 1917, which destroyed the Russian bourgeoisie as a class, the Chinese Revolution essentially chased the Guomindang out of the mainland to Taiwan, Hong Kong and elsewhere, allowing the Chinese bourgeoisie to retain cohesion as a class. Indeed, overseas Chinese capital has recently displaced Japan as the main source of investment finance in East Asia, and has penetrated mainland China through investments in the SEZs.

This danger is now about to be greatly exacerbated. On July 1, Hong Kong will revert to China after 150 years as a British colony, with the Beijing regime declaring—under the rubric of "one country, two systems"—that it will not lay a finger on Hong Kong's capitalist magnates. The takeover of Hong Kong is intended by Beijing as a signal of its aim to reunify with Taiwan on a capitalist basis. As our comrades of the Spartacist League/Britain declared in an article headlined "Britain Out of Hong Kong!" (*Workers Hammer* No. 109, September 1989), we are for "One country, one system—under workers rule!"

The dreams of the bureaucrats and bankers of a peaceful, bountiful restoration of capitalism are illusory. The state the Stalinists administer is based on the revolution which expelled the Chinese bourgeoisie and created a nationalized economy. The aims of China's would-be exploiters—centrally to secure the right to buy and sell property and hand it down to their offspring—can only be achieved through the destruction of the existing state apparatus by one means or another and its replacement by a new one based on the principle of private ownership of the means of production.

The London *Economist* (22 February)—house organ of international financiers—pointed out that "China is seething with jealousies and ambitions unleashed by Mr. Deng," while a political-legal structure for defending property rights "is entirely absent." The wholesale privatization of China's state-owned industries would necessarily entail a fierce struggle among the various factions, cliques and extended families that make up the bureaucracy over who would get what share of the country's productive assets.

Such property-grabbing would almost certainly draw in the military as the final arbiter. The PLA, formed during the civil war against Chiang's forces and the anti-Japanese resistance of the 1930s and '40s, still retains its basically regional structure and has, moreover, become heavily engaged in money-making operations of its own. A power struggle in Beijing could easily escalate into a civil war among PLA units fought on a regional basis. Capitalist counterrevolution would bring not only economic collapse and immiseration but the danger of a return to warlordism and bloody political chaos.

McCurry/Magnum

Reuters

Departing British colonial overseer of Hong Kong, Chris Patten, with Beijing-anointed replacement, Tung Chee-hwa. Chinese Stalinists have pledged to maintain capitalism in Hong Kong.

The Spectre of Tiananmen

The one force which can stop the drive toward capitalist restoration is the Chinese proletariat. The discredited Stalinist bureaucracy lives in fear of the spectre of the mass upheaval in May-June 1989. Beginning with student protests in Beijing's Tiananmen Square, the working people of Beijing, later joined by their class brothers and sisters throughout the country, threw themselves into battle against the despised Deng regime. For two weeks, the government could not enforce its declaration of martial law in the face of mass resistance by the *laobaixing* (common people) in the streets leading to Tiananmen. We wrote at the time, "It was the beginnings of a working-class revolt against Deng's program of 'building socialism with capitalist methods' which gave the protests their mass and potentially revolutionary nature" (*WV* No. 480, 23 June 1989). A political revolution was emerging. Eventually, the regime was able to find loyal army detachments which drowned the uprising in blood. This was followed by a vicious wave of repression throughout China, overwhelmingly directed against the working class.

While the proletariat was bloodied by the repression, it was not crushed. And today all of the factors that led to the Tiananmen upheaval eight years ago are present in magnified form: flagrant official corruption, inflation, massive peasant discontent. As the regime aims to "smash the iron rice bowl" of guaranteed lifetime employment and social benefits, there is growing economic insecurity. Popular hostility to the millionaire sons of top CCP leaders (dubbed the "princelings") is all the greater because the regime derives from the Chinese Revolution, with its proclaimed ideology of egalitarianism. The day Deng's death was announced, a retired worker in Beijing who repairs bicycles by the roadside exclaimed bitterly to a Western journalist: "In the past everyone was equal. Now even college graduates can't get a job."

Every year since 1991, the number of strikes and protests by workers in both state-owned and private capitalist industries has increased. Unlike the workers of Poland, East Germany and the Soviet Union, who after decades of Stalinist lies were largely lulled into believing Western propaganda that "free market" capitalism would give them a life of plenty, Chinese workers have already experienced the "magic of the marketplace," and know they will not be among its winners.

Some Tiananmen-era dissidents have been engaged in efforts to organize trade unions opposed to the regime's corporatist All-China Federation of Trade Unions, particularly in the capitalist SEZs. Such activists can be quite heroic, battling for workers rights against both the bosses and Chinese police forces. However, as Marxists, we warn against those, like Han Dongfang, who are tied to the pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy in Hong Kong and to the American AFL-CIO, whose leaders have for decades acted as labor agents for U.S. imperialism.

The increase in labor struggles inside China indicates that the working class is not about to see its rights taken away without a fight. But militancy on the economic plane is not enough to stop the counterrevolutionary tide. To do that requires that the working class enter the political arena. As Russian revolutionary leader Leon Trotsky wrote in his analysis of the degeneration of the Russian Revolution under Stalinism, *The Revolution Betrayed* (1937), the question is: "Will the bureaucrat devour the workers' state, or will the working class clean up the bureaucrat?" The Trotskyists fought for a program of *proletarian political revolution*, led by a Bolshevik party, to sweep out the bureaucracy, establish the rule of workers soviets (councils) and return the Soviet Union to its role as the headquarters of world socialist revolution.

This is the program needed in China today if the workers and impoverished peasant masses are to emerge victorious in the class battles that lie ahead. As part of our fight to reforge Trotsky's Fourth International as the world party of socialist revolution, the International Communist League seeks to build an egalitarian-communist party in China based on the program of Lenin and Trotsky's Bolsheviks. Such a party would link the struggle against the Beijing bureaucracy with the class struggles of the militant Indonesian and South Korean workers against their capitalist rulers, and with those in the imperialist centers such as Japan. Only through the extension of socialist revolution to these countries will the threat of capitalist re-enslavement be eliminated once and for all and the basis laid for the development of China in a socialist Asia.

Chinese Stalinism from Mao to Deng

Revulsion at the official corruption rampant in today's China has helped spur a certain wistfulness for the time of Mao Zedong. But while Mao called on the CCP to "serve the people" and Deng pronounced, "To get rich is glorious," the two represent no more than different poles of the same anti-proletarian bureaucracy.

Maoist rule was marked by extreme voluntarism and adventurism. Following the collectivization of agriculture, in 1958 Mao unleashed the "Great Leap Forward"—a utopian effort to catapult China to the status of an industrialized country through mobilizing mass peasant labor. The campaign led to extreme economic dislocations and one of the worst famines in history. In the aftermath, Mao lost leadership of the central bureaucracy to a more pragmatic faction led by Liu Shaoqi and Deng. In 1966, Mao launched the "Cultural Revolution"—in essence a giant faction fight inside the bureaucracy. In the course of "the lost ten years," as this period came to be known, universities and some factories were shut down and scientists were sent to the countryside to "learn from the peasants."

While the purged Liu died in prison, Deng survived and was brought back into the CCP leadership in 1973 by Mao and his lieutenant, Premier Zhou Enlai. In 1978, two years after Mao's death and the purge of the rabidly pro-Mao "Gang of Four," Deng took over the party leadership. Over the next several years, a cascade of measures was enacted opening up the country to foreign investment, breaking up collectivized agriculture and encouraging private businesses.

Despite the claims of Mao-loyalists like the U.S. Revolutionary Communist Party that the defeat of the "Gang of Four" and Deng's ascent to power marked China's return to capitalist rule, Deng was in many ways Mao's logical successor. The aim of Deng's market "reforms" was the same as that of Mao's autarkic economic adventurism: to turn China not only into a modern nation-state but into a world power. Modernizing China remains a key revolutionary task. But all wings of the Stalinist bureaucracy were and are diehard enemies of the only perspective capable of realizing this task: the extension of socialist revolution to advanced capitalist countries like Japan, which in the framework of international planning can provide the technical resources necessary to modernize China.

The introduction of capitalist measures under Deng follows a pattern inherent in Stalinist bureaucratic rule. To function effectively, the centrally planned economy which is a prerequisite for socialist development must be administered by a government of democratically elected workers councils. But the Stalinist misrulers are hostile to any expression of workers democracy, substituting arbitrary

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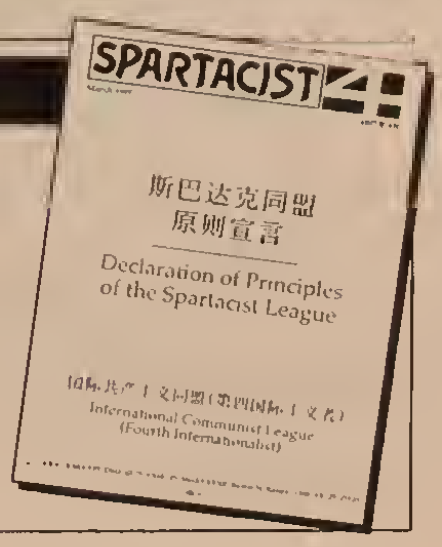

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Anti-Klan Three...

(continued from page 12)

America as an anti-immigrant, anti-minority and anti-working-class bastion in the interests of a racist ruling class whose outrageous and increasing wealth and profits are dependent on the increasing impoverishment and misery of the working class and oppressed. And the trade-union bureaucrats did their bit in the service of the ruling class, expressed through their ties to the Democratic Party, by refusing to mobilize one man against the Klan racist murderers.

This is not a uniquely American phenomenon, as graphically illustrated by the attempted February 15 Nazi rally in Berlin—which was successfully dispersed by 2,000 working-class and anti-fascist militants, effectively led by the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany—where the ruling class and their social-democratic trade-union misleaders combined to minimize the fascist threat while the cops tried to beat the crap out of and arrest those who fought Hitler's children. The stage for those attacks on the working class, for racist anti-immigrant attacks, and for the revival of the fascist threat was set by the overturn of the workers state in the Soviet Union. These attacks are now occurring in virtually every major industrial society while the Third World is left to simply starve. That historic defeat for the working class, which the International Communist League uniquely opposed, was supported in one guise or another by every other left group.

WV Photo

PDC initiated January 1994 labor/black mobilization in Springfield, Illinois against Klan race-hate provocation.

These assaults on the very ability of most people to live in anything but misery, or simply to live, require repression and, even more, silence—lest the spark of social protest ignite a conflagration of discontent and social struggle. The cops, who in the interests of the ruling class defend the vast chasm between the rich and others, accrue certain privileges; the privilege to exercise their own racist prerogatives—not different from those of the Klan and at times expressed in actual Klan membership—while profiting in those fields in which they have great expertise: graft, corruption and crime. The frame-up of Rolando Cruz, the cop murder of Jorge Guillen, the drug-dealing in Austin are simply the price the cops extort for maintaining "order" in this rotting system, an order enforced by terror and by the courts of the bourgeoisie.

We are here to defend the very right to protest oppression by defending those who did protest, militant fighters against Klan terror. The church burnings, the repeated and more frequent Klan rallies throughout the Midwest, the recent defacement of Lincoln's Tomb in Springfield demonstrate, if further demonstration was necessary, that in America the road to reaction is through black oppression, through an attack on the signal progressive event of American history, the Civil War.

A victory for the Anti-Klan Three would be a critical victory for the right to protest injustice and oppression. But there is only one ultimate defense, and that is to transform the struggle against oppression into a struggle that overturns the American imperialist order which produces racism and social decay. What is needed is a socialist revolution, and that requires the mobilization of the working class as the only social force with the power and consistent interest to overthrow the bosses. To accomplish this, the ties of the working class to the bourgeois order through the agency of the trade-union bureaucracy must be severed, and this task necessitates the formation of a revolutionary working-class party as the tribune of all the oppressed, a party which recognizes that the fight for black equality and against racist oppression is, in America, critical to uniting the working class and the oppressed in the fight for socialist revolution. This is at the core of the revolutionary program of the Spartacist League. Finish the Civil War! For socialist revolution!

* * *

Join this crucial fight! Send protest statements demanding that the charges against the Anti-Klan Three be dropped to: Richard Devine, State's Attorney of Cook County, Richard J. Daley Center, 55 W. Randolph Street, Chicago, IL 60602. Send donations for legal defense (earmarked "Anti-Klan Protesters") and copies of protest statements to the Partisan Defense Committee. Contact the PDC in Chicago at P.O. Box 802867, Chicago, IL 60680-2867, phone (312) 454-4931; or in New York at P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013-0099, phone (212) 406-4252. ■

AP

Xinhua

Chinese leader Jiang Zemin (center, above) with Li Peng and Deng, butchers of 1989 Tiananmen upheaval. Tiananmen student protests led to incipient political revolution as Beijing workers (left) entered the struggle.

administrative fiat in its place. Faced with the inevitable imbalances of a bureaucratically run planned economy, Stalinist regimes are impelled to introduce capitalist market measures: loosening economic planning, forcing plants to produce for the market, and encouraging the growth of private businesses and foreign investment.

For Proletarian Internationalism!

Linking the regimes of Mao, Deng and current Chinese leader Jiang Zemin is the nationalism inherent in Stalinism, which in Mao's case was colored by a xenophobic glorification of Chinese peasant culture. In its early years, the CCP regime was allied with the Soviet Union. But in the late 1950s, Beijing's complaints over inadequate Soviet aid and the Maoists' own "great power" ambitions led to a split with Moscow. Within a few years, Mao was proclaiming that "Soviet social-imperialism" was an even greater danger than the U.S., a position neatly dovetailing the American rulers' strategic goal of destroying the Soviet degenerated workers state.

The criminal fruits of the clash between the rival Stalinist bureaucracies in Moscow and Beijing were seen in the Vietnam War, when Mao's China blocked Soviet military aid to the North Vietnamese Army and the National Liberation Front in the South as they fought against U.S. imperialism and its South Vietnamese capitalist henchmen. At the height of the Cultural Revolution, when radicals around the world were hailing Mao's China as a revolutionary alternative to the stodgy Kremlin bureaucrats, the Spartacist League declared that given the Mao regime's hostility to the Soviet Union, "the danger of an imperialist alliance with China against the Russians cannot be dismissed" ("Chinese Menshevism," *Spartacist* No. 15-16, April-May 1970). This prediction was borne out with the official rapprochement between China and the U.S. signaled by war criminal Richard Nixon's welcome in Beijing in 1972, as U.S. warplanes were bombing Vietnam.

The U.S.-China alliance was deepened under Deng. Its main target was again Vietnam, following the defeat of the U.S. imperialists in 1975 and the reunification of the South with the deformed workers state in the North. In 1979, following Hanoi's ouster of genocidal Cambodian leader and Beijing ally Pol Pot, China invaded Vietnam with the tacit support and encouragement of Washington, declaring it would "teach Vietnam a bloody lesson." Denouncing Beijing's treachery, the Spartacist League declared, "China: Don't Be a Cat's Paw of U.S. Imperialism!" In the upshot, it was the battle-hardened Vietnamese army which taught Beijing a lesson.

Today, the Beijing rulers increasingly promote Chinese nationalism—including reactionary "traditional" Confucian values—as a sort of ideological glue to maintain their control. For China's working masses, this is a poisonous false consciousness, serving to identify their interests with their would-be exploiters in the Chinese bourgeoisie.

The reactionary nationalism common to both Mao and Deng is also expressed within China in the bureaucracy's Han-chauvinist oppression of national and ethnic minorities. This has been highlighted in recent weeks as Beijing's troops brutally suppressed protests by the Turkic-speaking, traditionally Muslim Uighurs in the far western province of Xinjiang. For decades, the imperialists have used the demand for independence for Tibet as a battering ram against the Chinese deformed workers state. A Trotskyist party in China would seek to mobilize the proletariat to defend the rights of national minorities against Han chauvinism. While opposing imperialist-sponsored "independence" movements, we defend the right of independence for a Tibetan soviet republic.

For a Trotskyist Party in China!

China's alliance with the U.S., initiated under Mao, helped set the stage for Deng's "open door" to imperialist exploitation. Today, Mao's heirs don't even give lip service to the goals of socialism, instead openly offering themselves as compradors (resident agents) of imperialism. But there are also many signs pointing to tumultuous social struggle in the near future against immiseration and "free market" exploitation. The fight for proletarian political revolution—for a China of workers and peasants councils—must be linked to the defense of all those—women, ethnic and national minorities, the rural poor—under attack in the drive toward capitalist restoration.

There must be special measures to organize the more than 100 million poverty-stricken migrant workers from the countryside, who form a potentially powerful link between the urban working class and the peasant masses. The "socialist market economy" has also increasingly eroded the enormous gains achieved by women as a result of the 1949 Revolution, as many urban women are forced out of their jobs and age-old horrors like the sale of "brides" and female infanticide re-emerge in rural areas. As we wrote in "China: 'Free Market' Misery Targets Women" (*Women and Revolution* No. 45, Winter-Spring 1996): "As the 'tribune of the people,' a vanguard party would fight tooth and nail against the attempt to drive women from their hard-won positions in the workplace and would mobilize working people to defend women set upon by the purveyors of sexual enslavement."

To smash the threat of capitalist re-enslavement and open the road to a socialist future, China's workers need above all to be won to the authentic communism of Lenin and Trotsky and of the early Chinese Communist Party led by Chen Duxiu, which for decades has been trampled on by Stalinism. For a Trotskyist party in China, section of a reborn Fourth International! ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Cops and Klan, Hand in Hand

Defend the Chicago Anti-Klan Three!

Trial Date Set for May 5

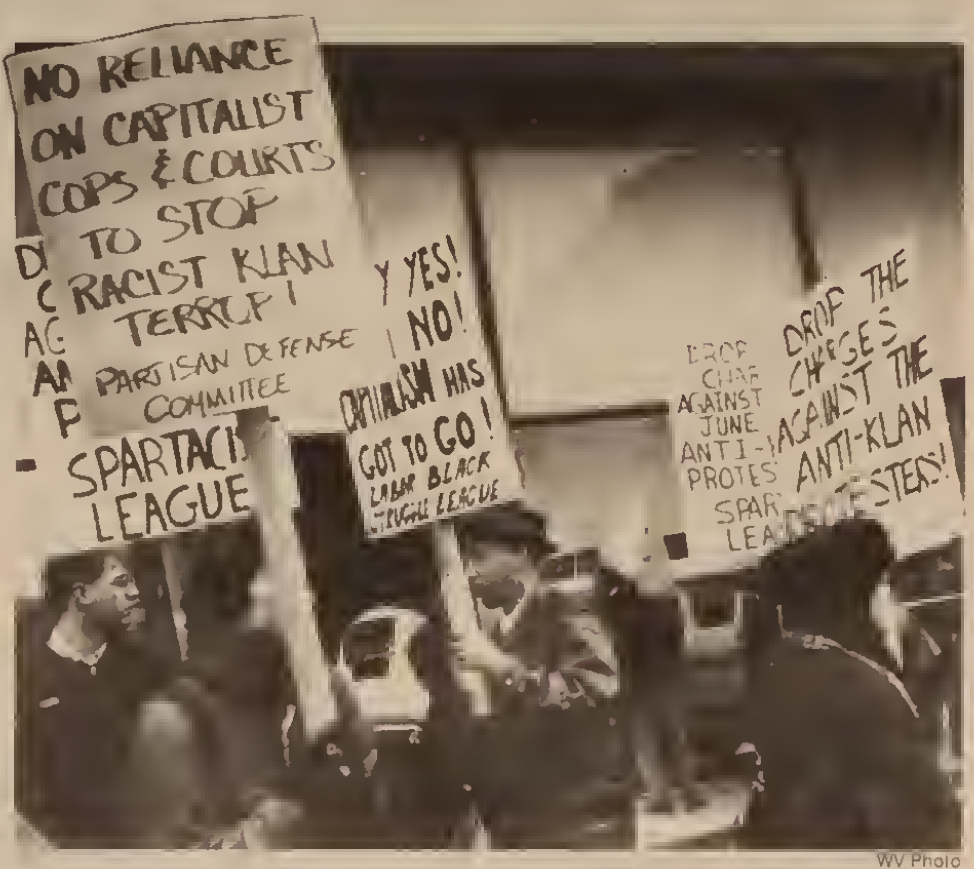
CHICAGO, February 28—Cook County Circuit Court judge Marvin Luckman today denied a defense motion to dismiss vindictive charges against three participants in an anti-Klan protest initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee and Chicago Labor Black Struggle League last June 29 in Daley Plaza. PDC Labor Coordinator Gene Herson, Jeffrey Lyons of Refuse & Resist and Dennis Glass, a young black worker—who face from one to two years in prison on bogus charges of assault and battery against police—will now have to stand trial on May 5. Outside the court before the hearing, protesters demanded: "Drop the charges now!"

The June 29 united-front protest—organized on 24 hours' notice and in the face of a news blackout of the KKK's plans—spiked a violent racist provocation by Klansmen armed with bolt-studded shields and long flagpoles. Today in court, Mark Kerman of the PDC testified that when the protesters moved to defend themselves as the Klansmen marched toward them in military formation, the Klan wielded their flagpoles as lances and chillingly taunted one black protester to "come and get it, boy." After the protesters had successfully stopped the potentially lethal assault by the lynch-rope murderers of the KKK, the cops intervened to protect the Klan and to exact revenge against the anti-Klan protesters. Herson was pepper-sprayed directly in the face by Commander Patrick McNulty, the top police official on the spot.

As the defense motion documents, the prosecution of the three anti-racist activists is a blatantly malicious act aimed at justifying the vindictive and brutal assault by Chicago police that day against the anti-Klan protest. Moreover, as the motion points out, "Police approached the June 29 demonstrations as a 'test run' of their tactical methods of suppressing and controlling political expression in the context of the Democratic Convention" (DNC) last August. Yesterday, a Cook County state's attorney argued that the "DNC 5"—arrested for protests around the convention—must stand trial *despite* a ruling that there was no evidence showing that these protesters were even involved in the incidents for which the cops brought charges!

Sam Willis, a volunteer in the AFL-CIO's "Union Summer" program, testified today that even after the Klan had been escorted away by the police, a phalanx of cops swinging nightsticks waded into the anti-Klan protest. Willis described how Glass was simply snatched by the cops for no reason and how Lyons was spread-eagled on a car after protesting the arrest of another "Union Summer" participant. Relentlessly badgered by the state's attorney over why he participated in the anti-Klan protest, Willis replied: "My father was a union organizer and when I was about five years old he was brutally beaten by people that were suspected of being KKK members."

Today's Chicago *Sun-Times* reported on the rise in anti-Semitic attacks in Illinois. Only last week, Lincoln's Tomb in Springfield was defaced with swastikas, the symbol of the Nazi Holocaust. Also spotlighting the escalation in fascist terror was the conviction yesterday of an 82nd Airborne paratrooper—who openly paraded around in skinhead regalia—for the cold-blooded racist execution of a black couple in Fayetteville, North Carolina in December 1995.



WV Photo

Chicago, February 28: United-front protest outside court in support of Anti-Klan Three.

The call to "Drop the Charges Against the Anti-Klan Three" has been taken up by a wide range of labor unions and officials, including Steelworkers Local 1010 and Amalgamated Transit Union Local 308 in Chicago. As Gene Herson declared: "The Klan are the sworn and deadly enemies of blacks, immigrants, gays and all of the oppressed. If the cops get away with framing up those of us who took a stand against Klan terror, it will further embolden these nightriding fascists in their genocidal aim of a 'racially pure' America where trade unions don't exist." We print below, in slightly edited form, a speech at today's protest by an SL spokesman.

* * *

Richard Daley, the Democratic Party—black and white—and the media did not combine to suppress news of the June 29 Klan demonstration as an "act of civic sanitation" or to avenge the 1968 DNC fiasco, although there was an element of that. Primarily their aim was to assure the re-election of Bill Clinton, the "New South" Democrat who has done more than Ronald Reagan could to shape

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Cops Mobilize to Protect Nazi March in Munich, Leftist Shot in Berlin

Germany: For Workers Defense Against Fascist Terror!

MARCH 3—In an ominous threat to minorities, immigrants and the entire workers movement in Germany, some 5,000 Nazis from around the country marched through downtown Munich on Saturday under the protection of an army of 2,000 police. Munich was turned into a police state for the day to provide the brown-shirt stormtroopers a platform for their genocidal filth. Moreover, this fascist provocation was effectively condoned at the highest levels of the state government, as the Christian Social Union (CSU), Bavarian sister party of Chancellor Helmut Kohl's Christian Democrats (CDU), joined in condemning an exhibit which was the target of the Nazi rally—on the war crimes of Hitler's Wehrmacht forces during the Holocaust.

That the Nazis could march essentially unimpeded through this proletarian city—with its substantial Turkish and Kurdish population—is a serious defeat for the working class as a whole. Responsibility for this defeat rests squarely at the feet of the reformist misleaders—the Social Democrats (SPD) and the DGB trade-union federation tops—and the various centrists who tail them. Widespread sentiment to *stop* the Nazis was evident: up to 15,000 workers and anti-fascist youth turned out to protest in Munich, and in Berlin bus drivers refused to transport contingents of fascists to the rally. Yet absolutely nothing was done to mobilize the heavy battalions of labor—and behind them the immigrants, women, gays and many others who are potential victims of fascist terror—in a powerful action which could have neutralized the forces of the state and driven the Nazis back into their sewers.

Three separate counterdemonstrations were organized by the SPD/DGB, Greens joined by various centrists and reformists, and the *Autonoms* of "Anti-Fascist Action." But these were more than a mile from the Nazis' planned rally site at Marienplatz near the exhibit, and the first two were dispersed *by their organizers* an hour before the fascists appeared. This was deliberate—aimed at *demobilizing* the anti-fascist forces—because the reformists relied instead on appeals to the capitalist state to "ban the fascists." About a thousand courageous youth, leftists and others defied the "official" leaders and turned out at Marienplatz, and some later engaged in running street battles with the Nazis. But leaderless and disorganized, these youth were cordoned off by the cops, who then attacked them, arresting nearly 60. We say: Drop the charges against the arrested anti-fascists!

Thanks to the reformists and centrists, the Nazis were allowed to stage their largest action in Germany in decades. While

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WORKERS VANGUARD

50¢

No. 664

21 March 1997

U.S. Hands Off Latin America!

U.S. "Drug War" Means Imperialist Terror

AP

Valtierra/Cuartoscuro

American helicopters sent to Colombia for supposed "war on drugs," used to suppress guerrilla insurgents. U.S. supplied weapons to Mexican army (right) to crush Zapatista insurgency in Chiapas, 1994.

The past several weeks have seen a crescendo of jingoist calls by both Democratic and Republican politicians to "get tough" with Mexico and Colombia over the drug trade. In particular, the disclosure that Mexico's top "drug enforcement" official was on the take from narcotics traffickers provoked a frenzy of Mexico-bashing tirades. This came on the eve of imperialist chief Clinton's annual "certification" rulings threatening sanctions against countries deemed "lax" in the "war on drugs." In the upshot, Mexican president Ernesto Zedillo got a "thumbs up" from Clinton, but Colombia's Ernesto Samper failed to make the grade.

Propelled by rabidly anti-immigrant racists like California Democratic Senator Dianne Feinstein, Congress promptly voted against Clinton's ruling on Mexico, but by a safe enough margin to assure that a promised presidential veto would stand. As the *Wall Street Journal* (14 March) commented, Congress wanted to "upbraid the Mexican government in as public a manner as possible. But they don't want to disturb the Mexican economy with tough sanctions or scare away international investors." Coming from the U.S. imperialist government—which through the CIA became the biggest drug dealer in the world in pursuing its war against "international Communism" and which continues to prop up one corrupt, blood-soaked capitalist regime after another—the "certification" debate certainly reeks with hypocrisy.

But it's not about drugs in the first place. The "drug war" has become Yankee imperialism's latest fig leaf for beefing up the forces of repression against peasant and working-class unrest in Latin America, while at home it has meant an escalation of racist police terror in the ghettos and barrios. As Marxists, we stand for decriminalization of drugs.

Behind Washington's arrogant "certification" proceedings is an assertion by the U.S. cops of the world of their "supersovereignty" over all of what they see as their Latin American "backyard." Thus, the U.S. is now demanding that its Drug Enforcement (DEA) agents be formally allowed to carry arms as they maraud through Mexico and that American naval vessels be granted the right to detain boats in Mexican waters.

Mexico's Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) government has yet to openly accept this dictate. But as the entire history of U.S. imperialist invasion and plunder of Latin America shows, such legal formalities are utterly superfluous when Washington decides to throw its weight around. The U.S. slaughtered thousands when it invaded Panama in 1989 in order to "arrest" Panamanian leader Manuel Noriega, a former CIA "asset," for supposedly running drugs. Since proclaiming the Monroe Doctrine in the early 19th century, the U.S. has considered Latin America to be under its exclusive control.

The increasingly strident projections of U.S. dominance over Latin America accompany the 1994 North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), which we Trotskyists denounced as a "free trade" rape of Mexico. This is the expression in the Western Hemisphere of the interimperialist rivalries which have sharpened following the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union: the U.S. seeks to shore up its Latin American domain, Germany looks to extend its reach throughout Europe and Japan aims to recreate a "Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere." As Marxist internationalists, we seek to mobilize the U.S. proletariat in struggle against the rapacious American bourgeoisie as part of a fight for international socialist revolution. *U.S. hands off Latin America!*

"Drug War" Targets Latin American Workers, Peasants

Following the imposition of NAFTA and the subsequent collapse of the peso, Wall Street has virtually taken control of the Mexican economy. This has meant a massive decline in the living standards of already impoverished Mexican workers and peasants, leading to a series of peasant-guerrilla insurgencies, from the Zapatista (EZLN) uprising in the southern state of Chiapas to the more recent emergence of the Popular Revolutionary Army (EPR) in Guerrero and elsewhere. Mexico's neocolonial rulers, backed to the hilt by the U.S., have responded with bloody state terror against the peasants and a crackdown on independent trade unions.

The "drug war" is nothing more than a pretext for imperialist-sponsored terror. This is amply clear in both Mexico and Colombia. Shortly after the EZLN rebellion broke out, the Pentagon not only delivered huge quantities of military equipment to the Mexican army, but sent thousands of U.S. troops and DEA and CIA agents to Guatemala near the border with Chiapas. Even the U.S. government's General Accounting Office has admitted that American "counter-narcotics" helicopters were used to transport Mexican troops to Chiapas, where they slaughtered hundreds of peasants.

U.S. military aid to Mexico has continued to escalate (see "U.S. Hands Off Mexico!" *WV* No. 658, 27 December 1996). According to a recent piece by Jeffrey St. Clair (*Inter Press Service*, 14 January), in November the Clinton administration delivered the first shipments of a $50 million weapons and reconnaissance package, including 73 Huey helicopters, four reconnaissance planes, 500 armored personnel transporters, night-vision and "C-3" (command, control and communications) equipment. St. Clair notes: "The official pretext is that the arms are for use in the drug war. But the true purpose harks back to a famous

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How David North Embraces Karl Kautsky

The "Global Economy" and Labor Reformism

See Page 4

Young Spartacus

Ghosts of Mississippi: A Review

How Hollywood Disappears the Civil Rights Movement

See Page 6

The Scab Speaks

7 December 1996
Toronto, Ontario

To Whom It May Concern,

I am enclosing information for you *at the request of one of your members* selling your press at a meeting of Labour Council of Metro Toronto on Dec. 5, 1996.

If the TL [Trotskyist League of Canada] and your sister organization the S.L./U.S. have even an *ounce of political integrity* you will publish a correction and public apology for the libelous and highly inaccurate material attacking me in your press.

Then again, if you had any integrity, you would have checked the facts *before* publishing trash.

Sincerely,
Barry Weisleder

WV Replies

Weisleder's ox was gored by our article "Canadian 'Socialist Action' Leader Caught Scabbing" (*WV* No. 655, 8 November 1996), which documented how he tried to cross a strike picket manned by members of the Ontario Public Sector Staff Union (OPSSU) last September. The strike, by staff workers in the offices of the Ontario Public Service Employees Union (OPSEU), was directed against a cutback contract proposal by the "fiscally responsible" OPSEU Executive Board, of which Weisleder is a member. In his spare time, Weisleder also heads up the Canadian Socialist Action group, affiliate of the fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat. Yet neither his union position nor his "revolutionary socialist" pretensions prevented this two-bit bureaucrat from trying to *scab* on his "own" workers. As we reported in our article, Weisleder was publicly nailed as a scab by the OPSSU strike bulletin *Walk/Talk*, which described how he showed up for "a day of scabbing" and unsuccessfully tried to force his way through an OPSSU picket line outside the Ontario Ministry of Labour.

Maclean's

OPSSU strike bulletin exposed scabbing by Socialist Action leader Barry Weisleder.

Attached to Weisleder's whining missive were a letter from OPSSU president Terry Krulicki, an OPSEU "News Update" article on the strike settlement and Weisleder's own "Fact Sheet Antidote to 'Walk/Talk' Tales: OPSEU Belongs to its Members!" In fact these documents *confirm* that *WV* told the truth.

Defense Exhibit A is Krulicki's grudging expression of "regret" for accusations of scabbing against "OPSEU elected officials" who "were engaged in activities which were a normal part of their duties during the OPSSU strike." The letter stiffly notes, "In circumstances such as this it is not conducive to harmonious labour relations nor is it accurate to accuse them of being scabs." In fact, as the OPSEU tops' own "News Update" article makes clear, this "apology" was extorted from the OPSSU as part of the strike settlement. Even so, it does not deny that Weisleder tried to push his way through an OPSSU picket line.

Weisleder himself gives the show away in his "reply" to *Walk/Talk*, with his violence-baiting diatribe against OPSSU pickets for engaging in "foul language, unprofessional conduct, threats and intimidation" as well as "physical obstruction and aggressive pushing." That sure sounds like a picket line to us! But according to Weisleder, because the Ministry of Labour "is not an OPSSU work place," this wasn't a picket line at all. Weisleder might want to try out his crock of self-serving bureaucratic bull on the tens of thousands of unionists—including many OPSEU members—who shut down Toronto on October 25 in a one-day general strike. Hundreds of picket lines manned by "cross-picketers" closed *other unions'* worksites. By Weisleder's definition, these were merely "political demonstrations" that scabs like him had every right to ignore!

The pro-capitalist union bureaucracy—of which both Weisleder and Krulicki are minor but integral parts—has for decades undermined the basic working-class understanding that strike pickets are the fundamental battle lines of the class struggle. Instead, the labor tops offer deliberately porous "informational pickets," useless consumer boycotts and "corporate campaigns"...and outright strikebreaking. In Canada, they steer worker militancy into the parliamentary dead end of the social-democratic New Democratic Party.

At the same time, "labor lieutenants of capital" like Barry Weisleder foster illusions in the capitalist state as some kind of neutral arbiter between the workers and the bosses. On this score, it's revealing to compare Weisleder's violence-baiting of OPSSU strikers with an article he wrote in *Socialist Action* (Spring-Summer 1996), in which he *praises* the strikebreaking, racist killers of the Metro Toronto police force for acting as "benign mediators" during last spring's OPSEU strike!

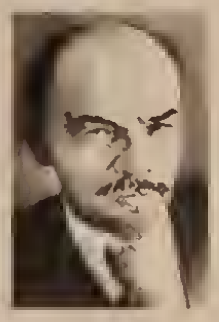
Marxists understand that the capitalist state—with its cops, courts and prisons—is the mortal enemy of workers and the oppressed, and must be swept away through socialist revolution. Yet as our article pointed out, Weisleder *supports* the presence of jail guards in OPSEU. Thus it's unsurprising that outside the December 5 meeting of the Metro Toronto Labour Council, Weisleder's frenzied companion Elizabeth Byce—a Socialist Action supporter and Labour Council official—shrieked that he should sue us for libel in the capitalist courts.

Weisleder's protest against our article doesn't bother to address his organization's friendly attitude toward the capitalist state's repressive armed fist. Instead, this scab questions *our* "political integrity" for telling the truth about him. In reply we can only point out that political integrity is based on principles. As we wrote in our article exposing Weisleder's scabbing:

> "The kind of class-struggle leadership needed by workers and the oppressed facing all-sided capitalist attacks won't come from scab 'socialists' who chatter about 'solidarity' and then act like the Junior Chamber of Commerce. We need a revolutionary workers party forged on the basis of an anti-capitalist program and genuine working-class principles—not least, the understanding that *picket lines mean don't cross!*" ■

"Ultra-imperialism" and Pacifist Reformism

TROTSKY



LENIN

Various liberal and leftist theoreticians of the "global economy" assert that "multinational" corporations and banks have today displaced nation-states as the dominant power in the capitalist world. This is not at all a new notion. In the period around World War I, the revisionist "Marxist" Karl Kautsky echoed many bourgeois ideologues in maintaining that international capitalist cartels could establish a stable and peaceful division of the world economy. In fact, as Bolshevik leader V. I. Lenin explained in 1916, the interimperialist war was the necessary product of the major capitalist powers' striving to redivide the world. Lenin exposed Kautsky's "ultra-imperialism" as a reformist-pacifist denial of the need for proletarian revolution. This was demonstrated a year later in Kautsky's hostility to the Bolshevik-led October 1917 workers revolution in Russia.

Certain bourgeois writers (now joined by Karl Kautsky, who has completely abandoned the Marxist position he had held, for example, in 1909) have expressed the opinion that international cartels, being one of the most striking expressions of the internationalisation of capital, give the hope of peace among nations under capitalism. Theoretically, this opinion is absolutely absurd, while in practice it is sophistry and a dishonest defence of the worst opportunism. International cartels show to what point capitalist monopolies have developed, and *the object* of the struggle between the various capitalist associations. This last circumstance is the most important; it alone shows us the historico-economic meaning of what is taking place; for the *forms* of the struggle may and do constantly change in accordance with varying, relatively specific and temporary causes, but the *substance* of the struggle, its class *content*, positively *cannot* change while classes exist. Naturally, it is in the interests of, for example, the German bourgeoisie, to whose side Kautsky has in effect gone over in his theoretical arguments (I shall deal with this later), to obscure the *substance* of the present economic struggle (the division of the world) and to emphasise now this and now another *form* of the struggle. Kautsky makes the same mistake. Of course, we have in mind not only the German bourgeoisie, but the bourgeoisie all over the world. The capitalists divide the world, not out of any particular malice, but because the degree of concentration which has been reached forces them to adopt this method in order to obtain profits....

The epoch of the latest stage of capitalism shows us that certain relations between capitalist associations grow up, *based* on the economic division of the world; while parallel to and in connection with it, certain relations grow up between political alliances, between states, on the basis of the territorial division of the world, of the struggle for colonies, of the "struggle for spheres of influence."

— V. I. Lenin, *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism* (1916)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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Spartacist Forum

Women and Permanent Revolution

Speaker: Janet John, Spartacist League

Thursday, March 27, 7:30 p.m.

P.S. 41, 116 West 11th Street

NEW YORK CITY **For more information: (212) 267-1025**

Anti-Racist Sit-In at UMass Amherst

On March 3, students organized by ALANA at the University of Massachusetts occupied the Goodell administration building to protest the university's failure to fulfill a 1992 promise to bring minority enrollment up to 20 percent. For six days, hundreds of students from UMass, Hampshire, Smith and other area colleges held daily protests in support of the occupation and dozens camped outside Goodell around the clock. Comrades from the Boston Spartacus Youth Club were well received when they arrived with the following March 4 statement of solidarity.

We in the Spartacus Youth Club wish to express our solidarity with the campus protesters and wish them success in their just struggle. Coming amid a national atmosphere of slashing affirmative action and all other programs which give at least some minority and working-class youth a chance at a decent education, the failure of the UMass administration to meet even the minimal 20 percent minority enrollment must be seen as an intentional racist affront against every black, Latino and poor youth.

As socialist revolutionaries, we understand that the national attacks on the right to an education result from the fact that this decrepit and inherently racist system is unable to provide decent jobs and lives for the working class and the ghetto poor. That is why we say that a successful fight for a decent education for the masses of people in this country is going to require a fight against the entire rotten edifice of capitalism. Students must ally themselves with the working class, the only class capable of bringing down this system of exploitation and oppression.

Through budget cuts and tuition hikes which constitute a racist purge of the campuses, the public universities more and more resemble the private campuses which are bastions of upper-class privilege.

Free, quality education for all! Nationalize the private universities! Open admissions, no tuition, and a living stipend for all students! Abolish the administration! For worker/student/faculty control of the universities! ■

Young Spartacus

Drug War...

(continued from page 1)

recommendation first exposed in 1994, when Chase Bank circulated an advisory to its clients, saying that 'the Zapatistas must be eliminated'." Even now, three years after the Zapatista revolt, an average of five peasants a day are being killed in Chiapas alone by government-sponsored death squads.

Meanwhile, the Samper regime in Colombia continues to be beset by peasant guerrilla insurgencies which have now gone on for some 40 years. In recent weeks, attacks by the Revolutionary Armed Forces (FARC) on government and police offices have increased, with British ITN television reporting that "the outbreak of violence now seems to be spiraling out of control." Clinton's refusal to "certify" Samper has more to do with the Colombian leader's inability to bring the FARC and other rebel groups under control than with his reputed association with drug cartels (which would at any rate put him on a par with virtually every bourgeois politician and military and police officer backed by the U.S.).

As Amnesty International documented in a report last year, U.S. "drug aid" to Colombia has consistently been funneled into "counterinsurgency" terror against leftist politicians and peasant militants and "was going to units ranked among the worst human rights abusers" (*New York Times*, 25 November 1996). Despite Washington's tongue-clucking over Samper's alleged drug connections, last fall the U.S. rewarded him with another $40 million in military aid to combat guerrilla insurgents. And when Peruvian strongman Alberto Fujimori visited Washington in February to discuss how to crush the Túpac Amaru guerrilla seizure of the Japanese ambassador's residence in Lima, U.S. "drug czar" General Barry McCaffrey announced plans to beef up drug "interdiction" efforts there. As the *New York Times* (3 February) noted, this "could eventually bring a significant expansion of United States military involvement."

U.S. imperialist domination of Latin America has been enforced over the decades through savage terror against impoverished peasants, oppressed indigenous populations and restive workers, carried out by both the American military and its neocolonial death-squad regimes. Last year, Zedillo agreed to an unprecedented pact allowing Mexican soldiers to be trained at U.S. bases. Meanwhile, the "School of the Americas" (more accurately known as the "School of the Assassins") at Fort Benning, Georgia continues to train Latin American military officers in torture, execution and "neutralization" of leftists. At the same time, Clinton has massively militarized the U.S. border with Mexico in order to stem the tide of desperate immigrants seeking to cross into *el norte*.

Latin American Powder Keg

U.S. imperialist bullying of the Samper and Zedillo regimes has provoked a widespread nationalist reaction in both countries. This is particularly the case in Mexico, where deeply ingrained anti-American passions date from the 1836 Texas war and 1846-48 Mexican-American War, through which the bulk of northern Mexico was stolen. At the same time, the imposition of starvation austerity policies dictated by Wall Street and the financial vultures of the International Monetary Fund has led to a wave of strikes by the proletariat throughout South America.

Last month, 800,000 Colombian public workers struck for eight days over falling wages, layoffs and privatization of state-owned industry. The Samper government called out some *300,000 troops*, as riot police and soldiers stood guard outside public offices. The month before, dock workers shut down Colombia's main Pacific coast port, paralyzing coffee and sugar exports.

LeMoyne NY Times / Lehman/Saba

School of the Americas in Panama (now relocated to Fort Benning, Georgia), U.S. training ground for Latin American military dictators and death squads. Right: Victims of bloody state terror in Chiapas.

This outbreak of labor struggles from Argentina to Venezuela points to the enormous potential of the workers of the region to fight not only in their own immediate interests but on behalf of the many millions of downtrodden peasants and oppressed indigenous peoples. Occasionally, even bought-and-paid-for figures like Samper may feel compelled to mouth anti-U.S. rhetoric when pushed to the wall by Washington. But even the most "radical"-sounding nationalist regimes of the Third World are incapable of achieving genuine national liberation, agrarian revolution and democratic rights for the oppressed. These bourgeois rulers, who brutally exploit their own working people, are completely tied to the imperialists and subservient to the world bankers who hold their countries in thrall.

What is needed above all is the forging of revolutionary workers parties armed with the Trotskyist perspective of permanent revolution: to break the chains of imperialist domination, the proletariat—standing at the head of the peasantry and all the oppressed—must seize state power from the weak and venal local bourgeoisies and seek to extend socialist revolution to the U.S. imperialist heartland. But particularly in Latin America, self-described "socialists" have repeatedly renounced the struggle for *proletarian* leadership of the oppressed masses, offering instead a strategy of an "anti-imperialist united front"—a call for a nationalist "popular front" tying the working class to "democratic" bourgeois forces. Currently in Mexico, a host of organizations such as the bourgeois "Workers Party," Greens and ex-Stalinist Popular Socialist Party have joined with the ruling PRI in a joint declaration "for national sovereignty." Meanwhile, Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas' bourgeois-nationalist Party of Democratic Revolution (PRD)—which is tailed by the EZLN—issued its own call for a "national alliance" with the PRI.

Much of what passes for Trotskyism in Latin America likewise capitulates to "anti-Yanqui" bourgeois nationalism, renouncing the struggle for the political independence of the proletariat. A case in point is the United Secretariat's now-defunct Mexican affiliate, the Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores (PRT), which disintegrated after supporting Cárdenas' bourgeois PRD in the 1994 elections, with one wing of the PRT then joining the petty-bourgeois EZLN. Now the U.S. *Socialist Action* (February 1997) announces the founding of the Mexican Socialist Unity League (LUS), composed of ex-PRTers joined by former members of the Communist Party, now dissolved into the PRD.

All these former PRTers claim to have opposed their party's capitulation to Cárdenas. Yet at the LUS founding conference, "veteran" leader Manuel Aguilar argued—"with the support of other LUS leaders"—that "it was possible in 'exceptional circumstances' to support 'community candidates' endorsed by bourgeois parties." So the LUS keeps the door open to supporting bourgeois politicians. Against such nationalist class-collaborationism, our comrades of the Grupo Espartaquista de México (GEM) insist that "in the present epoch, there is no 'third road' of 'democratic' revolution" and fight to forge a Trotskyist vanguard party committed to international socialist revolution (see "Mexico: Fight Austerity—Mobilize Workers Power!" *WV* No. 647, 7 June 1996).

Here in the "belly of the imperialist beast," the U.S. working class must oppose Washington's imperialist adventures down the line. Against the chauvinist protectionism pushed by the pro-capitalist AFL-CIO tops, we fight for international workers solidarity, for common class struggle by workers in Mexico and the U.S. This means a fight to mobilize the U.S. labor movement to combat anti-immigrant racism and to demand full citizenship rights for all immigrants. The millions of Mexican and Central American workers in the U.S. can serve as a living bridge between the struggles of the Latin American proletariat against the depredations of Wall Street and the fight for socialist revolution here.

This struggle can only go forward as part of the fight to reforge Trotsky's Fourth International. We stand on the "Thesis on the World Role of American Imperialism," adopted at the 1938 founding conference of the Fourth International on the eve of World War II, which declared:

> "The real character of 'democratic' American capitalism is best revealed by the tyrannical dictatorships in the Latin American countries with which its fortunes and policies are inextricably bound up and without which its days of imperialist sway in the Western Hemisphere are numbered....
>
> "The struggle against American imperialism is therefore at the same time a struggle against the coming imperialist war and for the liberation of oppressed colonial and semicolonial peoples. Hence, it is inseparable from the class struggle of the American proletariat against the ruling bourgeoisie, and cannot be conducted apart from it." ■

How David North Embraces Karl Kautsky

Espartaco

The first three parts of this article, which concludes below, were published in WV *Nos. 660, 661 and 662 (24 January, 7 and 21 February).*

The view that "transnational" corporations transcend the nation-state system leads to the notion that certain international economic agencies, like the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), have now become a kind of world capitalist government. In a 1992 speech, "International Committee" (IC) leader David North contends:

> "Not even at the height of its glory did the British Empire possess even a fraction of the power over its colonial subjects that the modern institutions of world imperialism—such as the World Bank, the IMF, GATT and the EC—routinely exercise over the supposedly independent states of Latin America, Asia, Africa and the Middle East."
>
> — *Capital, Labor and the Nation-State* (1992)

The idea that the World Bank and IMF exercise greater power over the workers and peasants of India and Pakistan than did the British colonial army and police is pacifistic nonsense.

No less absurd is the idea that these institutions are powers unto themselves, independent of the imperialist nation-states. The IMF and World Bank act in the Third World (and now in the former Soviet bloc) as brutal debt collection agencies, using blackmail to force through the imposition of draconian austerity policies on the working masses and peasants of the semicolonial countries. But these international agencies act at the behest and in the interests of the major capitalist powers, not autonomously of them and certainly not above them.

The policies and, indeed, very existence of the IMF, World Bank, World Trade Organization, European Union (formerly the European Community) et al. are based on **compromises** among rival imperialist bourgeoisies represented by their national capitalist states. Both the IMF and World Bank were conceived at the 1944 Bretton Woods conference and, as an article in *Monthly Review* (September 1995) noted, "ultimately reflected the interests of the world's overwhelmingly dominant power at that time—the United States." But that has changed with the waning of U.S. imperialism's hegemonic position.

For example, last year the U.S. proposed that the IMF and World Bank write off a large part of the money owed them by especially poor countries like Uganda. Washington officials argue that this is necessary to free up government funds for spending on infrastructure, for tax breaks to encourage new private investment, etc. However, Germany and Japan for months blocked the U.S. plan and succeeded in watering down any substantial debt reduction by the IMF/World Bank. As the growing conflicts between the major imperialist powers reach a certain point, institutions like the IMF and World Bank will be reduced to empty shells, stripped of their present financial resources and political influence. A glimpse of this came in 1995, when Tokyo and Berlin openly challenged Washington's demand that $30 billion in IMF funds be used to bail out (U.S. banks in) Mexico.

The "Global Economy" and Labor Reformism

Der Spiegel

Part Four

Top: Mexican workers protest imperialist-dictated austerity. Above: Brazilian poor scour garbage dumps for food. Breaking imperialist stranglehold over "Third World" requires socialist revolution.

"Ultra-Imperialism," from Kautsky to North

The current authority exercised by the IMF, World Bank, World Trade Organization et al. derives from the power of the imperialist states for which they function as agents. Let us imagine that a left-nationalist government comes to power in Mexico and repudiates that country's foreign debt. Will the IMF's army invade Mexico and install a puppet regime? Will the IMF's navy blockade Mexico's ports? Will IMF agents confiscate the assets of the Mexican government held in other countries? No, since the IMF has no army, no navy and no agents empowered to confiscate any property anywhere. A Mexican government which repudiated its foreign debt would face economic sanctions and potential military action by the U.S. and other imperialist states.

Basically, the Northites have reinvented the doctrine of "ultra-imperialism" expounded by Karl Kautsky before and during World War I. The core of Kautsky's theory, quoted by Lenin in his 1916 pamphlet *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, went as follows:

> "Cannot the present imperialist policy be supplanted by a new, ultra-imperialist policy, which will introduce the common exploitation of the world by internationally united finance capital in place of the mutual rivalries of national finance capital? Such a phase of capitalism is at any rate conceivable."

For the International Committee, such a new phase of capitalism is not merely conceivable but is now here. To be sure, North & Co. do not deny a tendency toward imperialist war. But they do so by counterposing "transnational" corporations to reactionary nation-states. Corporations like IBM, Siemens and Toshiba are supposedly striving for a transnational capitalist order but are obstructed by the bad, old, obsolete nation-state system. On the contrary, the root cause of imperialist wars does not lie in the nation-state system as such, much less in nationalist and chauvinist ideology and demagogy. The imperialist nation-state is the fundamental political instrument by which transnational corporations, to use the Northites' favored term, struggle to expand their markets and spheres of exploitation.

As Lenin wrote in opposition to Kautsky's theory of "ultra-imperialism":

> "The only conceivable basis under capitalism for the division of spheres of influence, interests, colonies, etc., is a calculation of the **strength** of those participating, their general economic, financial, military strength, etc. And the strength of these participants in the division does not change to an equal degree, for the even development of different undertakings, trusts, branches of industry, or countries is impossible under capitalism....
>
> "Therefore, in the realities of the capitalist system, and not in the banal philistine fantasies of English parsons, or of the German 'Marxist' Kautsky, 'inter-imperialist' or 'ultra-imperialist' alliances, no matter what form they may assume, whether of one imperialist coalition against another, or of a general alliance embracing **all** the imperialist powers, are **inevitably** nothing more than a 'truce' in periods between wars. Peaceful alliances prepare the ground for wars, and in their turn grow out of wars." [emphasis in original]

Spelling out the reformist implications of Kautsky's theory, Lenin added: "It is a most reactionary method of consoling the masses with hopes of permanent peace being possible under capitalism." Not surprisingly, Kautsky was to be a vehement opponent of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat which was erected by it to replace the rule of capital.

No less inherently reformist and anti-revolutionary is the contemporary Northite version of "ultra-imperialism." If, to believe North, the competition among different imperialist powers has been subsumed by supra-national agencies, then the traditional Marxist position in inter-imperialist conflicts—that the main enemy is at home—is clearly "outmoded." When it comes to the national and colonial questions, as we will see, North & Co. rival the worst social-chauvinists of Lenin's day.

The U.S. Imperialist State and the Exploitation of Mexico

The central role of the imperialist state in what is currently termed the "globalization" of world capitalism is especially clear in the case of Mexico, U.S. imperialism's most important neocolony. One-fifth of all industrial plant and equipment owned by U.S. corporations in Third World countries is now located in Mexico. Over the past 15 years, the actions of the U.S. government have been crucial in promoting and protecting American investment in that country. Among other things, this has meant an increasingly open role by U.S. imperialism in aiding and arming the Mexican government's bloody repression against combative worker and peasant struggles (see "U.S. Hands Off Mexico!" *WV* No. 658, 27 December 1996).

Following the frenzied over-borrowing during the oil-price boom of the 1970s, in 1982 the Mexican government announced that it could not meet the scheduled interest payment on its foreign debt. The U.S. Treasury and Federal Reserve Bank immediately took over the "rescheduling" of Mexico's debts and those of other Latin American countries. This entailed the **subsidization** by the U.S government, via Mexico, of the major Wall Street banks. Harvard economist Jeffrey Sachs, an arch-"free marketeer," wrote at the time:

> "In the past five years the commercial banks have received large net transfers from the debtor countries, while the official creditors, including the creditor governments and the multilateral institutions, have made large net transfers to the debtor. Operationally, it can be

argued that the official creditors are indeed 'bailing out the banks'."

— *Brookings Papers on Economic Activity 4* (1986)

In the early and mid-1980s, American corporate investment in Mexico was effectively zero. In fact, the movement of capital across the Rio Grande (Rio Bravo) was in the other direction. Wealthy Mexicans were smuggling out billions and parking their money in Wall Street banks, U.S. corporate stocks and bonds, and Texas and California real estate. The turnaround in the Mexican and, more generally, Latin American debt crisis came with the 1989 Brady Plan, named after then U.S. treasury secretary Nicholas Brady. This plan transformed the short-term bank debt of Latin American countries into long-term bonds guaranteed by the U.S. Treasury. In return, Washington levered open the Latin American economies to unimpeded exploitation by U.S. finance and industrial capital.

The Brady Plan opened the way for a massive American investment boom in Mexico. U.S. banks, mutual funds, insurance companies and corporations which engaged in manufacturing and services assumed that any money they placed south of the border would be fully protected by the fiscal resources and, ultimately, the political/military might of the U.S. capitalist state. The increasing weight of American capital in Mexico laid the basis for and was, in turn, reinforced by the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), which came into effect on New Year's Day 1994.

Among its other disastrous consequences, NAFTA meant the economic destruction of millions of Mexican peasant smallholders who could not compete with the much cheaper and better-quality produce, centrally corn, imported from the highly mechanized farms of the American Midwest. Thus, the day that NAFTA came into effect saw a major peasant uprising led by the nationalist-populist Zapatista Army of National Liberation in the impoverished southern Mexican state of Chiapas. The bloody suppression of this uprising by the Mexican army was actively aided by Washington. In the first months of 1994, the Pentagon provided the Mexican army with an additional 3,000 military vehicles, including armored personnel carriers with water cannon, jeeps, trucks and tanks. At the same time, hundreds of U.S. troops were sent to Guatemala in the region bordering Chiapas (see "Pentagon Beefs Up Mexican Repression," *WV* No. 604, 5 August 1994).

The sudden and unexpected Zapatista uprising exposed the fragility of the bourgeois order in Mexico, not least to the ever-wary eyes of foreign investors. Furthermore, the Mexican investment boom had reached a point of speculative frenzy. Prices on the *Bolsa* (stock exchange) bore no relation to actual or prospective profits. The Mexican government could not service its massively expanded foreign debt without devaluing the peso, which it did in December 1994, thereby precipitating a full-fledged financial panic. By year's end, foreign, mainly U.S., investors had liquidated and withdrawn $23 billion in Mexican assets, more than twice the total value of U.S. direct manufacturing investment in Mexico at the beginning of 1994.

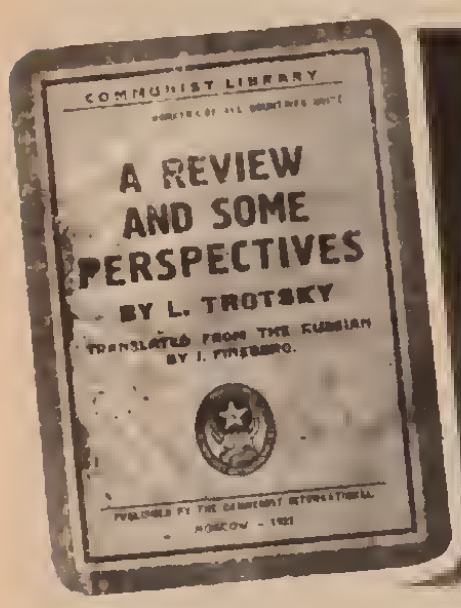
The financial panic was halted only when the U.S. government came up with a **$50 billion** "rescue package"—$20 billion directly from the U.S. Treasury, the balance from the IMF and the Bank for International Settlements (known as the central bankers' central bank). Mexican finance minister Guillermo Ortiz later told American journalist Thomas Friedman that if Washington had not acted when and on the scale it did, "We would have had to declare a moratorium on debt repayments." German and Japanese capitalists were displeased, to say the least, that no small amount of their money was being used to bail out U.S. banks, mutual funds and insurance companies. The German (and also the British) representative in the IMF took the unprecedented step of abstaining on the vote for the Mexican loan package, while Japan only grudgingly voted in favor. And the next time around, the German and Japanese representatives might vote against.

The Mexican financial crisis totally disproves the Northite theory of a new era of globally integrated capitalist production transcending the nation-state system. At the first sign of political unrest and financial overextension, American "transnationals" dumped every Mexican asset they could and repatriated their money back to their own nation-state, the U.S. of A. The flood of pesos into dollars was stanched only when the U.S. government, acting both directly and indirectly, vastly augmented the short-term financial resources available to the Mexican government. And the Mexican financial crisis both exposed and intensified the conflicts of interest among the major imperialist powers: the U.S., Germany and Japan.

India Office Library and Records, London

Painting shows Indian Mogul emperor granting sovereign rights in Bengal to British general Robert Clive in mid-18th century. British domination in Africa is depicted in 1892 *Punch* cartoon of colonialist Cecil Rhodes.

Punch



Penguin

1921 Moscow edition of Trotsky's 1906 *Results and Prospects*, seminal exposition of theory of permanent revolution, borne out by 1917 Bolshevik Revolution. Northites renounce permanent revolution, while embracing latter-day version of "ultra-imperialism" advocated by revisionist Karl Kautsky around time of World War I.

Frederick A. Praeger

Against Capitalist Imperialism —For Permanent Revolution!

From its inception, capitalism has been a global system marked by conflicts among competing nation-states. The rise of the bourgeoisies in West Europe to wealth and power was directly linked to the conquest and colonization of more backward regions of the world—the Spaniards and Portuguese in Central and South America, the French in North America and the Caribbean, the British in North America, the Caribbean and the Indian subcontinent. A central characteristic of mercantile imperialism in the 16th-18th centuries was the attempt by the leading colonial powers to insulate their colonies and themselves from the world market by legal prohibitions and sanctions against trade other than between colony and "mother country."

Economic development during the era of mercantile capitalism laid the basis for the industrial revolution pioneered by Britain in the early 19th century. Marx and Engels initially believed that industrial capitalism would be extended more or less uniformly on a worldwide basis. The founders of scientific socialism were by no means blind or indifferent to the monumental crimes committed by the Western powers against the indigenous peoples of Asia, Africa and the Americas. But they viewed such crimes as a historical overhead cost for the modernization of these backward regions. In an 1853 article, "The Future Results of British Rule in India," Marx wrote:

> "England has to fulfill a double mission in India: one destructive, the other regenerating—the annihilation of the old Asiatic society, and the laying of the material foundations of Western society in Asia....
>
> "Modern industry, resulting from the railway system, will dissolve the hereditary division of labor, upon which rest the Indian castes, those decisive impediments to Indian progress and Indian power."

This projection was not borne out by the actual course of development. While the Western bourgeoisies introduced certain elements of modern industrial technology (e.g., railroads) into their colonies and semi-colonies, the overall effect of capitalist imperialism was to **arrest** the social and economic development of backward countries. Thus, British colonial rule deliberately perpetuated and utilized traditional reactionary institutions such as the caste system in India and tribalism in sub-Saharan Africa.

Moreover, the economic development which was introduced under European colonial rule had a **deformed** character. Thus, the British built the railways in India only from the hinterland to the ports to facilitate trade with the imperialist metropolis. The rail lines did not connect the different regions of the Indian subcontinent. By contrast, railway construction in the United States during the same period was a prime factor in the economic and social integration of the American nation-state.

By the late 19th century, Marx and Engels had become champions of colonial independence and recognized that the modernization of Asia, Africa and Latin America could take place only within the context of a world socialist order. Thus, Engels wrote to Karl Kautsky in 1882:

> "India will perhaps, indeed very probably, make a revolution and as a proletariat in process of self-emancipation cannot conduct any colonial wars, it would have to be allowed to run its course; it would not pass off without all sorts of destruction, of course, but that sort of thing is inseparable from all revolutions. The same might also take place elsewhere, e.g., in Algeria and Egypt, and

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How Hollywood Disappears the Civil Rights Movement

Ghosts of Mississippi
A Review by Jacob Zorn

The movie *Ghosts of Mississippi* opens powerfully with the brutal murder of civil rights activist Medgar Evers in June 1963. As the murder scene unfolds, Evers' family—and his KKK killer—are shown listening to a speech by President John F. Kennedy denouncing racial segregation. Kennedy's speech continues to dominate the soundtrack throughout the first moments of the film. This opening sequence encapsulates the chief lie which runs through *Ghosts of Mississippi*: that the capitalist government waged a fight for black rights in the South.

Ghosts is based on the true story of how a white Mississippi district attorney, Robert DeLaughter, finally convicts notorious Klansman Byron de la Beckwith for the murder of Medgar Evers, 30 years later. In his efforts, DeLaughter confronts many ghosts from Mississippi's past as he faces the anger of racist whites: his not so subtly named wife, Dixie, leaves him; his children are beaten up; he receives bomb threats and his car is vandalized with swastikas and obscenities. But, despite the continuing racism it depicts, *Ghosts* is meant to show that through such efforts, Mississippi—like the "New South" in general—is improving. Or, as the movie's promoters wrote of DeLaughter's struggle, "Throughout a journey filled with self-doubt and public criticism, he pursues not only justice for Medgar Evers, but also proof that Mississippi can change for the better as well."

Ghosts turns an episode from one of American history's most important social struggles, the civil rights movement of the 1950s and '60s, into an individual battle between good and evil, and places the bourgeois state squarely on the side of justice. Thus *Ghosts* would have the viewer believe that racism can be eliminated through the benevolence of the capitalist state, burying the fact that it was more than a decade of unremitting social struggle against this racist system that brought even the limited gains achieved by blacks in the 1960s. In America, where capitalism inevitably means racism, without a socialist revolution there can be no end to racial oppression.

Who Was Medgar Evers?

To sell such a story, *Ghosts* turns the entire civil rights movement, starting with Evers himself, into the *real* ghost. Who was Medgar Evers and why was his assassination so important? As an activist with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), Evers came to symbolize the civil rights movement in the popular consciousness of Mississippi—both black and white. One historian wrote that "Evers *was* the civil rights movement in Mississippi. There were no grassroots organizations, no demonstrators in the streets—there was just Medgar Evers" (Adam Nossiter, *Of Long Memory: Mississippi and the Murder of Medgar Evers*, Addison-Wesley [1994]).

In June 1963, Evers was gunned down in front of his wife and children by Beckwith, who had been hiding in the bushes by Evers' driveway. Beckwith was a known Klansman and White Citizens' Council member who had once vowed to "bend every effort to rid the USA of the integrationist, whoever and wherever he might be." Beckwith's gun was the murder weapon. Yet two all-white juries refused to convict Beckwith for murdering Evers. For almost 30 years, this racist killer walked free.

Mississippi's racism was notorious for its brutality. Between 1889 and 1945, it accounted for 490 lynchings, or 13 percent of all those reported in America. Rigid, brutal segregation was enforced throughout this period by Democratic Party (Dixiecrat) administrations. Overseeing this in the 1950s was the Mississippi White Citizens' Council, composed of local bankers, businessmen and Dixiecrat politicians, which was intertwined with the Klan. In much of the Mississippi Delta, blacks, who made up almost 80 percent of the population, lived in near-feudal conditions of abject rural poverty and were denied the right to vote and other elementary democratic rights.

In this climate, the NAACP, a liberal organization based largely on the black middle class—the petty bourgeoisie—sought to secure basic citizenship rights through, for example, fighting to abolish the poll tax which prevented poor people from voting, seeking to outlaw lynching and trying to integrate schools. For the Mississippi rulers, even such tepid aims to include blacks in the system were extremely threatening. In 1940, the NAACP had fewer members in Mississippi than in any other Southern state. If in urban Jackson NAACPers faced intimidation, in the rural areas of Mississippi they faced outright lynch mobs.

Evers, a traveling insurance salesman, joined the state NAACP in the early 1950s. After becoming the first black to apply to the University of Mississippi Law School in 1953, a year later he became a paid NAACP field secretary and traveled from one small rural town to another campaigning against Jim Crow segregation. One of his most important cases was the investigation of the 1955 lynching of Emmett Till, a black 14-year-old visiting from Chicago who was kidnapped, savagely beaten and shot dead for "reckless eyeballing," i.e., whistling, at a white woman. This murder, for which no one was ever convicted, focused the national spotlight on the barbarism of Jim Crow Mississippi.

Just before his murder, Evers organized students in sit-ins and boycotts against segregation in downtown Jackson. He faced constant threats and violence, as racists firebombed his house. For self-defense, Evers armed himself and taught his children to seek cover when cars passed the house.

When Beckwith assassinated Evers, he did so with the full support of racist Mississippi, including local law enforcement. The state had created a "Sover-

AP photos

Medgar Evers, leading activist of Mississippi NAACP. Evers family at his grave in 1964, the year after his assassination by KKK terrorist.

Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party delegation with signs honoring civil rights martyrs Michael Schwerner, James Chaney and Andrew Goodman, at 1964 Democratic Party convention. Democrats refused to seat MFDP, favored segregationist Dixiecrat delegates.

eignty Commission" to safeguard segregation which supported the White Citizens' Councils and used spying, police intimidation and informants to harass anyone they perceived to be an opponent. In 1958, the governor of Mississippi instructed the commission that "spot checks be made of the activities of Medgar Evers, both day and night." After murdering Evers, Beckwith enjoyed the full support of the local sheriff and other state powers. The movie accurately portrays this, showing how a former governor gives Beckwith a congratulatory slap on the back during the 1993 trial. And from the start, Beckwith was treated with deference by the cops—in sharp contrast to the murderous violence they meted out to blacks and civil rights activists. Of course, it is not only in Mississippi that the cops protect—and overlap with—the Klan and other race-terrorist outfits.

AP photos

Old South, "New" South in Birmingham, Alabama: Police chief Bull Connor's cops terrorize civil rights demonstrators in 1963; cops arrest student protesters on anniversary of Martin Luther King's birthday in 1994.

The Failure of the Civil Rights Movement

Despite the valor and dedication of the civil rights activists of the 1950s and '60s, it is evident that life for blacks today is marked by widespread social segregation, discrimination, poverty and repression. Why? To understand the failure of the liberal-pacifist civil rights movement, one has to grasp the material basis of racism in American capitalism. Black oppression has always been at the bedrock of American class society. First as slaves, then as superexploited workers, blacks have been key to the American economy.

The Civil War smashed chattel slavery, paving the way for the full development of American capitalism. During the period of Radical Reconstruction it appeared as if the recently freed slaves might be integrated into society on the basis of equality. But with the end of Reconstruction in 1877, racists unleashed a reign of terror which wrested civil rights from blacks in the South, who again came to be formally segregated with the enactment of Jim Crow laws later in the century. There was a huge migration of blacks to the Northern cities, where they were used as a "reserve army of labor" by the Northern capitalists. Blacks in America thus form a *race-color caste*, integrated into the economy but forcibly segregated at the bottom of society. Racism is continually used by the ruling class to divide the working class and pit one sector against the other. The main task of the Civil War, black equality, is still unfinished.

Young Spartacus

Spartacist contingent in March 1994 Birmingham protest against police attack on earlier student demonstration.

Under its liberal leadership, the civil rights movement had as its premise that pressure must be brought to bear on the government, particularly the federal government, to bring about racial equality. Evers' murder and Beckwith's acquittal galvanized the movement. The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee targeted notoriously racist Mississippi for a massive voter-registration drive. During the "Freedom Summer" of 1964, idealistic young students, many of them Northern whites, poured into Mississippi, where they were confronted by brutal state and Klan terror. Near Philadelphia, Mississippi, three civil rights workers—Michael Schwerner, James Chaney and Andrew Goodman—were beaten bloody and murdered by the local sheriff and KKK, their bodies buried in an earthfill dam.

The civil rights leadership continued to call on the bourgeois state, especially the liberal Democratic Party, to step in and somehow eliminate racism. While the 1964 Civil Rights Act and other measures formally extended democratic rights to blacks, the capitalist rulers enacted these only to ward off greater social struggle, as well as to bolster the "free world" image of the U.S. during the anti-Soviet Cold War. The failure of the civil rights movement was highlighted by its inability to address the oppression of blacks in the North, where there was no formal Jim Crow segregation, but where most blacks nonetheless lived in segregated ghettos, poverty and unemployment. And today, even the minimal gains achieved in the 1960s are under attack while sharpening immiseration threatens the daily survival of the black masses. As a veteran of the civil rights movement remarked a few years ago, "What good is a seat in the front of the bus if you don't have the money for the fare?"

The Spartacist Fight for Revolutionary Integrationism

In the early 1960s, the Spartacist League's forerunner, the Revolutionary Tendency (RT), fought within the then-centrist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) for a program of *revolutionary integrationism*. Against the NAACP and other liberals, we stressed that black liberation can only be achieved through the assimilation of black people into an egalitarian *socialist* economy where the material basis for racism has been abolished. We warned against reliance on the capitalist government in the fight against Jim Crow and racist terror and counterposed the need to mobilize the social power of the integrated labor movement in the struggle against racial oppression. Key to this is the Marxist understanding that the working class, because of its numbers, organization and powerful role in the production of wealth, is the only revolutionary class. A multiracial communist party, with a strong black leadership component, will be the instrument to lead the working class, standing at the head of all the oppressed, in socialist revolution.

The SWP leadership, instead of fighting to win anti-racist activists to the perspective of socialist revolution, argued that the civil rights movement could become in itself revolutionary—without the intervention of a revolutionary party—tailing liberals and, later, black nationalists. Such an abstentionist perspective liquidated the struggle to build a revolutionary party, ceding leadership of the black struggle to other forces. Against this perspective, the RT argued that "*any* steps forward in *this* struggle immediately pose the class question and the need for class struggle in sharpest form" (see *Marxist Bulletin* No. 5 [Revised], "Trotskyism vs. Black Nationalism"). The SWP continued in its capitulation and abstention. In 1963, the RT was bureaucratically purged.

The futility of the liberal strategy of pressuring the Democrats became clear at the 1964 Democratic National Convention in Atlantic City, where, after registering more than 80,000 black voters, the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party challenged the convention to seat their delegates. Instead, the Democratic Party leadership seated the racist Mississippi Dixiecrats. This opened up the opportunity of reaching young activists with a broader revolutionary program, which we Spartacists did to the extent our limited forces allowed. We emphasized the need to mobilize the independent power of labor to defend against racist terror, for armed self-defense and for a South-wide Freedom Labor Party. But many black militants unfortunately ended up in the dead end of black nationalism, in the clutches of the government's COINTELPRO deathtrap or back in the fold of the Democratic Party.

The Capitalist State: Enemy of the Oppressed

One of the most important issues in our struggle with the SWP was over the role of the state. The SWP incredibly raised the slogan, "Withdraw the troops from Vietnam and send them to Mississippi"! As we wrote at the time in an October 1964 *Spartacist* supplement, "So the bourgeois imperialist army, currently engaged in massacring peasants and workers in South Viet-nam, in burning their villages and defoliating their land, and imprisoning the people in 'strategic hamlets'—this army, says the SWP, should be transferred to the American South!" Marxists understand that the state of this capitalist ruling class is used to repress the working class and oppressed, both in the U.S. and abroad. We also noted at the time (*Spartacist* No. 4, May-June 1965):

> "Once the Negro people begin to assert their *real* power and independence, and attempt to use these laws for their own political action, these same troops will be turned against them in the interests of racist oppression. The civil-rights movement will then find itself witch-hunted, its meetings raided and supporters arrested, by the same F.B.I. it is presently beseeching to protect it."

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Spartacus Youth Club Class Series

BOSTON

Alternate Wednesdays, 7 p.m. Next class, April 2: ***The Fight for a Revolutionary Party Today***, 605 Commonwealth Avenue, Boston University, School of Education, Room 206

Information and readings (617) 666-9453

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Saturdays, 3 p.m. Next classes, March 29 ***The State***, April 5: ***The Bolshevik Revolution***; Rutgers University, College Avenue Campus, Scott Hall, Room 102

Information and readings (212) 267-1025

NEW YORK CITY

Alternate Thursdays, 7:30 p.m. Next class, April 3: ***The Bolshevik Revolution***, Spartacist Public Office, 41 Warren Street (one block below Chambers Street, near Church Street)

Information and readings (212) 267-1025

SAN FRANCISCO

Alternate Thursdays, 5:30 p.m. Next class, April 3: ***The Degeneration of the USSR: How the Soviet Workers State Was Strangled***; San Francisco State University, Student Union, Room C116

Information and readings (415) 777-9367 or (510) 839-0851

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VANCOUVER

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Information and readings (604) 687-0353

ISO: Looking for a Few Good Cops

We reprint below a February 26 New York Spartacus Youth Club leaflet distributed by SYC supporters at International Socialist Organization regional "educational conferences" held in New York and Chicago over the March 1 weekend.

In a recent issue (8 February) of *Socialist Worker*, newspaper of the British Socialist Workers Party (SWP)—cothinkers of the International Socialist Organization (ISO) in the U.S.—leading SWP "theoretician" John Molyneux asks, "Are all coppers really bastards?" Breaking with tradition, Molyneux actually answers the question: "Not all coppers are necessarily bastards but unless they get out (which happens quite a lot), or rebel collectively (which is very rare), they are all agents of the state, the system and the ruling class." Molyneux's column is nothing more than a whitewash of the role of the cops, and once again shows the SWP/ISO's base cynicism, opportunism, anti-Marxism, and inability to fight for the socialism it ostensibly desires.

According to Molyneux, the SWP/ISO thinks that cops would cease to be "agents of the state" if they were to "rebel collectively." But unlike the craven opportunists of the SWP/ISO, we Spartacists recognize that when the forces of the repressive state apparatus "rebel," they do so as *deadly enemies of the working class and minorities*. To hail their entry into unions, as does the SWP/ISO, to encourage them to "rebel collectively," is to dangerously reinforce these thugs' view that they are a law unto themselves.

Any black youth in this city knows the deal: the cops "rebel collectively" by demanding more money, more power, more leeway to gun you down. They demand "better working conditions" so that they can more easily get away with beating strikers and killing minorities. Try telling the families of Anthony Baez and countless others blown away by "New York's finest" that the cops aren't the enemies of working people! Or look at the Philadelphia Fraternal Order of Police, which amply illustrates the role of a cop "union" in its bloodthirsty drive to legally lynch black political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal.

As Marx and Lenin explained, the state, which consists of armed forces such as police, prisons and courts, is how the capitalist class maintains its rule by repressing the working class. *To Marxists, the question of the state is the question of which class will rule, the working class or the capitalist class.* For socialists, there can be no question of reforming the capitalist state or converting its hired guns to socialism. The capitalist state must be smashed by socialist revolution. *The SWP/ISO's denial of this basic truth shows that not only are they unable to lead the struggle for socialism, they can't even recognize what that struggle is.*

Philadelphia police "union" howls for Mumia Abu-Jamal's execution outside Mumia support rally at Philly hospital workers' union hall, July 1995. Is this what ISO means when it hails cops who "rebel collectively"?

Shadd/Philadelphia Inquirer

Molyneux's column is part of a long tradition on the part of the SWP/ISO of trying to reach out to the supposed few "good apples" among the racist thugs who compose the armed fist of the bourgeoisie. A few years back, the British SWP boasted that it had "a number of prison officers who were in sympathy with our objectives" (*Socialist Worker*, 26 June 1993). Last year, the ISO supported a "strike" by security guards in New York, just a month after these same guards acted as strikebreakers for the real estate barons during the SEIU 32B-32J building maintenance workers strike (in which the ISO was one of several so-called socialist groups that blithely walked across the picket lines). And the SWP/ISO's cothinkers in Canada supported a 1996 strike by "unionized" prison guards in Toronto, who staged a "work action" by subjecting inmates to a lockdown and then, when the prisoners staged a protest, rushing into the jail from their picket lines to suppress it.

Molyneux notes in his article that "the primary role of the police is...defending the existing social order" and then goes on to express a grotesque faith in the existence of "the odd individual cop who is an exception to the rule," the "naive idealists." Usually opportunism takes the form of tailing the most backward prejudices of the working class. Yet on the question of the role of the police, the SWP/ISO is consciously more reactionary than most workers, who, Molyneux is forced to note, "view cops with fear and suspicion." It is precisely the cops' primary role as strikebreakers and racist occupiers that turns them into brutal killers—as almost any striker or black youth can testify to.

The ISO's benevolent view of the capitalist state precludes its being a revolutionary organization. Instead, the most it can be is a tepid "left" face of capitalist barbarity, particularly in the guise of the racist Democratic Party, which the ISO always bemoans does not carry out its "promises" to the workers. Nonetheless, it recruits some honest militants who want to fight capitalism. The ISO's position on the state, its anti-Sovietism, its crossing picket lines, its backhanded support to Bill Clinton, however, make it vulnerable to criticism (read our "ISO Truth Kit" for more details on these positions).

For the ISO, the only way to resolve the contradiction between their pretensions to socialism and their utterly reformist essence is to resort to violence against the left. The ISO and its international cothinkers are renowned for their thuggery against the Spartacist League and other leftists. And since the ISO looks to the cops as comrades, they do not hesitate to call campus police on other leftists. Such tactics, which ape the methods of J. Edgar Hoover's FBI "COINTELPRO" attempts to quash leftist dissent, serve only the bourgeois state, providing an excuse for the cops to victimize the workers movement.

What kind of "socialism" does the ISO represent if they go around whitewashing the role of cops? What kind of socialists are they if they try to quarantine their own members from political debate and police what they read? It is good to want to fight against racism, brutality, and capitalist exploitation, but it is necessary to join an organization whose program provides the way forward. If you believe that fighting for socialism means fighting for international socialist revolution to smash the capitalist order and do away with its murderous repression against workers, minority, women and youth, then read *Workers Vanguard*, journal of the Spartacist League, and check out the Spartacus Youth Clubs! ■

Ghosts...

(continued from page 7)

This warning was amply borne out. The FBI repeatedly tried to crush the civil rights movement by expanding its "Counter-Intelligence Program" (COINTELPRO). COINTELPRO aimed to "expose, disrupt, misdirect, discredit or otherwise neutralize the activities of black nationalist hate-type organizations." As we wrote in "How *Mississippi Burning* Rewrites History" (*WV* No. 470, 3 February 1989):

> "As an arm of the capitalist state, the FBI's mission was to disrupt, derail, and 'neutralize' black and red organizations because the struggle for black equality represents the social tinder that can blow this country apart. In 1963, then-attorney general Robert Kennedy authorized FBI wiretaps on Martin Luther King, part of a years-long FBI campaign against him which included spreading gossip and innuendo about his personal life in an attempt to drive King to suicide."

But you wouldn't know this from watching *Ghosts*, or *Mississippi Burning*, which also presented the FBI as fighters against black oppression. *Ghosts* portrays the capitalist state as the vehicle for racial justice. An FBI informant in the Klan provides the crucial evidence to convict Beckwith. In fact, there were many FBI informants in the Klan; according to one historian, "At one time in 1965, nearly two thousand of the FBI-estimated ten thousand Klan members were its own informers," including in "top-level leadership roles in seven of the then fourteen Klan groups" (Patsy Sims, *The Klan* [1978]). These informants actually led Klan terror attacks. This was made clear in the horrendous 1963 Birmingham church bombing which killed four young black girls and in 1979, when a "former" FBI informant participated in setting up the murder of five anti-Klan protesters in Greensboro, North Carolina.

The "New South"—A Racist Myth

Ghosts paints a progressive veneer on the "New South" police apparatus, most obviously D.A. DeLaughter himself. Black death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal explained that D.A. positions "serve as stepping stones of political power; but the rising is not made on steps, it is made on the skulls, the bones, and the shattered lives and fortunes of those without wealth." In the movie, DeLaughter only "pursues justice" in his spare time, while his real job is prosecuting capital cases—no doubt largely against blacks. Throughout the U.S., the capitalist state and its cops—led by a "New South" Democratic president who interrupted his 1992 election campaign to oversee the execution of a brain-damaged black man and who followed through on his promise to "end welfare as we know it"—terrorize the ghettos and imprison record numbers of black youth. While *Ghosts* peddles the lie that Mississippi has overcome the brutal racist oppression of 30 years ago, even a report in the *New York Times* last week punctured the "New South" myth, as it described how the University of Mississippi ("Ole Miss") continues to have "Dixie" as its school song and the Confederate flag of slavery as its banner.

The Spartacus Youth Clubs seek to win anti-racist youth to join us in the fight to forge a revolutionary vanguard party of the working class to lead a socialist revolution which alone can put an end to black oppression. As we wrote in our article on *Mississippi Burning*:

> "The civil rights movement tried to fulfill the unfinished business of the Civil War—the promise of black freedom. To fulfill that promise requires a socialist revolution against the exploitation of all the working people. A key section of the working class and often its most combative sector, black workers can take the lead in this fight and open the road to real freedom for all mankind. *Finish the Civil War! Black liberation through socialist revolution!*" ■

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Global...

(continued from page 5)

> would certainly be the best thing for us. We shall have enough to do at home. Once Europe is reorganized, and North America, that will furnish such colossal power and such an example that the semi-civilized countries will of themselves follow in their wake; economic needs, if anything, will see to that. But as to what social and political phases these countries will then have to pass through before they likewise arrive at socialist organization, I think we today can advance only rather idle hypotheses." [emphasis in original]

In the 1880s, at the beginning of the era of modern capitalist imperialism, it was understandable that Marx and Engels assumed that proletarian socialist revolution would first take place in the advanced capitalist countries and that the socialist transformation of the more backward regions would gradually follow in consequence. However, imperialist domination and exploitation strengthened the bourgeois order in West Europe and North America, not least by infecting the working class in these countries with the ideology of national chauvinism and racism. As Lenin pointed out in his 1916 pamphlet, imperialist super-profits derived from the colonial world made it "economically possible to bribe the upper strata of the proletariat" in the advanced countries, providing a material basis for opportunism and social-chauvinism.

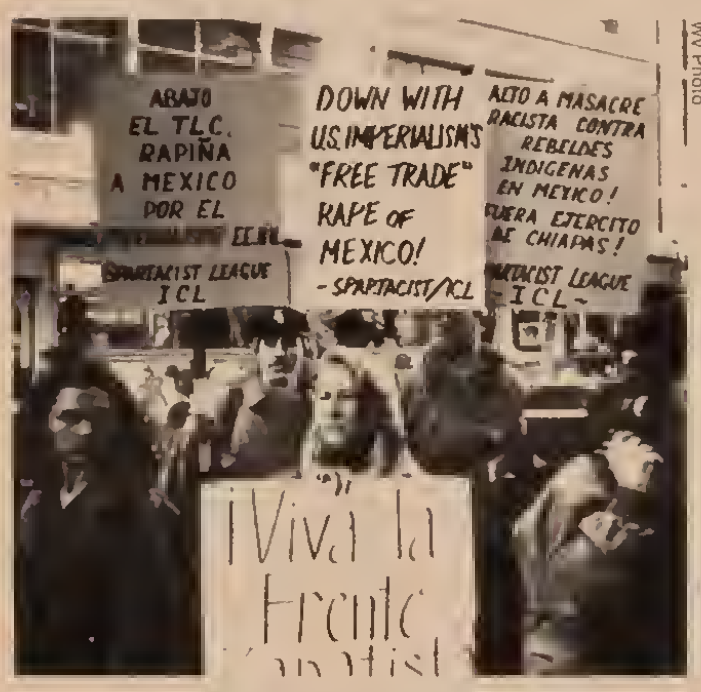
At the same time, imperialism tended to destabilize the traditional social order in backward countries, generating contradictions which Trotsky termed "combined and uneven development." A sizable industrial proletariat, working with modern technology, emerged alongside the mass of impoverished peasants still subject to feudal-derived forms of exploitation. The day-to-day struggle against capitalist and pre-capitalist forms of exploitation was organically intertwined with, and reinforced by, the struggle for national independence.

Recognizing the international contradictions brought about by the era of modern imperialism, Leon Trotsky challenged

AP

Mendoza/Imagenlatina

Imperialist chief Clinton with Mexican president Zedillo. Impoverished peasants in Chiapas led by Zapatista guerrillas rose up against 1994 imposition of NAFTA "free trade" rape of Mexico.



WV Photo

Spartacist contingent at January 1994 protest against murderous repression of Zapatista revolt, held outside Mexican consulate in San Francisco.

the hitherto accepted sequencing of the world socialist revolution from the advanced to the backward countries. It was now possible that the proletariat of a backward country, leading the peasant masses in the struggle against feudal-derived exploitation and foreign imperialist domination, could come to power in advance of the workers of West Europe and North America. Such revolutions would severely weaken the bourgeois order in the imperialist centers while giving a powerful impetus to the revolutionary consciousness of the workers in the advanced capitalist countries.

Trotsky first developed this concept of "permanent revolution" at the beginning of the century specifically with regard to tsarist Russia, and it was validated by life itself in the Bolshevik October Revolution of 1917. In the late 1920s, in light of the experience of the defeated Chinese Revolution of 1925-27, Trotsky generalized the theory and program of permanent revolution to what is now called the Third World. Thus the section on "Backward Countries and the Program of Transitional Demands" in the 1938 Transitional Program states:

> "The central tasks of the colonial and semicolonial countries are the **agrarian revolution**, i.e., liquidation of feudal heritages, and **national independence**, i.e., the overthrow of the imperialist yoke. Both tasks are closely linked with each other....
>
> "The general trend of revolutionary development in all backward countries can be determined by the formula of the **permanent revolution** in the sense definitely imparted to it by the three revolutions in Russia (1905, February 1917, October 1917)." [emphasis in original]

David North vs. Permanent Revolution

As clearly stated in the Transitional Program, Trotsky and the Fourth International he founded regarded the struggle for national independence in backward countries as an integral and important component of the world socialist revolution. The Northites now maintain that in the supposedly new era of "globalized" capitalist production, national independence has become impossible and, indeed, reactionary. In a 1992 lecture, "Permanent Revolution and the National Question Today," North pontificated:

> "To the extent that Marxists attributed a progressive content to national liberation movements, it was because they were in some way identified with overcoming of imperialist domination and the legacy of backwardness, tribal and caste distinctions....
>
> "That content is hardly to be found in any of the movements which presently claim to champion 'national liberation.' At any rate, whatever the subjective aims of different movements, the liberation of mankind cannot be advanced in this era of global economic integration by establishing new national states."
>
> — *Fourth International* (Winter-Spring 1994)

We have previously discussed at some length the Northites' opposition to the democratic right of national self-determination (see "David North 'Abolishes' the Right to Self-Determination," *WV* Nos. 626 and 627, 28 July and 25 August 1995). What we want to emphasize here is that their position amounts to **passive acceptance of imperialist oppression and exploitation of backward countries.**

This can be seen very clearly in the case of Mexico. NAFTA represents a qualitative extension and institutionalization of the exploitation of Mexico by Wall Street. When NAFTA was first proposed in 1991, the Mexican, U.S. and Canadian sections of the International Communist League issued a joint declaration headlined, "Stop U.S. 'Free Trade' Rape of Mexico!" The fight against NAFTA, we maintained, "is a battle against American imperialist domination of Mexico" (*WV* No. 530, 5 July 1991).

What of the Northites' attitude toward NAFTA? From a superficial reading of their press, one might assume they are implacably hostile to it. In their *International Workers Bulletin* (*IWB*) 11 April 1994), they stated, quite accurately, that NAFTA "effectively puts the entire Mexican economy at the service of the needs of US transnationals and the Wall Street financial institutions, providing low-wage labor, inexpensive natural resources and vast tracts of land for them to exploit and a huge market for American manufactured goods." Some months later, they wrote that "NAFTA means nothing more than the economic recolonization of Mexico" (*IWB*, 16 January 1995). This is actually an overstatement, since Mexico had already been an economic neocolony of U.S. imperialism for decades before NAFTA.

Yet the Northites have **never opposed** what they themselves call the "economic recolonization" of Mexico, either before NAFTA was implemented or even when its bloody consequences could be seen in the corpses of hundreds of impoverished Indian peasants in Chiapas. A few months before NAFTA came into effect, a political line statement in *IWB* (20 September 1993) declared: "American workers must not line up behind either side in the capitalist debate over NAFTA, but must adopt an independent class standpoint which is based on the genuine, i.e., international, interests of the working class."

What the Northites meant by "an independent class standpoint" was "neutrality" toward the intensified exploitation and domination of Mexico by U.S. imperialism. In fact, there was no debate within the American capitalist class, aside from a few maverick bourgeois pseudo-populists like Ross Perot and Pat Buchanan who opposed NAFTA from a chauvinist standpoint, as did the AFL-CIO bureaucracy. The large majority of the American imperialist bourgeoisie supported and still supports NAFTA wholeheartedly. More fundamentally, the Northites treat imperialist subjugation of backward countries as simply a matter of "debate" within the capitalist class. By this logic they should in retrospect not have opposed the Vietnam War, since this generated a real debate—indeed, a sharp division—within the U.S. ruling class. In short, North & Co. did not and do not support the actual struggles of the Mexican working people against NAFTA and its effects.

One has only to look at the Northites' attitude toward the Chiapas peasant uprising of early 1994. This unexpected leftist-led revolt gripped the world's attention. But not the Northites'. The self-described "weekly socialist newsjournal" of the American Northites ran **one** article on the Chiapas uprising during the period when it was convulsing Mexico and causing no small concern to U.S. "transnational" corporations and banks. This article, "Mexican Government Massacres Hundreds" (*IWB*, 10 January 1994), was simply a piece of descriptive journalism which raised **no programmatic demands** whatsoever. The Northites did **not** call for the defense of the peasant uprising against the Mexican neocolonial bourgeois state. They did **not** call for the withdrawal of the Mexican army from Chiapas. They did **not** call for the release of Zapatista militants and peasant supporters imprisoned and often tortured by the Mexican army and police. They did **not** call for a halt to U.S. arms shipments and other aid to the Mexican military. And, of course, they did **not** call for the abrogation of NAFTA, one of the key demands of the uprising.

In sharpest contrast, our international tendency actively mobilized in defense of the Chiapas uprising from a proletarian socialist standpoint. In the U.S., the Spartacist League joined in solidarity rallies outside the Mexican consulates in New York City and San Francisco. Our comrades of the Grupo Espartaquista de México (GEM) participated in a mammoth anti-government protest in Mexico City. A statement issued by the GEM, and published in the Mexico City daily *El Dia*, declared:

> "As a Marxist revolutionary organization, the GEM emphasizes to those who seek to fight against capitalism and imperialism, that it is the **power of the working class**, and not rural guerrilla warfare, which if organized behind the program of international socialist revolution can defeat NAFTA and mobilize the dispossessed peasants and all the oppressed against the misery and barbarity of the capitalist system. In the face of repression in Chiapas, it is an urgent duty for the working class to defend the courageous Indian insurgents and all the victims of bourgeois repression."
>
> — translated in *WV* No. 592 (21 January 1994)

The very different responses of the ICL and North's IC toward the Chiapas uprising reflected our adherence and their opposition to the perspective of permanent revolution. By the beginning of the 20th century, tsarist Russia had become the weak link in the European imperialist system. In a parallel way, Mexico has now become the weak link in the American imperialist order in its Western hemispheric base.

For World Socialist Revolution—Reforge Trotsky's Fourth International!

The massive inroads of American capital—at all levels—have fatally undermined the nationalist-corporatist economic structure upon which the political hegemony of the long-ruling Mexican Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) has rested. A popular upheaval in Mexico, toppling the neocolonial PRI regime,

continued on page 10

Contreras/Chicago Tribune

Chicago cops brutalize black youth in 1992 police attack on Cabrini-Green.

Chicago...

(continued from page 12)

of Police and the African American Police League were calling for increased police firepower.

Chicago cops have always acted like a colonial occupation force in the Cabrini-Green project. For years, the city's real estate tycoons have dreamed of driving out the black residents and razing the project in order to "gentrify" the area, which is right near the city's ritzy "Gold Coast" district. Meanwhile, the 6,000 tenants live in abject poverty. The CHA is one of the country's largest slumlords, with its run-down housing projects accounting for nine out of ten of the U.S.'s poorest neighborhoods.

Black or white, CHA or city—the cops are an armed force whose role is to repress the ghetto masses and the working class as a whole. The Chicago Police Department is notorious for fulfilling this role with ruthless efficiency. Frame-ups are routine and rife. In Chicago's Austin police district, where O'Shield served as commander before taking over the CHA force, dozens of convictions were recently reversed in the wake of a scandal which began when tactical unit officers there tried their usual frame-up methods against federal undercover agents.

Whether occupying the ghettos, busting up strikers' picket lines or attacking opponents of Klan terror, the cops are front line guardians of racist capitalist "law and order." Daley is now pushing to overturn even the nominal limits on Chicago Police Department spying imposed by the feds in 1981. This is a sinister attempt to openly revive the city's "red squad," which became notorious in the 1960s and '70s for spying and disruption against unions, black and leftist groups and even mainstream civic organizations. But formal limitations or not, the Chicago cops have always hounded leftists and anti-racist activists.

Cops and prosecutors are currently pursuing a vendetta against three protesters for participating in the successful June 29 united-front demonstration initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee against a KKK race-hate provocation in Chicago's Daley Plaza. After protesters warded off a violent charge by Klansmen wielding studded shields and flagpoles, police moved in to assault the anti-Klan demonstrators. Nine anti-racists were arrested, of whom three still face bogus charges which could put them in prison for one to two years. The trial for PDC Labor Coordinator Gene Herson, Refuse & Resist supporter Jeff Lyons and young black worker Dennis Glass is now scheduled to begin on May 5. Defense of the Chicago Anti-Klan Three is vital to the defense of the rights of all working people and oppressed. Drop the charges now!

Fernanda Royal, who still has a police bullet lodged near her spine, is suing the CHA and its cops for millions, and she deserves every cent. Meanwhile, Jesse Jackson admonishes Cabrini residents to "retreat to the nearest corner of dignity and let jurisprudence take its course," while pleading that the murderous cop invasion "was an extraordinary circumstance that I hope would not be politicized." What this loyal Democratic Party hack fears is the politics of resistance to this racist capitalist system, in which cop terror is endemic. In fact, Jackson has shamelessly alibied the Cabrini-Green cop assault, lecturing those who have denounced the rampage "not to attack CHA police or regular police" and blaming the project residents themselves for the "violence"!

At the same time, black Democratic State Senator Rickey Hendon is lobbying for a review board to "monitor" the CHA police force. At best, such review boards occasionally slap a few "wayward" cops on the wrist while whitewashing the whole system of racist repression. The cops cannot be "reformed" or "cleaned up." The only way to end racist police terror and ensure a decent life with jobs, education and quality housing for all is through a workers revolution which sweeps away the capitalist rulers and the armed enforcers of their profit system. ■

Defend the Chicago Anti-Klan Three!

The trial of Gene Herson, Jeff Lyons and Dennis Glass—who were arrested last June 29 for participating in an anti-Klan protest—is set to begin May 5 in Cook County Circuit Court. The labor movement and all opponents of racist terror must rally to the defense of the Anti-Klan Three! Protest statements demanding the charges against the Anti-Klan Three be dropped should be sent to: Richard Levine, State's Attorney of Cook County, Richard J. Daley Center, 55 W. Randolph Street, Chicago, IL 60602. Mail urgently needed donations for legal defense (earmarked "Anti-Klan Protesters") and copies of protest statements to the Partisan Defense Committee. For more information, contact the PDC in Chicago at Box 802867, Chicago, IL 60680-2867, phone (312) 454-4931; or in New York at P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013-0099, phone (212) 406-4252, e-mail: 75057.3201@compuserve.com.

WV Photo

Jeffrey Lyon, Dennis Glass, Gene Herson.

Global...

(continued from page 9)

would have a powerful radicalizing effect on the millions of Hispanic workers in the U.S., many of whom retain strong family ties to Mexico or Central America. As we stated in "Mexico and Permanent Revolution," published in the first issue of *Espartaco* (Winter 1990-91), journal of the GEM:

> "The Mexican workers revolution will succeed where the bourgeois revolutions failed, because it will and must be internationalist from the beginning. It must come to the aid of the heroically struggling working people of Central America and extend to the north, in common struggle with the workers and oppressed in the very entrails of the imperialist monster.... This is the goal toward which the Grupo Espartaquista de México is working as part of the International Communist League in the fight to reforge the Fourth International as the world party of socialist revolution."
>
> — *WV* No. 518 (18 January 1991)

Whereas we recognize that the Mexican proletariat, leading the rural toilers and urban poor, could strike the first decisive blow against American capitalist imperialism, the Northites maintain that Mexican workers are powerless to move forward unless and until a socialist revolution is on the order of the day in the United States. In a sense, North & Co. have recreated and adopted the Stalinist caricature of Trotskyism, that international socialist revolution means simultaneous revolutions in all major capitalist countries, both advanced and backward. At the time of the Mexican financial crisis in early 1995, the *IWB* (16 January 1995) wrote: "The events in Mexico demonstrate once again that the only way forward for the working class in the oppressed countries is to unite with their class brothers and sisters in the imperialist centers in a common struggle for the overthrow of capitalist exploitation and the establishment of socialism." But what do the Northites tell the Mexican workers to do until the mass of workers in the U.S. move to overthrow the capitalist system? The answer is effectively nothing.

By counterposing an abstract conception of socialist internationalism to the actual struggles of the workers, rural toilers and oppressed peoples, the Northite tendency inexorably puts forward a defeatist line toward those struggles. In practice, the Northites oppose socialist revolution both in the U.S. and Mexico, as elsewhere.

Five years ago, as he announced the death of the Soviet Union and of the trade unions in the West, David North effectively proclaimed himself and his IC to be the leadership of the international proletariat. Yet while declaring themselves to be "clearly recognized as the only Trotskyist tendency," the Northites have transformed themselves into "Socialist Equality" parties whose program even at face value is profoundly reformist. Thus, a central aspect of the U.S. SEP's election platform last November was the stale, old reformist proposal to promote greater equality by "revising" the bourgeoisie's tax codes. At the same time, the SEP demonstrated its sneering approach to any struggle for social equality by highlighting its opposition to affirmative action programs for minorities and women.

Indeed, while the Northites' open rejection of the right to self-determination may be a new innovation, getting there was not a very big step. They have long dismissed racial and other forms of oppression born of capitalism as somehow irrelevant to the "class struggle"—by which they meant the pursuit of a crude workerist adaptation to the Cold War labor bureaucrats. Their call on the AFL-CIO tops to form a "labor party" in the early 1970s—raised at the height of the Vietnam antiwar protests and militant struggles for black freedom—took up neither opposition to the imperialist war nor the fight for black liberation.

As we concluded in our article on the IC's denial of the right of national self-determination (*WV* No. 627, 25 August 1995):

> "The ICFI's 'theories' are nothing but cowardly rationalizations for sneering at the struggle against chauvinist oppression, and for writing off the economic defense organizations of the working class, in order to boost their own petty advantage. The Northites' policies are those of poseurs seeking a niche as spoilers. Otherwise, they are utterly devoid of, and antithetical to, a program which can lead the international working class and oppressed to a socialist victory over their exploiters." ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

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Jamal...

(continued from page 12)

to mass social protest centered on the power of the working class.

The 39th District Scandal: Tip of the Iceberg

As Jamal's PCRA hearing proceeded in the summer of 1995, daily revelations of police corruption filled the Philadelphia press. The two-year-old 39th District investigation, in which Pamela Jenkins played a pivotal role, has already led to 12 cops being charged with robbing or framing suspects and to the dismissal of 283 criminal cases! Among those is Betty Patterson, a black grandmother who last year won a lawsuit against the city for her false imprisonment on drug-dealing charges. In another notorious "drug dealing" frame-up, the cops hired a prostitute (Pamela Jenkins!) to testify against Temple University student Arthur Colbert, whom they kidnapped, beat and threatened with a revolver to his head. And this is just the tip of the iceberg.

In 1979, the federal government itself sued the city of Philadelphia, then-Mayor Rizzo and the city's police administration, charging them with systematic brutality, especially against blacks and Hispanics. Though subsequently dismissed on narrow jurisdictional grounds, the Justice Department lawsuit against the Philadelphia authorities was the first of its kind in U.S. history. Since then, the city has continued to be racked by a succession of police scandals—including the One Squad Case (1980-84), East Division (1980-83) and the Five Squad Case (1988-1990)—ranging from the 19th and Center City 6th districts to North Philly's 39th and elite units of the Highway Patrol and the Bureau of Narcotics Investigation. By 1984, the local F.O.P. was whining that its defense fund "seldom has anything in it" because so many Philly cops were under indictment. All of these scandals reveal the same picture: a system of police and prosecution corruption, beatings of suspects, theft, racist frame-ups and murder.

The widespread mistrust of the cops among Philadelphians—and not just the black ghetto residents who are the most likely targets of police terror—was captured last week when a jury took only three hours to acquit two defendants in a grisly murder case after they described an ordeal of forced "confessions" and manufactured "evidence." "Doubts Haunt Philadelphia," reported the *New York Times* (13 March) as it described the "common wisdom" these days expressed by one businessman's view that "the lack of evidence is highly disturbing." Yet the judge, visibly steaming at the verdict, did not even offer the customary thanks to the jury. This is the arrogant, racist Philly judiciary epitomized by Judge Sabo.

It's standard operating procedure—not just in Philly but throughout the capitalist *injustice* system—for the police to beat suspects, manufacture evidence and lie in court; among cops it's called "testi*lying*." In "Police-State Philadelphia" (*WV* No. 626, 28 July 1995), we documented how Rizzo, a racist demagogue who ran Philly for more than a decade as a local police state, spearheaded the savage crusade against Mumia. We also noted: "There was a bitter irony in the federal government suing the city of Philadelphia for police abuse since some of the most sinister police measures were instituted in direct collaboration with the Justice Department." In fact, the Philly cops' "counterintelligence" program served as a model for the FBI's own notorious COINTELPRO aimed at "neutralizing" black activists through imprisonment and assassination. Mumia was targeted by COINTELPRO from the time he was a 15-year-old Black Panther Party spokesman in the 1960s.

Philadelphia Daily News

AP

Racist Philly cops in action: Delbert Africa being beaten during 1978 cop siege of MOVE home. Above: Woman standing outside ruins of her mother's house, demolished by cops during drug sweep.

Now Pamela Jenkins provides a link between the frame-up practices revealed in the 39th District and the particular case of Mumia Abu-Jamal. The pattern is so familiar: the use of prostitutes and others easily subject to police manipulation for perjury to secure convictions. In 1981, the FBI investigated police control over prostitution rings in Center City, where Faulkner's shooting took place, which led to more than 20 cops being convicted (including Inspector Giordano, the highest-ranking officer at the scene of the Faulkner shooting). That federal investigation was going on during Mumia's 1982 "trial," in which the main witnesses called by the prosecution, including a prostitute and a man on probation for felonious arson, were all clearly intimidated and/or rewarded by the prosecution before, during and after their testimony.

Free Mumia Now!

The Philly cops and district attorney's office have consistently denied offering any favors to or coercing "star" prosecution witness Cynthia White for testifying against Jamal. This has already been shown to be a lie. Pamela Jenkins reports that Cynthia White told her, "that she had been threatened with her life by a police officer because of the Jamal case." And in a stunning new revelation, the latest defense papers reveal that "White plainly continued to receive special treatment as late as 1987, when *a Homicide detective came to court to ask the judge to let White out of jail because of her role in the Jamal case*." When a judge was preparing to impose a bail requirement on White—on the basis of 17 failures to appear in court—during a June 1987 arraignment on robbery, assault and weapons charges, one of the detectives who had been involved in the Jamal case told the judge of White's role as a "Commonwealth witness in a very high profile case." White was allowed to sign herself out, skipped bail and has never been arrested in Philadelphia since.

Another new revelation in the latest defense papers concerns Robert Ryan, the cop who was at the scene of Faulkner's killing and who was involved in trying to pressure Pamela Jenkins to lie against Mumia. In February 1982, two months after the killing, Ryan arrested one Kenneth Freeman, the source of a driver's license found on Faulkner's body. Assisting Ryan in this arrest was James Forbes, the first cop on the scene after Faulkner's shooting and a key police witness for the prosecution at Jamal's trial.

The new information adds to the mountain of evidence which already exists proving Mumia's innocence and exposing his frame-up: that Jamal's purported hospital "confession" was concocted, as shown by a police report at the time stating that he "made no comments"; that police threatened William Singletary, who saw the real shooter flee the scene, destroying his true witness statement and forcing him to sign a false one; that prosecution witness Robert Chobert, a taxi driver, changed his original testimony to implicate Jamal after prosecutors promised to renew his suspended driver's license and ignore a prior felony conviction; that ballistic evidence which could have excluded Jamal's gun as the murder weapon had disappeared. All of this and much more is documented in the Partisan Defense Committee pamphlet, *The Frame-Up of Mumia Abu-Jamal* (July 1995).

The vast array of terror and repression deployed against Mumia Abu-Jamal—from the time he was first targeted by the FBI's COINTELPRO to the frame-up which sent him to death row to the continuing attempts to intimidate, silence and execute him—goes right to the very core of what the capitalist state is all about. From sowing racist terror in the ghettos to smashing the picket lines of striking workers, the bourgeois state is an instrument of repression which serves to hold down working people and minorities in order to maintain the profits and power of the tiny handful that make up the ruling capitalist class.

This is why we Marxists place no confidence in bourgeois "justice" and the capitalist courts. We seek the massive mobilization of the social power of the working class and all victims of racist and capitalist oppression in this country and internationally to free Mumia. The continuing state vendetta against Mumia Abu-Jamal underscores that this system of oppression and exploitation can only be swept away through socialist revolution. Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the racist death penalty!

* * *

To join the fight to free Mumia, contact the Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013-0099; phone (212) 406-4252. E-mail: 75057.3201@compuserve.com. Urgently needed contributions for Mumia's defense, which are tax-deductible, should be made payable to the Bill of Rights Foundation, earmarked "Mumia Abu-Jamal Legal Defense," and sent to the Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, 163 Amsterdam Avenue, No. 115, New York, NY 10023-5001. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Philly 39th Police District Scandal Tied to Railroading of Mumia

Witness Reveals New Link in Jamal Frame-Up

Even as the Pennsylvania Supreme Court issues one ruling after another signaling its intention to uphold the 1982 frame-up conviction of death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal, new evidence of Mumia's innocence continues to come to light. On March 10, supplementing the appeal currently before the state court, Jamal's attorneys filed new legal papers which give further proof that police and prosecutors manipulated and pressured witnesses to falsely convict him for the 1981 shooting death of Philadelphia police officer Daniel Faulkner. Sensationally, the new brief reveals a link between Mumia's case and the 39th District cop corruption and frame-up scandal which has rocked the city for the last couple of years.

At the center of the new evidence is Pamela Jenkins, a former Philadelphia police informant who was the central government witness in the 39th District federal investigation which recently led to the conviction of six cops for gross corruption, including *framing up hundreds of innocent people*. Jenkins has now come forward to say that among the cops who tried to pressure her in 1981 into perjuring herself to help frame Jamal was one Tom Ryan, one of the six convicted 39th District cops.

A former prostitute and girlfriend of Tom Ryan, Jenkins described how he, another cop named Richard Ryan (who was apparently at the scene the night Faulkner was shot) "and other police officers pressured me and asked me if I had seen the shooting of the police officer and whether I had been in the area of the shooting that night. When I said 'no' they pressured some more and asked me was I really sure that I hadn't been on the street that night and seen the shooting. It was clear to me that Tom Ryan and Richard Ryan wanted me to perjure myself and say that I had seen Jamal shoot the police officer."

WV Photos

Philadelphia, March 10: Attorneys Rachel Wolkenstein and Leonard Weinglass flank witnesses Pamela Jenkins and Veronica Jones, who have courageously come forward to tell the truth about Mumia's frame-up.

On March 10, Jenkins joined Mumia's lead counsel, Leonard Weinglass, and co-counsel Rachel Wolkenstein at a press conference in Philadelphia which announced the filing of the new papers. Standing shoulder to shoulder with Pamela Jenkins was Veronica Jones, a witness at the 1981 shooting who only last October described at an evidentiary hearing how she had been coerced by Philly cops and prosecutors to lie at Mumia's 1982 trial. For courageously coming forward for Mumia, Jones was vindictively dragged off the witness stand at last fall's hearing and thrown in jail.

At the evidentiary hearing, Jones testified that the cops had pressured her into changing her initial true account—corroborated by four other witnesses at the time—that she saw two men flee the scene of Faulkner's killing, neither of whom could have been Mumia. Jones, a former prostitute, also repeated her 1982 testimony that the cops had offered to let her continue working the street like they had star prosecution witness Cynthia White if she joined White in claiming she saw Mumia shoot Faulkner. At the March 10 press conference, Veronica Jones made an impassioned public appeal for Cynthia White to join her and Pamela Jenkins in telling the truth about Mumia: "We know we can bring this down to a nutshell if you just come forward.... Then maybe you can clean up your past, like the rest of us are doing."

The legal case for Mumia's freedom is overwhelming. Yet the forces of death—

from the Philadelphia Fraternal Order of Police (F.O.P.) to the racist politicians, prosecutors and judges—are ruthlessly pursuing their effort to silence this award-winning journalist, MOVE supporter and former Black Panther and have him executed. As we reported last issue, Temple University's WRTI-FM radio recently capitulated to F.O.P. pressure and canceled a broadcast of Mumia's commentaries from death row. Now the Temple administration is trying to censor an anti-censorship forum called for April 18 in protest against its earlier action!

And in early March, the Pennsylvania Supreme Court ruled that Jamal's attorneys would not be allowed to present oral argument in his appeal before the Court and, even more dangerously, decided that the prosecution could file additional legal papers against Jamal while denying the defense the right of reply. These ominous rulings underscore our warning that no reliance can be placed on the capitalist courts, from Philadelphia's notorious "hanging judge," Albert Sabo—who presided over Jamal's farce of a "trial" in 1982 and his 1995 Post-Conviction Relief (PCRA) appeal hearing—on up. Fighters for Mumia's freedom must look instead

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Chicago Cops Shoot Up Cabrini-Green

CHICAGO—The racist Chicago cops showed what they are all about in a military-style invasion of the black Cabrini-Green housing project earlier this month. On March 4, a small army of Chicago Housing Authority (CHA), city and state police tore through the inner-city project, firing more than 70 rounds at terrified residents. With bullets crashing through apartment windows, tenants hit the floors while people outside the buildings scattered in panic. For more than an hour the cops rampaged, breaking down doors with sledgehammers and battering rams. Cabrini-Green resident Virgil Gibson recounted: "We were running. We were falling. Mothers were throwing themselves on their babies."

It was naked racist terror, a savage illustration of the government's "war on drugs." The incident began with CHA cops in pursuit of "suspected drug dealers." When officer Roland Pace caught one young man and began to beat him, a crowd gathered to protest the brutality, including the youth's cousin, Fernanda Royal. Pace then shot the 26-year-old Royal, a mother of four, pointblank in the chest. As outraged residents protested the shooting, police reinforcements poured into the project to go after a supposed "sniper" on the rooftop. Three more residents were wounded in the police fusillade.

Fernanda Royal, current president of her building's residents' council and a former CHA security guard, was placed under arrest as she lay in critical condition at Northwestern Memorial Hospital. For two days, the cops prevented her from talking to her kids or other family members, or anyone else. Meanwhile police and city officials scrambled to come up with a cover story for this widely witnessed atrocity. Even though dozens of empty shotgun casings were left at the scene and TV footage showed shotgun-toting cops, CHA police chief LeRoy O'Shield ludicrously denied that any of his men had carried shotguns or that the cops had been "returning fire." For his part, Mayor Daley brazenly defended the role of the city police in the murderous cop assault, condemning the overwhelmingly black CHA force only for not being bloodthirsty enough. "They ran," fumed Daley.

In the face of a continual stream of eyewitness accounts, city officials rapidly shifted from blatant cover-up to damage control. Charges against Royal were dropped, and charges of aggravated battery with a firearm were filed against Pace. The squad of CHA cops at Cabrini was replaced with a fresh crew, while the bourgeois press mooted the disbanding of the entire force. Within hours of the Cabrini-Green rampage, both the Chicago Fraternal Order

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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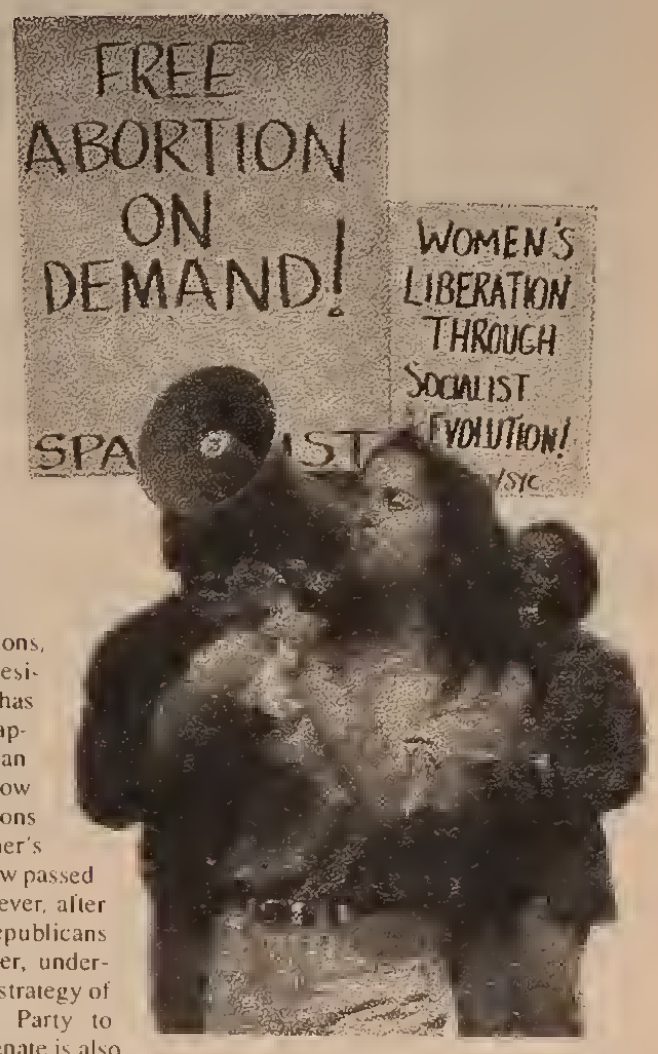
No. 665

4 April 1997

Democrats Embrace "Right to Life" Bigots

Defend Abortion Rights!



The overwhelming March 20 vote—by a margin of well over two-to-one—by the House of Representatives to ban a particular late-term abortion procedure represents a frontal assault on the rights of women. The ban, which is so vaguely worded that it could apply to any number of abortion procedures, would threaten doctors who perform them with up to two years in prison and fines of $250,000. Though the "intact dilation and extraction" (D&E) procedure—labeled "partial birth" abortion by anti-woman bigots—is relatively rare, if enacted the ban will be used as a battering ram for completely reversing the 1973 *Roe v. Wade* decision legalizing abortion. Echoing the reactionary bigots who have blockaded abortion clinics and harassed and murdered clinic workers, one Democratic Congressman sneered, "It's not about a woman's right to choose. It's about a baby's right to life."

This is the fourth time in three years that Congress has passed such a bill. On the previous three occasions, it has been vetoed by President Clinton, but Clinton has announced his readiness to approve the "partial birth" ban if Congress agrees to throw in a phrase allowing exceptions on the grounds of a "mother's health." That Congress has now passed the ban by its widest margin ever, after a number of anti-abortion Republicans lost their seats last November, underlines the futility of the liberal strategy of looking to the Democratic Party to defend abortion rights. The Senate is also expected to pass it in a late April vote, possibly with enough of a majority to override a presidential veto.

Even now, millions of women are effectively denied abortion rights, if they are too poor or too young. More than 80 percent of all U.S. counties don't have abortion clinics at all, forcing women to travel hundreds of miles from their homes. As ever more states mandate "waiting periods" of a day or more, this imposes a particular hardship on young and working women. By the time they can save the money needed for travel and hotel accommodations—if they can afford it at all—and arrange for childcare and time off from work, many of these women have already passed the first trimester and are forced to have a late-term abortion.

Under the blows of increasing legal restrictions as well as the extralegal terror by "right to life" reactionaries, the number of legal abortions has dropped dramatically in recent years. The growing assault on abortion rights is encouraged by a broader onslaught by the capitalist rulers on democratic rights, social welfare programs and workers' living standards. As we wrote following a series of heinous clinic bombings earlier this year: "The bomb-by-night terrorists and killers are emboldened by the war on the poor, minorities, immigrants and other sectors of the oppressed carried out by both major capitalist parties, the Republicans and the Democrats, who mouth smirking pieties as women and children starve" (*WV* No. 660, 24 January).

The vaunted "pro-choice" president has overseen the sharpest assault in decades on poor and minority women. In axing welfare, Clinton has consigned millions to starvation, while pushing drastic cuts in funding for health care and childcare. This hits hardest at blacks, immigrants and other minorities, while the rollback of affirmative action has led to a racist purge of the universities. The fight to defend women's rights cannot be separated from the struggles of all working people and minorities against the all-sided attacks of the capitalist class. We

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Free Abortion on Demand! Free Quality Health Care for All!

Lehman/SABA

Welfare recipients in South-Central Los Angeles. Attacks on abortion rights are part of broader capitalist assault on health care, welfare, workers' living standards.

U.S. Hands Off Zaire!

Imperialists Out of Central Africa!

MARCH 30—As an American military contingent landed in Zaire, on March 21 President Clinton announced the deployment of hundreds of additional U.S. troops to be sent to the nearby countries of Congo and Gabon. An amphibious U.S. warship with a thousand Marines on board is now steaming from the Adriatic to a position off the West African coast near Zaire. Clinton claimed that the U.S. forces were being sent to prepare for a possible evacuation of American civilians from the Zairian capital of Kinshasa. But a fully armed and equipped expeditionary force is hardly necessary to evacuate scarcely 500 people, who could freely leave Zaire any time they want. In fact, this imperialist intervention is aimed at helping police the Zairian masses as U.S.-sponsored rebel forces led by Laurent Kabila prepare to move into Kinshasa to replace the tottering French-backed regime of dictator Mobutu Sese Seko.

An imperialist military intervention in Zaire was mooted last fall, when France proposed a United Nations "humanitarian" mission supposedly aimed at aiding Rwandan Hutu refugees in eastern Zaire caught in the fighting between Tutsi rebel forces led by Kabila and Hutu militias backed by Mobutu. The motive for the French proposal was to prop up Mobutu against a growing rebel threat to his regime. After grudgingly agreeing, Washington aborted the intervention by having its Tutsi client forces engineer an exodus of the refugees. Today, it is the U.S. which is spearheading the moves for imperialist intervention in Zaire as Kabila is poised to bring down Mobutu. As we wrote last November when the earlier imperialist expeditionary force was set to descend on the region: "The real aim of the imposing show of military force being readied for central Africa is to affirm the imperialists' 'right' to assert their control over their neocolonial slaves wherever and whenever they please" (*WV* No. 656, 22 November 1996).

Nothing is more cynical than the pretense by U.S. imperialism, the most powerful enforcer of reaction and oppression in the world, that it is intervening to defend "humanitarian" principles. The collapse of the Soviet Union removed a countervailing force to U.S. aims of world domination. This

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U.S. War Criminals Shake Down Vietnam

The scenes of U.S. troops, diplomats and CIA assassins scurrying to flee as the victorious forces of North Vietnam and the South Vietnamese National Liberation Front surged through Saigon (now Ho Chi Minh City) on 30 April 1975 continue to haunt America's capitalist rulers. In the course of its long, bloody, *losing* imperialist war, the U.S. slaughtered some two million Vietnamese and maimed and tortured countless more. Intent on bombing Vietnam "back to the Stone Age," as one U.S. Air Force general put it at the time, Washington devastated the country's economy, destroying virtually all farmland and infrastructure. From the mass assassination program dubbed "Operation Phoenix" and the extensive defoliation and napalm terror bombings which literally burned people alive to carpeting the country with land mines which continue to kill Vietnamese villagers to this day, U.S. imperialism and its erstwhile South Vietnamese puppet regime stopped at nothing in seeking to crush the Vietnamese Revolution as part of the effort to "roll back world Communism."

In the 22 years since, the U.S. rulers have vindictively sought to exact vengeance for their humiliating battlefield defeat at the hands of the Vietnamese workers and peasants, imposing a punishing trade embargo and trying in all ways to isolate and starve the beleaguered and impoverished Vietnamese deformed workers state. Now, in what has got to be the height of obscene imperialist arrogance, the bloody perpetrators of mass murder have extorted "compensation" from the victims of their war crimes! Last month, the U.S. announced that the Vietnamese government had agreed to pay $140 million in restitution for debts incurred during the war by Washington's Saigon puppet regime. In return, the U.S. offered Hanoi a trade deal and possible elevation to "most favored nation" trading status.

Wide World

U.S. imperialist war in Vietnam devastated the country, slaughtered two million people.

The backdrop to this grotesque imperialist bloodsucking is the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union, which acted as a counterweight to untrammeled imperialist domination. If not for the existence of the Soviet degenerated workers state, the Vietnamese Revolution could not have defeated the U.S. colossus. The demise of the Soviet Union has also led to a heightening of interimperialist rivalries. As Japan, Germany and France moved to exploit Vietnam's mineral and oil resources a few years ago, U.S. corporations began clamoring for a piece of the action. Thus, Washington began easing its economic and diplomatic boycott of Vietnam. Conoco, for example, is now close to a deal to exploit Vietnam's vast offshore oil resources. Meanwhile, a U.S. ambassador is scheduled to arrive in Hanoi later this month.

The victory of the Vietnamese workers and peasants—first over the French colonialists in the 1950s, then against U.S. imperialism—was a victory for working people and the oppressed around the world. In hailing the 1975 defeat of the U.S. and its sadistic puppet forces, we Trotskyists proclaimed: "Vietnam was a victory—two, three, many defeats for U.S. imperialism!" As we wrote in celebrating the tenth anniversary of the liberation of Saigon (*WV* No. 377, 19 April 1985):

> "The Vietnam War marked a decisive turning point in U.S. history. The so-called 'American century' died in the rice paddies and jungles of Vietnam. The anti-communist prejudices of the '50s that portrayed America fighting to save the world from the red menace were shattered as young soldiers discovered they were sent to fight an entire people, an armed people united in a revolutionary war for national liberation and socialism. A generation of American youth saw the true face of this racist capitalist system, its arrogant, bloodthirsty barbarism."

At the same time, we consistently warned against illusions in the Stalinist leadership of the Vietnamese liberation struggle. Under Ho Chi Minh's Stalinists, the Vietnamese social revolution was deformed from its inception, with a nationalist, parasitic bureaucracy wielding political power over the proletariat and peasantry. For its part, the Soviet bureaucracy subordinated the defense and economic development of Vietnam to its own reactionary pursuit of "peaceful coexistence" with U.S. imperialism, while the Beijing Stalinists not only *blocked* Soviet assistance to Vietnam during the war against the U.S. but even invaded the country in 1979. As we noted in 1991, "Wedded to the Stalinist dogma of 'socialism in one country,' their backs against the wall because of the betrayal and now collapse of their Soviet patrons, the Vietnamese rulers see no alternative but to futilely seek to appease their imperialist tormentors" (*WV* No. 540, 6 December 1991).

The opening of Vietnam to imperialist economic penetration is part of Hanoi's embrace of pro-capitalist "market reforms," which have led to ever greater immiseration of the impoverished worker and peasant masses. While a handful of scions of the Stalinist bureaucracy rake it in as intermediaries for foreign investors, growing numbers of children in Hanoi are homeless and education and medical care are increasingly out of the reach of the population, especially in the countryside. A column by Bob Herbert in the *New York Times* (28 March) describes the brutal mistreatment of women workers who slave for $1.60 a day at a Nike footwear factory in Dong Nai. In order to punish them for a supposed disciplinary infraction, the factory manager forced the women to run around the plant under the hot sun—on International Women's Day—until a dozen of them fainted.

Demulder/Gamma-Liaison

North Vietnamese and National Liberation Front forces liberate Saigon, April 1975.

We of the International Communist League have consistently defended the Vietnamese Revolution as part of our fight for world socialist revolution. While calling for proletarian political revolution to sweep away the Stalinist bureaucracy in Hanoi, we understand that the key to defeating the depredations of U.S. imperialism lies in class struggle here in the "belly of the beast." We fight to forge a vanguard party to lead the proletariat in socialist revolution to expropriate the rapacious American ruling class. Among the foremost tasks of a revolutionary workers government in the U.S. will be to provide unstinting assistance to the Vietnamese masses, whom we honor for their heroic, self-sacrificing struggle against the main exploiter and enemy of the peoples of the world.■

Scientific Socialism vs. Religious Backwardness

TROTSKY

LENIN

The escalating attacks on women's rights reflect and are fueled by a sharp rise in religious bigotry and obscurantism. As Marxists, we call for the strict separation of church and state. In fighting to forge a proletarian vanguard party, we seek to win the working class to the Marxist worldview of historical materialism, which as Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin explained in the following passage is necessarily hostile to religion, superstition and ideological backwardness in all its forms.

The economic oppression of the workers inevitably calls forth and engenders every kind of political oppression and social humiliation, the coarsening and darkening of the spiritual and moral life of the masses. The workers may secure a greater or lesser degree of political liberty to fight for their economic emancipation, but no amount of liberty will rid them of poverty, unemployment, and oppression until the power of capital is overthrown. Religion is one of the forms of spiritual oppression which everywhere weighs down heavily upon the masses of the people, overburdened by their perpetual work for others, by want and isolation. Impotence of the exploited classes in their struggle against the exploiters just as inevitably gives rise to the belief in a better life after death as impotence of the savage in his battle with nature gives rise to belief in gods, devils, miracles, and the like. Those who toil and live in want all their lives are taught by religion to be submissive and patient while here on earth, and to take comfort in the hope of a heavenly reward. But those who live by the labour of others are taught by religion to practise charity while on earth, thus offering them a very cheap way of justifying their entire existence as exploiters and selling them at a moderate price tickets to well-being in heaven. Religion is opium for the people. Religion is a sort of spiritual booze, in which the slaves of capital drown their human image, their demand for a life more or less worthy of man.

But a slave who has become conscious of his slavery and has risen to struggle for his emancipation has already half ceased to be a slave. The modern class-conscious worker, reared by large-scale factory industry and enlightened by urban life, contemptuously casts aside religious prejudices, leaves heaven to the priests and bourgeois bigots, and tries to win a better life for himself here on earth. The proletariat of today takes the side of socialism, which enlists science in the battle against the fog of religion, and frees the workers from their belief in life after death by welding them together to fight in the present for a better life on earth.

Religion must be declared a private affair. In these words socialists usually express their attitude towards religion. But the meaning of these words should be accurately defined to prevent any misunderstanding. We demand that religion be held a private affair so far as the state is concerned. But by no means can we consider religion a private affair so far as our Party is concerned. Religion must be of no concern to the state, and religious societies must have no connection with governmental authority. Everyone must be absolutely free to profess any religion he pleases, or no religion whatever, i.e., to be an atheist, which every socialist is, as a rule....

The revolutionary proletariat will succeed in making religion a really private affair, so far as the state is concerned. And in this political system, cleansed of medieval mildew, the proletariat will wage a broad and open struggle for the elimination of economic slavery, the true source of the religious humbugging of mankind.

—V.I. Lenin, "Socialism and Religion" (December 1905)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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EDITOR: Len Meyers

EDITOR, YOUNG SPARTACUS PAGES: Joe Sol

PRODUCTION MANAGER: Susan Fuller

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No. 665 **4 April 1997**

Workers Shut Down Bonn

Reuters

Spartakist

Bonn, March 11: Striking miners storm police barricades, blockade headquarters of FDP, Kohl's coalition partners.

Germany: Social Democrats Torpedo Miners Strike

The following is a translation, in slightly adapted form, of an article in the April 1997 issue of Spartakist *(No. 127), publication of our comrades of the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany (SpAD).*

For six days in March, 85,000 hard coal miners downed tools and held mass demonstrations throughout the Ruhr and Saar mining regions of western Germany to protest draconian shutdowns and layoffs announced by the government. Despite the fury of hardhatted miners who virtually laid siege to the government seat of Bonn, miners union (IGBE) chief Hans Berger and his right-wing Social Democratic (SPD) cohorts succeeded in demobilizing the miners and pushing through a sellout deal with Christian Democratic chancellor Helmut Kohl and the coal bosses. After nearly a week of militant strike and protest actions, the workers have been saddled with effectively the same deal the government (and the IGBE tops) cooked up in the first place—slashing two-thirds of mining jobs in the next eight years—with "job training" and buyouts to sweeten the deal.

Only days after the miners strike ended, Krupp announced a takeover bid of Thyssen Steel, aimed at creating the world's fifth-largest steel conglomerate, which would lead to thousands more layoffs in the Ruhr. The news provoked a week of mass protests, as 30,000 outraged steel workers marched through Frankfurt on March 25, while workers walked off the job at three steel plants. Once again the SPD leaders, particularly North Rhine Westphalia state president Johannes Rau—with the backing of the IG Metall union tops—moved in to enforce the bosses' dictates.

The angry protests against the threatened layoffs in mining and steel come as the German proletariat is faced with the highest unemployment rate since the early 1930s. Likewise throughout West Europe—where the total number of unemployed in the countries of the European Union today stands at *18 million*—the capitalist rulers are seeking to ram through sweeping attacks on workers' living standards and social programs as they drive to ratchet up the rate of exploitation. In recent months, hundreds of thousands of workers across Europe have taken to the streets in protest against mass unemployment and cuts in medical and pension benefits. Renault workers in France, Spain and Belgium have held protests and plant occupations against shutdowns which threaten thousands of job losses. In Italy, 300,000 workers recently demonstrated against unemployment.

Victorious defensive strikes by sections of the proletariat can inspire broader workers' struggles. But in and of themselves, such sectoral struggles, even when they are not sold out and beheaded by the reformist misleaders, cannot fundamentally alter the bourgeoisie's policies. Whether through mass unemployment, inflation or shifting production to other, low-wage countries, the capitalist class is determined to lower production costs and increase its profit margin. This is particularly clear in the case of the German mining industry, whose deep-pit mines make its coal uncompetitive on the world market and even in Germany. What is needed is workers revolution to sweep away the entire system of capitalist exploitation. We fight for a red workers Germany as part of a Socialist United States of Europe.

Key to this is the need to break the workers from the social-democratic betrayers of the SPD and the pro-SPD DGB trade-union federation tops. The coal strike sellout gave a living picture of what is meant by Lenin's characterization of parties like the SPD as *bourgeois workers parties*. That the SPD retains the loyalty of much of the west German working class was evident. That it uses this loyalty to slavishly defend the interests of the capitalist class was also made crystal-clear.

During the Cold War period after World War II, the SPD and other social-democratic parties postured as protectors of the workers while suffusing the working class with poisonous anti-Communism. These parties brokered the deals which provided industrial subsidies and social benefits. They were able to deliver because the bourgeoisie was willing to maintain a "welfare state," with relatively high wages for West German workers for example, in order to buy the workers' loyalty to "democratic" imperialism, dampen class struggle and ward off the spectre of "Communism." Now, with the destruction of the Soviet Union and the DDR (East German) deformed workers state, the imperialist bourgeoisies have moved to dismantle the "welfare state." One striking miner put it well: "Since the [Berlin] wall came down the market economy no longer has to show it has a social side." At the same time, with the reassertion of interimperialist rivalries the bourgeoisie can maintain its profit rates only by savagely attacking the living standards of the working class. Today, the SPD et al. openly act as *enforcers* for the bourgeoisie's drive to increase profits.

In particular, the social democrats and ex-Stalinist reformist parties like the German Party of Democratic Socialism (PDS), the French Communist Party and Rifondazione Comunista in Italy act as the capitalists' henchmen in seeking to destroy the unity of the working class, fomenting protectionist chauvinism and anti-immigrant racism. Even as ethnic German miners stood shoulder to shoulder alongside their comrades of Turkish and Kurdish descent—many with long years in the mines—SPD parliamentary leader Rudolph Scharping declaimed on national TV: "Do we want miners in the Ruhr and Saar mining areas to have to be laid off at 32 or 35 years old and their Turkish co-workers to stay in the pits?" And in Berlin the IG Bau construction

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NEW YORK CITY

Germany...

(continued from page 3)

union tops organized a week of demonstrations aimed at driving out "illegal foreign workers." In this, the racist SPD tops provide an opening for the fascists, who seek to feed off despair over skyrocketing unemployment with their pogromist cry, "Jobs for Germans first!"

What is needed now is for the working class and oppressed to *close ranks* against the bosses' assaults. This means *splitting* the SPD, winning its working-class base away from the pro-capitalist misleaders and forging proletarian class unity on the basis of an internationalist revolutionary program. The SpAD is committed to fighting for this political perspective among subjectively leftist students, workers and youth, as part of the struggle for a Leninist vanguard party. Such a party is the critical tool to lead the battle for proletarian state power.

Spartakist

Spartakist contingent at July 1996 Berlin protest in solidarity with Turkish political prisoners calls for fight against anti-immigrant racism in Germany. Sign reads: "Stop the Deportations—Full Citizenship Rights for Immigrants!"

Explosion in the Ruhr

Following Kohl's March 7 announcement of the cuts in subsidies to the mining industry, outraged miners began blocking highways and government buildings as well as picketing and occupying pits throughout the Ruhr and Saarland. In the Duisburg harbor, a lock was occupied to prevent ships with imported coal from passing. Convoys of miners in cars and on motorcycles converged on Bonn. Strikers chained themselves to the entrances of the Bonn offices of the Free Democrats (FDP), Kohl's coalition partner, which has pushed the hardest for subsidy elimination. The next day, March 11, some 20,000 miners, many in overalls and hard hats, marched on the parliament building. Hundreds stripped down to their underwear and chanted, "Do you want the shirts off our backs?" When some tried to break through police barricades at the "*Bannmeile*" boundary surrounding parliament, within which demonstrations are banned, Scharping emerged to calm the demonstrators. An SpAD sales and reporting team described the scene:

> "The rally is about to start; suddenly, SPD chairman Oskar Lafontaine appears in a group making its way toward the stage. A Turkish miner climbs up on a wall and cries, 'Oskar! Oskar!' and waves to get his attention. But later, as Scharping addresses himself in his speech to 'German citizens' and speaks of '*das deutsche Volk*' [the German people], the faces of these workers grow tight and they look at the ground.
>
> "The SPD has mobilized the parliamentary fraction to the IGBE rally to back up its beleaguered chief Berger. Berger is greeted with whistling and catcalls of 'Judas!' when he tells the miners they should leave Bonn so that Kohl will negotiate. 'We're staying here!' cry the miners. But Scharping and Lafontaine get big applause and miners chant, 'Kohl's Gotta Go!' Lafontaine and Berger praise the cops who are supposed to be 'our co-workers.' And in the end, the miners do what Rudi and Oskar say, go back to their buses and drive back to the coal mines in the Ruhr."

In exchange for getting the miners out of the city center, the government agreed to talks with Berger. Demonstrations continued in other cities, and our comrades reported from Duisburg on Thursday:

> "Two thousand miners and their families, a very integrated crowd with women and teenage children, assemble in front of TV monitors at the main gate of the Walsum mine on the outskirts of Duisburg to hear the results of the negotiations between the government, the mine owners and the IGBE. The miners are somewhat tense and expectant; it is difficult to engage them in conversation, much less sell them the paper. After the government proudly announces its 'compromise,' the cameras switch to Cologne to get reactions from the waiting Saarland miners. A miner says into the camera, 'Berger should resign' and a huge cheer goes up in Duisburg. For the first time in three days, miners begin to come to us to buy the paper—not in droves, but in ones and twos, and we stay busy until the crowd disperses."

Fight Anti-Immigrant Racism!

Despite the right-wing SPD types at the head of the miners union and the open attempts by Scharping and others to foment chauvinist hatred, many miners rejected such divisive appeals. As one told a *Financial Times* (10 March) reporter: "Here we stick together. The thing that counts is that you're a miner. Whether you're called Ali or Fritz doesn't matter."

However, as shown in the Berlin construction workers' protests that same week, pushed to the wall by fears of unemployment, sections of the working class have fallen prey to such racist garbage. A third of all building workers are today jobless. Seizing on this, deputy DGB chairman Ursula Engelen-Kefer called for special police to raid construction sites and arrest undocumented foreign construction workers. This came on top of IG Metall leader Klaus Zwickel's demand for racist immigration "quotas" to "ease the German labor market." The Berlin demonstrations were organized by IG Bau with the grotesque aim of building an "impassable wall of construction workers against Portuguese, Polish and Russians who wanted to go to work." No wonder outright fascists were allowed to hand out their racist tracts with impunity.

M. Darchinger

SPD leader Oskar Lafontaine addresses angry miners at Bonn strike rally, ramming through sellout deal.

Frankfurt, March 25: Steel workers outside Deutsche Bank offices protest layoffs threatened by Thyssen-Krupp merger.

This is a deadly danger to the entire workers movement. Where it leads was made chillingly clear on February 15 in Berlin-Hellersdorf, where the Hitlerite "Young National Democrats" tried to stage a murderous racist provocation with the call, "Jobs for Germans first!" But the Nazi skinheads' provocation was spiked by a united front of hundreds of anti-fascist demonstrators led by the Trotskyists of the SpAD. This victory over the fascists required a political battle to counter the demobilizing "peaceful, legal" efforts of the PDS, who preached reliance on the racist forces of the bourgeois state. The SpAD has distributed a special supplement of *Spartakist* outlining the political lessons of the Hellersdorf anti-fascist victory to miners, steel workers and other workers' protests.

The fascists have been emboldened by the capitalist counterrevolution which destroyed the DDR deformed workers state and led to the annexation of East Germany into a reunified Fourth Reich of German imperialism. At the same time, the desperation and massive unemployment created by the destruction of East German industry has provided fertile ground for Nazi recruitment. We warned at the time that capitalist reunification would facilitate the bourgeoisie's attempts to pit one sector of workers against another.

For now, the fascists restrict themselves mainly to murderous attacks on immigrants and leftists. But the ultimate aim of these shock troops of capitalist reaction is the eradication of the whole of the organized workers movement. As it was in the 1930s, fascism will be the ultimate recourse of the bourgeoisie in the face of a proletarian challenge to its order. If the capitalists have no need to give the fascists free rein to carry out their genocidal program now, it is only because the social democrats are doing the job of keeping the proletariat in line.

We advance a revolutionary program which transcends and fights against sectoral and racial divisions by addressing the unitary class interests of the proletariat as a whole. Workers of Turkish and Kurdish descent and immigrant workers are a significant and combative component of the German proletariat. It is necessary for the entire workers movement to combat anti-immigrant racism. Particularly as the German bourgeoisie begins to expel some 300,000 Bosnian refugees, the biggest mass deportation since the Third Reich, it is vital to demand: "Stop the deportations! Full citizenship rights for all immigrants!" In the face of murderous Nazi terror, it is imperative to organize labor/immigrant defense groups to protect immigrant quarters. The labor movement must organize superexploited workers, demanding jobs and union wages for all.

Capitalist *Anschluss* has created a multi-tier workforce in which older workers are paid at the "old" levels and younger, often East German workers are hired at lower wages. And soaring unemployment hits immigrants, women and youth particularly hard. The unions must demand special measures to bring these sectors into the workforce, including free 24-hour childcare, and raise the call for equal pay for equal work. To combat joblessness, it is necessary to fight for a shorter workweek at no loss in pay while demanding that wages be indexed against inflation—for a sliding scale of wages and hours! In the Transitional Program, the 1938 founding program of the Fourth International, Bolshevik leader Leon Trotsky explained:

> "It is necessary to help the masses in the process of the daily struggle to find the bridge between present demands and the socialist program of the revolution. This bridge should include a system of ***transitional demands***, stemming from today's conditions and from today's consciousness of wide layers of the working class

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Young Spartacus

S.F. State Witchhunts Woman for Self-Defense

Campus Repression Fed by "Date Rape" Hysteria

On March 5, students at San Francisco State University (SFSU) beat back the threatened eviction of a student from her campus residence hall. The freshman, named Ann, had reported that she had been raped and was then promptly hit by a campus ruling evicting her from her dorm—because she defended herself against her assailants with a five-inch knife and because she had the audacity to drink with men in her own room! While student protests succeeded in defeating the administration's action, Ann is still being forced to attend an alcohol and drug counseling program. The university's harassment of Ann demonstrates the role of the administration as the capitalist rulers' morality police on campus. Students have every right to defend themselves against attack and to engage in whatever consensual behavior they choose to in the privacy of their dorm rooms.

The SFSU student newspaper, the *Golden Gater* (27 February), ran a disgusting editorial echoing the administration's pernicious "family values" line by blaming the victim: "If she could have controlled her guests, she may not have allowed them to rape her"! Under SFSU's "zero tolerance" weapons policy, students face ***felony criminal charges***, expulsion from the university or removal from campus residences for the "crime" of self-defense. The administration also recently imposed a racist ban on a step show competition—unison dancing popular among black fraternities and sororities—on the grounds that last year attendees didn't disperse fast enough. In the present climate, such repression attempting to strictly control every aspect of student behavior is not an anomaly. With the 1994 passage of the federal "Gun Free Schools Act," the bourgeoisie's reactionary efforts to disarm the population and vitiate the constitutional right to bear arms have been taken to grotesque and ludicrous lengths. In Louisiana recently, an eight-year-old was suspended for bringing her grandfather's watch with a one-inch fingernail knife to school for show and tell!

For the past two decades, the ruling class has been pushing a reactionary "family values" campaign targeting women, blacks and teens, consciously reinforcing "Christian" moral values as an instrument of social control. This anti-sex witchhunt was picked up by many feminists, who for the past few years have pushed a campaign against "date rape." So now when new students arrive in the SFSU dorms every fall, they are greeted by a poster of a large beer mug with the words "A lot of campus rapes start here." The "date rape" frenzy is aimed at promoting the image that women are passive victims in need of protection, that sex is dangerous and all dating should be done sober and with a chaperon. In 1993, popular SFSU Human Sexuality professor John De Cecco became a target of such anti-sex hysteria when he was witchhunted by a group of "incest survivors" for his research into child sexuality, which they outrageously equated with advocacy of child molestation.

As a direct result of the "date rape" crusade, the much-hated *in loco parentis* anti-sex, anti-everything codes that 1960s New Left student protesters fought to overturn are now back with a vengeance. In our article "The 'Date Rape' Issue: Feminist Hysteria, Anti-Sex Witchhunt" (*Women and Revolution* No. 43, Winter 1993-Spring 1994), we warned that "politically correct" restrictions on campus sexual activity invite the campus administration and the cops to intrude into students' personal business in the guise of "protecting women" and "stopping rape." This is part of a broader war on privacy being waged by the capitalist state, from censorship on the Internet to TV "V-chips" to "squeal rules" restricting abortions for teens. We also pointed out that by redefining rape to include everything from morning-after regrets to savage brutality, "date rape" hysteria trivialized the crime of rape and belittled the real terror, humiliation and agony that rape victims undergo.

Schneider/Golden Gater

March 5: SF State students celebrate victory over administration attempt to evict student who defended herself against attackers.

Organizations that purport to be socialist opportunistically promoted the "date rape" fad. The International Socialist Organization (ISO), the Revolutionary Workers League's Coalition to Defend Affirmative Action By Any Means Necessary (BAMN) and the Freedom Socialist Party (FSP) have marched in lockstep behind the feminists' campaign to invoke government authority to intervene as moral arbiter in our most intimate affairs. Thus although the ISO and BAMN rightly protested the administration's witchhunt of Ann, with their campaigns to "stop date rape" these groups bear their share of responsibility for the regulations which allowed the administration to go after Ann for her act of self-defense.

With Clinton's new $250 million "education" campaign to promote "sexual abstinence," the "born-again virgin" crusade is no longer the sole purview of the religious right. We are smack in the middle of a "moral rearmament" of American society, involving a conscious attempt to force women back into the home, instill fear of sex into young people and shore up the "sacred" monogamous family—where most of the oppression and abuse of women and children takes place. As they increasingly grind down and impoverish the working class and oppressed in their drive for profits, the American rulers seek to regiment the population to be subservient to their dictates. As the writer Gore Vidal noted in 1979, when the threat of "foreign enemies" failed to rouse "a howl of manly rage, particularly from ladies at church receptions...in desperation, the nation's ownership has now gone back to the tried-and-true hot buttons: save our children, our fetuses, our ladies' rooms from the godless enemy."

We in the Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth Clubs demand that the government and campus administrations get out of the bedrooms. This is part of our fight to mobilize the working class, championing the rights of all the oppressed, in a battle to wrest power from the capitalist class in a socialist revolution that can liberate humanity from the backwardness, poverty and wars inherent in class society. We understand that the state exists to protect the rule and property of the capitalist class. Campus administrations are the agents of the bourgeoisie with the job of ensuring that students adhere to bourgeois values. Far from promoting the "free exchange of ideas," under capitalism the universities are meant simply to train sufficient numbers of youth to keep the profit system going. And with the attacks on affirmative action and cuts in funding, any chance for higher education is increasingly closed to minority and working-class youth.

Both BAMN and the ISO accept the framework of the ruling class, seeking only to modify the worst features of racist capitalist oppression. Thus they reject the Marxist understanding of the state, which leads them to slide over the class line and into the arms of the SFSU administration and the forces of bourgeois "law and order."

In their leaflet in defense of Ann, BAMN appeals to the administration's "claims to fight sexism." In an earlier incarnation as the National Women's Rights Organizing Coalition, this group held an "anti-rape" rally at UC Berkeley during a cop-sponsored "campus safety week" in 1993. They issued a leaflet with such a vague description of a guy alleged to have fondled several women ("a light-skinned black male") that it amounted to an anti-black manhunt on campus. Playing to the ultimate racist taboo—interracial sex—this action simply put a "politically correct" veneer on racist vigilantism and was especially dangerous in the context of escalating cop attacks on minorities in Berkeley. Last fall, BAMN members at Berkeley ran on a program for residence halls to "organize a system of emergency response action to stop date rape" and for "student security patrols," essentially a call for students to become adjuncts of the racist campus police.

For its part, the ISO thinks that cops can be won to the side of the working class. Thus they supported prison guards on strike in Canada last year. They also whitewash the role of the cops as deadly enemies of the working class by positing that cops would cease to be agents of the bourgeois state if they were to "rebel collectively" (see "ISO: Looking for a Few Good Cops," *WV* No. 664, 21 March). That a self-proclaimed revolutionary organization could see cops as potential allies testifies to its true role as a reformist roadblock to revolution.

Ann's case is a snapshot of the kind of all-sided oppression that women, minorities, youth and the working class face daily in capitalist America. Her victimization by the administration is an outrage which only further demonstrates its nature as an agency of the repressive state apparatus on campus. We call for an end to all *in loco parentis* rules and for cops off campus, and fight for the abolition of the campus administration and for student/teacher/campus worker control of the universities! ■

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Government Out of the Bedrooms!

The People vs. Larry Flynt
A Review

by Helen Cantor

It's not pornography that bothers us, but the Supreme Court really is dangerous. The main objection we socialists have to Milos Forman's new movie, *The People vs. Larry Flynt*, is its presentation of the Supreme Court, which is an institution of racist capitalist repression, as a staunch defender of civil liberties. That puts us at odds with the "politically correct" liberals who say: of course pornography degrades women, but isn't the Supreme Court's protection of our rights just wonderful?

Otherwise, the movie could almost make you nostalgic for the late, unlamented 1970s, when everybody smoked and wore tacky polyester clothes. And the "Reagan years" of the '80s are shown in all their wild yahoo reaction, when Jerry Falwell's "Moral Majority" was riding high.

This is a big Hollywood movie and so the story line is classic Americana: how Flynt, a plucky youth from the backwoods, finds fame and fortune by freaking out the squares as publisher of *Hustler*, and how, with the help of his earnest, decent lawyer sidekick from the upper class (played by Ed Norton), he takes on the biggest sacred cow of all, the sanctimonious Rev. Falwell, and wins in the Supreme Court. Flynt's 1988 victory overturning Falwell's $45 million suit against him for a satire in *Hustler* is presented as a heartwarming triumph for free speech, guaranteed to make good liberals all teary-eyed.

Forman's film predictably provoked a hue and cry among self-appointed guardians of "public morals" and anti-porn feminists for its sympathetic portrayal of Flynt. Though the film won a number of Golden Globe awards and was nominated for two Oscars (best director and best actor, for Woody Harrelson in his role as Flynt), it was shunned by the Hollywood establishment. The movie won no Academy Award, and Columbia Pictures even refused to give Flynt a ticket to attend the awards ceremony, though he managed to get in anyhow.

An Op-Ed piece in the *New York Times* (7 January) by Gloria Steinem snarled: "A pornographer is not a hero, no more than a publisher of Ku Klux Klan books or a Nazi on the Internet." In his column in the *Times* (3 February), Bob Herbert echoed that pornography and *Hustler* in particular represent "an extreme and unrelentingly violent hatred of women, a hatred every bit as fanatical as the Klan's hatred of blacks and the Nazis' hatred of Jews." During the Oscar nominations campaign, Steinem's piece was reprinted as a full-page ad in the trade magazine *Variety*, paid for by an anonymous group of Hollywood types.

On the other side, the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) took out its own ad praising the movie, lauding director Forman as a "First Amendment advocate." The *Times*' Frank Rich also hailed the film, saying it "deserves a huge adult audience because it is the most timely and patriotic movie of the year." In short, liberals who defended the movie did so largely on First Amendment grounds, while those who denounced it tend to be rabidly anti-porn. Opportunist leftists like Workers World and the International Socialist Organization tried to have it both ways, simultaneously railing the civil libertarians and the feminists, upholding freedom of speech while denouncing Flynt for "misogyny" and "smut."

We see the question differently, because of our Marxist, materialist approach to the two disparate questions of the capitalist state and human sexuality. As a starting point, we understand that it is a deadly trap to look to the government to censor any sort of expression—such legal weapons can and will be used against leftists and others who the rulers deem to be beyond the pale of "protected speech." For example, the first victim of a Canadian anti-pornography law pushed by feminist Catharine MacKinnon was a lesbian magazine imported from the U.S.

In this class-divided society, all the institutions of the state—from Congress and the Supreme Court to the prisons and the military—exist to maintain the rule of capital. The Supreme Court's rulings are overwhelmingly designed to make this society work better for the rich, the capitalists who own the means of production. While it is vital for working people and the oppressed to defend and extend the democratic rights and civil liberties that exist, especially those codified in the Bill of Rights, we know that these rights can be snatched away or ignored by the ruling class, unless hard class battles are waged to protect them.

Where the reformists fall in step behind the feminist (and Christian fundamentalist) anti-porn crusade, we understand that attempts to censor sexuality and pornography reflect this society's repressive sexual morality, aimed at ideologically bolstering the monogamous bourgeois family unit, the main social institution oppressing women and youth. It's certainly true that some pornography reflects ugly, crude and violent aspects of our society—but those reflections are not the cause of women's oppression. And it's downright grotesque to identify sexual fantasy with the Nazis and KKK, the shock troops of murderous reaction.

Sexual fantasy is integral to human sexual experience. All animals engage in sex. One of the things that distinguishes humans from other animals, including other mammals, is that we not only act but think about our actions. As conscious beings, we not only engage in sex but also fantasize about it—much to the dismay of those like the Catholic church hierarchy, which ordains that sex is not meant to be a pleasurable experience. (Of course, with the latest brouhaha over human cloning, the church has added to its earlier dictum—no sex without procreation—a new admonition against procreation without sex!) Pornography is one expression of that fantasizing. And it is not possible to separate fantasy from sexual activity itself.

Hustler cover featured movie publicity poster which was censored by the Motion Picture Association of America.

Sex, Civil Liberties and Powder-Blue Leisure Suits

What is it about Larry Flynt that causes such an uproar? For one thing, unlike *Penthouse* or *Playboy*, Flynt's *Hustler* has gloried in lack of social pretension—a polite way of saying it's totally crude. Director Forman tries to placate feminists by claiming his movie doesn't glorify the pornographer Larry Flynt but "the Supreme Court of the United States [which] is and will always be my hero." Despite Forman's protestations, Flynt nonetheless comes across as the movie's hero, decked out in the flashiest, widest-lapeled, gaudy plaid and powder-blue leisure suits of the late '70s.

Of course, the movie considerably cleans up its hero to try to appeal to middle-class standards of taste. Flynt's own book, *An Unseemly Man. My Life as Pornographer, Pundit, and Social Outcast* (Dove Books, 1996), co-authored by Kenneth Ross, lays out plenty of ostentatiously crude detail. In the movie, the young Larry Flynt is seen as a Huck Finn type, hauling a wagon of moonshine through the woods. Definitely *not* in the movie, but related by Flynt in the book, is the fact that in his hillbilly region of Kentucky, "sexual relations with animals—particularly cows, sheep, and horses—were common.... At the age of nine, I had sex with a chicken. Yes, this is what the old preachers called bestiality." Later, Flynt had a three-foot replica of a chicken built in the basement of his mansion. He liked to "shoot fish in the shallow waters of Lickin' River"—not exactly Robert Redford's *A River Runs Through It* genteel fly-fishing fantasy.

Later, Flynt became notorious in Dayton, Ohio, where he survived bar brawls in taverns and go-go clubs he owned, began publishing *Hustler* and became embroiled in a series of obscenity trials pushed by Ohio's "anti-sin" crusaders. Among them, he notes, were:

> "Citizens for Decency Through Law (CDL). The CDL had been founded and funded by the conservative Catholic and moral crusader (and now convicted felon) Charles H. Keating. Before he

UPI

Der Spiegel

Larry Flynt (left) beat back "libel" lawsuit by Rev. Falwell for infamous *Hustler* satire of "Moral Majority" leader. Right-wing religious bigots burn books at Christian school in North Carolina, 1987.

> fucked the savings and loan industry. Keating tried to prevent the portrayal of fucking in magazines."

Of Cincinnati's chief prosecutor, Simon Leis Jr., who in more recent years tried to ban the Mapplethorpe exhibition at the Cincinnati Contemporary Art Center and has crusaded against what he considers deviant sexual practices (including fellatio and cunnilingus), Flynt writes, "As far as I know, he couldn't tell a clitoris from a rutabaga."

Flynt's *Hustler* is infamous for two things. The August 1975 issue ran nude photos of Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis (sold by an Italian paparazzo), catapulting the fledgling magazine into the national spotlight. Some years later, there was the "meat grinder" cover, showing the bottom half of a woman going into an old-fashioned meat grinder, supposedly to show how the skin mag would no longer treat women "like meat." Feminists freaked out over that one. But as the movie shows, even then-governor Rhodes of Ohio was caught out buying the "Jackie" *Hustler*, underlining the movie's theme of upper-crust hypocrisy versus honest "good old boy" dirty-mindedness.

The movie recounts other dramas of Flynt's life, including his temporary conversion to born-again Christianity by Democratic president Jimmy Carter's evangelist sister, Ruth Carter Stapleton, and the near-fatal shooting which left his legs permanently paralyzed. Those who charge racism against Flynt for *Hustler*'s vulgar ethnic jokes should consider the fact that his attacker, who was never tried for the shooting, was convicted for a host of racist killings and confessed while in prison that he tried to kill Flynt because he was outraged by *Hustler*'s depictions of interracial sex.

The film's classic Hollywood climax is when Flynt finally gets his day in the Supreme Court against Falwell. But the movie does not mention an earlier Flynt case that came before the Supreme Court, because it was just too tacky: it was another libel suit, brought by *Penthouse* publisher Bob Guccione's girlfriend against Flynt for insinuating she caught venereal disease from Guccione. In that case, Flynt yelled at the Court, "You're nothing but eight assholes and a token cunt!" Not what Forman would want us to hear from Flynt regarding these supposed "heroes."

The Supreme Court case depicted in the movie had nothing to do with pornography or "obscenity," making it a lot easier on Hollywood liberals, since they could duck the feminist anti-porn frenzy. Falwell had sued Flynt for libel and "emotional damage" for *Hustler*'s Campari ad satire. "Jerry Falwell talks about his first time." The issue posed in this case was simply whether satire of public persons is protected by the First Amendment.

Flynt pointed out that his satire of Falwell's "first time"—in an outhouse with his mother—was obvious parody: "If I wanted to hurt Reverend Falwell, we would do a serious article on the inside and make it an investigative exposé and talk about his jet or whether he has a Swiss bank account." Touching as it did on political censorship, the case won Flynt some allies. "Suddenly I had a lot of friends—reluctant ones," he recalls. Backing Flynt as *amicus curiae* (friend of the court) were the New York Times Company, the American Newspaper Association and the ACLU, among others.

The Supreme Court heard oral arguments in December 1987, and in 1988 Chief Justice William Rehnquist, a Nixon appointee, decided for Flynt in a unanimous 8-0 opinion, declaring: "The fact that society may find speech offensive is not a sufficient reason for suppressing it. Indeed, if it is the speaker's opinion that gives offense, that consequence is a reason for according it constitutional protection. For it is a central tenet of the First Amendment that the government must remain neutral in the marketplace of ideas."

One ironic sidelight on all this is the fact that the *New York Times* had itself censored Flynt in its own "marketplace of ideas" some years earlier, rejecting his paid ad about Reagan's efforts to use the downing of Korean Air Lines Flight 007 over sensitive Soviet airspace in 1983 to whip up anti-Soviet war fever among a skeptical U.S. population. We published what the *Times* refused to print, noting in our introduction to "Another Gulf of Tonkin Provocation?" (*WV* No. 338, 23 September 1983): "One of the more interesting and far-ranging expressions of this skepticism is a statement by Larry Flynt, an idiosyncratic liberal and publisher of *Hustler* magazine.... While as Marxists we do not share Flynt's worldview, we are reprinting a substantial portion of his statement."

Feminists and Feds' Anti-Porn Frenzy

Forman also cleaned up the Flynt story by leaving out the feminists' role in the anti-porn crusade. The anti-porn frenzy took off under born-again Christian Jimmy Carter and became a "front line" issue under Reagan's attorney general Edwin Meese. Totally uncoincidentally, a group of bourgeois feminists—including Gloria Steinem (who knowingly took CIA money early in her career), Jane Alpert (Weatherperson turned FBI link), Robin Morgan, Bella Ahzug and Susan Brownmiller—created "Women Against Pornography" (WAP) at the same time.

Opposing a WAP march on Times Square's then-porno/pinball/kung-fu fantasyland, we wrote: "As Marxists we oppose attempts at puritanical censorship, whether launched by open reactionaries seeking to smash whatever (limited) civil liberties formally exist, or by this new feminist 'Legion of Decency'." Countering the feminists' argument that pornography is the source of violence against women, we said: "It is this capitalist society with its enforced poverty, rigid family structure and straitjacket morality which breeds the poisonous frustrations that explode in violence" (*WV* No. 243, 9 November 1979). As Katha Pollitt recently noted in the *Nation* (3 February): "Any serious discussion of texts that cause real-life harm to women would have to begin with the Bible and the Koran: It isn't porn that drives zealots to firebomb American abortion clinics or slit the throats of Algerian schoolgirls."

Around the same time as the Flynt case, the Spartacist League and Partisan Defense Committee filed an *amicus* brief for the October 1987 Supreme Court term in regard to two Indiana cases specifically addressing the issue of obscenity. The government had used its draconian RICO (Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations) Act, more often used against the unions, to try to shut down two pornography publishers (Fort Wayne Books and Fantasy One and Fantasy Two). Terming this a "frontal assault on First Amendment protection of the spoken and written word," our brief said:

> "The issue presented in these cases is whether the government can criminalize First Amendment communicative materials, seize and destroy them and imprison their distributors—simply by alleging 'obscenity.' In these cases the government applied the most powerful weapon in its legal arsenal to an area of social concern inseparably connected to humanity's most public and most private worlds—opinion and sex."

Supreme Court of Injustice

The most irritating thing about *The People vs. Larry Flynt*, as we noted earlier, is its treatment of the Supreme Court as the legitimate, just and final arbiter of democratic rights in the U.S. This particularly grates when we consider that what's being glorified here is the openly reactionary Nixon/Reagan/Rehnquist Court, not even the Warren Court (itself a pack of racist anti-Communists) of liberal myth. As we noted in our 1987 *amicus* brief, the Rehnquist Court upheld reactionary state sodomy laws, as in the 1986 *Bowers* v. *Hardwick* case, with explicit appeals to the Bible. We joined protests against this reactionary ruling at the time, demanding, "Government out of the bedrooms!"

From the anti-gay *Bowers* v. *Hardwick* decision to an onslaught of racist "reverse discrimination" decisions in the Reagan years and a host of rulings upholding the barbaric death penalty—including the 1987 McCleskey ruling that racist discrepancies in death sentences were "inevitable"—to whittling away what few rights prisoners still retain, the Supreme Court has acted as black-robed legal lynchers. You won't see that in Forman's movie.

From its origins, the Supreme Court was designed by the "founding fathers" explicitly as a ruling-class protection against the masses, "an essential safeguard against the effects of occasional ill humors in the society" as Alexander Hamilton put it in his 1788 *Federalist Papers*. Flynt got his day in court because his interests coincided with those of a bunch of big capitalist publishers. But for most of the rest of us, for working people and minorities, the Supreme Court is just another institution to uphold the rule of capitalism, including its most repressive aspects.

The People vs. Larry Flynt does mention a few of the more bizarre frame-ups and sinister mysteries of the past decades, like the Feds' cocaine entrapment of independent auto designer John DeLorean, and the sinister death of Vicki Morgan, mistress of Reagan crony Al Bloomingdale. She was murdered in the wake of sensational rumors that she had videotapes of various Reagan appointees having sex with her. Such things are presented in passing, seemingly the ravings of a drug-crazed man, thus evading the chance to shine some real light on the dark corners of this sex-hating, puritanical, brutal society. Still, the movie has its moments, and those who missed the '70s and '80s may get a pale sense of the bizarre political machinations of that era of the yahoos, which so devastated the political climate that today unappetizing types like Hillary and Bill Clinton and their yuppie racist administration can pass themselves off as some kind of "lesser evil." ■

Dennis Silverstein

Nina Hartley, X-rated film star, socialist, champion of sexual freedom. Viva Nina!

WV Photos

Above: 1979 feminist march on New York's Times Square echoes right-wing anti-sex witchhunt. Below: Spartacists at 1986 Gay Pride Day rally in New York oppose anti-porn crusade.

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series

NEW BRUNSWICK, NJ
Saturdays, 3 p.m. Next classes, April 5: ***The Bolshevik Revolution***; April 26: ***The Revolution Betrayed***; Rutgers University, College Avenue Campus, Scott Hall, Room 102
Information and readings: (212) 267-1025

NEW YORK CITY
Alternate Thursdays, 7:30 p.m. Next class, April 17: ***The Revolution Betrayed***; Spartacist Public Office, 41 Warren St. (one block below Chambers St. near Church St.)
Information and readings (212) 267-1025

SAN FRANCISCO
Alternate Thursdays, 5:30 p.m. Next class, April 17: ***Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution***; San Francisco State University, Student Union, Room C116
Information and readings: (415) 777-9367 or (510) 839-0851

VANCOUVER
Alternate Wednesdays, 7 p.m. Next class, April 9: ***Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!***; UBC, Student Union Building, Room 213
Information and readings (604) 687-0353

Abortion...

(continued from page 1)

fight for free abortion on demand and free, quality health care for all as part of a program to sweep away the capitalist profit system through workers revolution.

Religious Reaction and Anti-Woman Bigotry

If the Congressional bill is enacted, it would be the first time since abortion was legalized in 1973 that Congress has outlawed a specific abortion procedure. As a pretext for voting for the measure, a number of supposedly "pro-choice" politicians pointed to the brouhaha provoked by an abortion clinic lobbyist who said he had earlier lied (in an unaired TV broadcast) about how rarely intact D&E abortions are performed. But whether this procedure accounts for 500 or 5,000 of the well over one million legal abortions each year is not the issue.

As an article in the *New York Times* (23 March), headlined "Abortion Vote Signals a Shift in Political Momentum," made clear, the move to ban "partial birth" abortions is central to the crusade to overturn *Roe v. Wade* altogether. Christian Coalition leader Ralph Reed gloats, "For the first time, we've shifted the debate away from an amorphous, philosophical defense of an alleged constitutional 'right to choose'." The *Times* reported how Reed and House Speaker Newt Gingrich have talked of scheduling "a series of votes that would outlaw abortion by developmental stages," first banning abortions in the ninth month, then in the eighth, and so on.

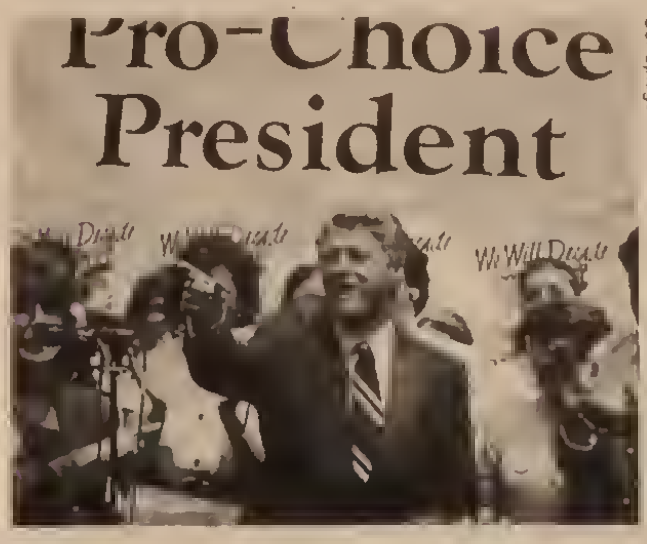
The hysteria being whipped up about the supposedly "brutal" treatment of fetuses in such late-term abortions was epitomized by Republican Staten Island borough president Guy Molinari's truly grisly call for executing abortion doctors by crushing their skulls! This grotesque outburst only serves to legitimize the murders of doctors like David Gunn and John Bayard Britton and the 1995 slayings of two young women clinic staffers in Boston. With nearly half of all clinics reporting violent harassment last year alone, it takes real dedication and courage these days for a doctor to perform abortions. Capitulating to the right-wing climate, many medical schools have stopped teaching how to do abortions while few hospitals now provide them. The ghettoization of abortion services in specialized, often isolated clinics sets up both patients and providers for harassment and worse. No wonder that the number of legal abortions in this country has fallen to its lowest level in two decades.

The attacks on women's rights have accelerated with the sharp growth in religious obscurantism in the U.S. Poll after poll reveals the pervasive, weird backwardness evident among all layers of the populace, from belief in angels to the skyrocketing number of messianic sects to the growth of sinister movements like the all-male, Christian "Promise Keepers." This is encouraged by bourgeois politicians at all levels—from local courts to the halls of Congress—who steadily erode the constitutionally mandated separation between church and state: parochial schools get public funding, while public schools sanction religious broadcasts and prayer meetings. The U.S. Congress recently voted a special resolution to support an Alabama judge who displays the Ten Commandments in his courtroom! Meanwhile, the anti-sex witchhunt particularly targets teens, from "squeal rules" and parental consent restrictions on abortion to outright bans on sexual activity.

Yet the liberal/feminist "pro-choice" movement has been virtually dormant in the face of the steady barrage of attacks on women's rights. This is not surprising: for years, the National Organization for Women (NOW), the National Abortion and Reproductive Rights Action League (NARRAL) and other bourgeois feminists devoted their efforts to putting a "pro-choice" Democrat in the White House. Now they've got what they wanted. Since Clinton's election in 1992, the only big demonstration called by NOW in Washington, D.C. was the 1995 "Rally for Women's Lives." Far from promoting women's rights, this march centered on calling for more cops and laws to combat "domestic violence," while NOW marshals acted as "thought police" for Clinton's Democrats by trying to stop leftist literature from being distributed. And NARRAL, conforming to Clinton's emphasis on "family values," has now shifted its focus to "stopping teen pregnancy" by "teaching abstinence."

Klepons/Newsweek

"Right to life" bigots target women's rights, terrorize patients and staff at abortion clinics. For mass mobilizations to defend the clinics!



Der Spiegel

Clinton campaign rally, 1992. Bourgeois feminists, tailed by reformist left, preach reliance on racist capitalist Democrats.

Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

Many women—including Republicans—voted for Clinton in 1992 because of his stand on the formal right to abortion, about the only issue that distinguished him from Republican George Bush. As Marxists, we warned against any support to the capitalist Democratic Party, which is no less the enemy of poor, minority and working women than its Republican partner party. Clinton wasted no time in repudiating his promises on gay rights and in pushing to fulfill his vow to "end welfare as we know it," and now Democrats are increasingly jumping on the "right to life" bandwagon.

While reformist "socialists" like the International Socialist Organization (ISO) nominally oppose electoral support to either capitalist party, in practice they join with liberals and feminists in fostering illusions in the Democrats as a "lesser evil." Echoing liberal disillusionment with Clinton, the ISO now whines, "Clinton's first four years have been one big disappointment for abortion rights supporters who believed his campaign promises" (*Socialist Worker*, 31 January). But what is their answer? Far from seeking to break women's rights activists from bourgeois feminists like NOW and NARRAL, which have always acted as "ladies' auxiliaries" to the Democratic Party, the ISO seeks instead to refurbish their credentials, urging a "return to activism." But even when NOW et al. were organizing mass rallies, this "activism" was in the service of electing Democrats and lobbying the government.

Albeit with a somewhat more militant veneer, the ISO shares the liberals' perspective of seeking to pressure the bourgeois state for reforms. Harking back to how "activists pressured the Supreme Court—stacked with conservatives appointed by then-Republican President Richard Nixon—to make abortion legal with the *Roe* decision," the ISO proclaims, "This kind of struggle can roll back attacks on women's right to choose" (*Socialist Worker*, 19 January 1996). But it was precisely because those movements remained limited to "activist" pressure politics that the street protests were defused and many radical youth were led into the fold of the Democratic Party. In any case, it wasn't particularly marches and rallies which secured the legalization of abortion. The capitalist rulers acquiesced to this and other reforms in order to quell social unrest at a time when the bourgeoisie was itself torn by its losing war in Vietnam and after mass civil rights protests and ghetto rebellions had rocked the country.

Even then, the legalization of abortion particularly benefited rich and middle-class women. Catering to NOW's overwhelmingly white, middle-class constituency—which can afford to pay for expensive abortions and decent medical treatment—*Socialist Worker*'s articles on abortion over the past year and a half have only once so much as mentioned "poor and working-class women" and never even referred to blacks and Hispanics. As communists, we fight to make abortion accessible to all women. That is why we have always linked the defense of formal abortion rights with the calls for free abortion on demand and for free, quality health care for all. And that requires a strategy aimed at sweeping away the entire capitalist profit system.

Unlike the reformist ISO, we fight to win leftist activists to the understanding that the fight for women's rights is integral to the working-class struggle against capitalism and that women's liberation can only be achieved through socialist revolution. Abortion is an explosive political issue because, at bottom, it raises the question of the all-sided oppression of women, which is rooted in the institution of the family, a crucial prop for the capitalist system of exploitation. From participating in militant defense of abortion clinics to publishing *Women and Revolution*, the only Marxist journal devoted to the cause of women's emancipation, the Spartacist League fights to build a revolutionary workers party which will serve as a tribune of the people, seeking to mobilize the proletariat against every manifestation of oppression and injustice as part of the fight for an egalitarian socialist society. ■

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Capitalism and Anti-Science

The following is a contribution received on March 28 from Mark K., a close sympathizer of the Spartacist League in the Bay Area.

The bourgeois media is filled with shock that the 39 people who committed suicide could have believed in such obviously insane notions as a heavenly spaceship hiding behind the comet Hale-Bopp. But this is no more shocking than the fact, documented by polls, that a majority of Americans believe in angels. Decaying capitalist society fosters such other-worldly beliefs, and the attack on rational thought has accelerated since the collapse of the Soviet Union, as the triumphant bourgeoisie no longer sees the need to invest heavily in such things as public education or science. In 1995, "some 200 worried scientists, doctors, philosophers, educators and thinkers" came together for a meeting of the New York Academy of Sciences under the rubric "The Flight from Science and Reason":

> "There is growing danger, many said, that the fabric of reason is being ripped asunder, and that if scientists and other thinkers continue to acquiesce in the process, the hobbling of science and its handmaidens—medicine and technology among them—seems assured."
>
> — *New York Times* (6 June 1995)

The participants "were urged to counterattack against faith healing, astrology, religious fundamentalism and paranormal charlatanism."

Carl Sagan, one of the popular icons of American science who died last December, spent his last days mounting a defense of science against the encroaching darkness in his fascinating book, *The Demon-Haunted World* (1996), subtitled "Science as a Candle in the Dark." While patiently debunking everything from alien abduction to recovered memory, he linked the growing anti-science movement with political developments, rightly suggesting it logically leads to fascism; he quotes Hitler boasting of a "magical explanation of the world...based on will rather than knowledge." Though politically Sagan was a liberal, he enjoys telling how he used to smuggle copies of Trotsky's *History of the Russian Revolution* into the Soviet Union in the 1980s, "so our colleagues could know a little about their own political beginnings."

Sagan's book is good counterpoint to another popular book by an ostensible science writer, John Horgan, who published *The End of Science* (1996), subtitled "Facing the Limits of Knowledge in the Twilight of the Scientific Age." Horgan interviews many scientists and philosophers and gives a sympathetic plug for the notion that "science—true, pure, empirical science—has ended," either because the main truths have been discovered or because the truth cannot be known. He even treats seriously such creeps as Paul Feyerabend, a recently popular "philosopher" (he died in 1994) who likened science to voodoo and witchcraft, denounced the intellectuals' "zeal for objectivity" as "criminal" and openly apologized for fascism. (Feyerabend himself commanded 3,000 German-allied troops against the USSR in World War II.) The most shocking thing is that Horgan is a "senior writer" and member of the "Board of Editors" of *Scientific American*!

Right-wing climate fuels pervasive religious superstition, as reflected in mass media last month.

Horgan himself inadvertently demonstrates that the attack on science is directly tied to the collapse of the Soviet Union. After noting how Engels believed in the continued forward stride of science, Horgan writes:

> "Of course, powerful social, political, and economic forces now oppose this vision of boundless scientific and technological progress. The cold war, which was a major impetus for basic research in the United States and the Soviet Union, is over."

He notes that Václav Havel, who came to power with the capitalist counterrevolution in Czechoslovakia, "declared in 1992 that the Soviet Union epitomized and therefore eternally discredited the 'cult of objectivity' brought about by science." Havel hoped that the collapse of the USSR would bring about, in his words, "the end of the modern era," which had been "dominated by the culminating belief, expressed in different forms, that the world—and Being as such—is a wholly knowable system governed by a finite number of universal laws that man can grasp and rationally direct for his own benefit."

So today the clarion call of the triumphalist bourgeoisie is "Death to knowledge!" Thus does capitalism throw humanity back to the Dark Ages. ■

Germany...

(continued from page 4)

> and unalterably leading to one final conclusion: the conquest of power by the proletariat."

Above all, this requires the forging of a Bolshevik party, acting as a tribune of the people, to lead the proletariat to power.

For a Leninist Vanguard Party!

The SPD's sellout of the miners and steel workers is part of its bid to secure a place for itself in the government, with Kohl appearing to be in his last term and Bundestag (parliament) elections coming next year. The various opportunist groups which occasionally posture as "revolutionary" have joined the call "Kohl must go!"—i.e., for an SPD chancellor. Their tailing of the racist, pro-capitalist social-democratic tops is simply an expression of their own perceived role as the most militant defenders of the old status quo, appealing to the SPD to "fight" to defend the "welfare state" that it has already abandoned. Not one of these "far left" groups offers the perspective of a proletarian struggle for state power.

Typical is the Mandelite Revolutionär Sozialistischer Bund (RSB). In a March 24 leaflet directed at steel workers, the RSB joins in the chorus "Kohl must go" and for its maximum demand appeals to the SPD to expropriate Krupp and Thyssen on the basis of...the 1950 North Rhine Westphalia bourgeois state constitution! The idea that an SPD government can or would "expropriate" the bourgeoisie piecemeal—on the terms of the bourgeoisie's own constitution, no less—is classic reformist drivel. The bourgeois state exists in order to defend the interests of the capitalist class which owns and controls the means of production. It is patently utopian and dangerous to look in this way to the social democrats, the agents of capitalism within the workers movement who are taking the lead in shoving capitalist austerity down the workers' throats.

Taking a more leftist tack, a leaflet addressed to steel workers by Arbeitermacht, affiliated to the British centrists of Workers Power, raised the need for a workers government constructed through smashing the "repressive state machinery" and aimed at introducing "socialist planning of production." But these fine words are window-dressing for Arbeitermacht's real program which, echoing the RSB, urges steel workers to "Demand that the SPD support this fight against the capitalists and for their expropriation." This demand, claims Arbeitermacht, will "show" what the SPD's true intentions are. In fact, this only shows that centrism is crystallized confusion.

Far from exposing the SPD, Arbeitermacht fosters illusions in these class traitors. The SPD made its intentions clear at the start of World War I when it passed over to the camp of the bourgeoisie by voting in favor of war credits for the Kaiser's Reich. In 1919, the SPD openly proclaimed itself to be the bourgeoisie's "bloodhounds" of counterrevolution in suppressing the Spartakist workers uprising and presiding over the murder of revolutionary leaders Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg. For Arbeitermacht, as for its British cothinkers who always call for a vote to the wretchedly pro-imperialist Labour Party, the bottom line is unswerving support to the Social Democracy.

A real workers government—a dictatorship of the proletariat—to expropriate the Krupps and Thyssens, the bourgeoisie of Auschwitz, can only be the product of a thoroughgoing socialist revolution. First and foremost this entails political combat with the centrists who seek to disguise their tailing of Social Democracy with revolutionary phrases. It is through polemical struggle against the pretenders to Marxism and through intervention in the class struggle itself that the revolutionary internationalist program, which is our most powerful weapon, will be proven. In the course of class struggle, the revolutionary vanguard must make clear to workers that, to be more than raw material for capitalist exploitation and cannon fodder for another imperialist war, the proletariat must transcend the nationally based realm of trade-union economism and chauvinism and break the political straitjacket of social-democratic reformism. Those who labor must rule! For revolutionary working-class unity across borders in the struggle for a Socialist United States of Europe! ■

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Zaire...

(continued from page 1)

emboldened Washington to carry out a string of invasions, from the brutal slaughter in Iraq in 1991 to the racist occupations of Somalia and Haiti. The U.S. claimed to be providing "famine relief" when it led a UN intervention force into Somalia four years ago, but U.S. helicopter gunships were soon shooting down the residents of Mogadishu by the hundreds. We say: *U.S. hands off Zaire! All imperialist forces out of central Africa!*

UPI

G Tillim

Zairian dictator Mobutu with former U.S. president Bush. U.S. installed bloody Mobutu regime in 1960s as bulwark against Soviet influence in Africa, now sponsors rebel forces led by Laurent Kabila (right).

Imperialist Rivalry and Neocolonial Satraps

Ironically, it was under the aegis of Washington that Mobutu was installed in power in the 1960s. Determined to retain the vast copper, cobalt, manganese and zinc riches of the country after Zaire (the former Belgian Congo) achieved independence in 1960, the imperialists engineered a rebellion against the first prime minister, nationalist leader Patrice Lumumba. The U.S. staged a military intervention under the guise of a UN "peacekeeping" mission. Lumumba was ousted in a U.S.-sponsored coup and turned over to rebel leader Moise Tshombe, who had him assassinated with the complicity of the CIA.

UN troops only withdrew after installing the butcher Mobutu in power in 1964. Mobutu recruited an army of mercenaries, armed by the U.S., to put down a nationalist uprising which had been sparked by Lumumba's fall. Backed up by U.S. air support and Belgian troops, the mercenaries then marched on Stanleyville (today Kisangani), indiscriminately massacring the population by the thousands. Since then, Mobutu has carried out an uninterrupted campaign of reactionary terror against his people while stealing the country blind.

As long as the various imperialist powers were united behind the U.S. in an anti-Soviet consensus, regional interimperialist rivalries remained muted. Today, however, Washington is engaged in a sharp tug of war with Paris for influence in French-speaking central Africa, historically considered by French imperialism to be its "*chasse gardée*" (hunting preserve). Some 1,200 French "evacuation" troops are currently in Brazzaville, Congo —a former French colony—across the Congo River from Kinshasa. They are joined by 500 troops from Belgium, former colonial overlord of Zaire. Meanwhile, "retired" French generals have recruited several hundred mercenaries to fight with Mobutu's forces in eastern Zaire, where they carried out a reign of terror against the local population.

With the Mobutu dictatorship about to topple at the hands of U.S.-backed forces, Washington's rivals in the region are jockeying to maintain some influence. At the same time, in order to ensure that the ethnically riven and deeply impoverished country does not come apart at the seams following Mobutu's downfall, the U.S. is putting intense pressure on Kabila to accept a cease-fire and come to power in Kinshasa through an orderly "negotiated settlement."

This interimperialist rivalry is the backdrop to the civil war between Kabila's rebels and the Mobutu dictatorship. This is essentially a struggle to decide who will preside over selling off the country's immense mineral riches to the imperialists while lording it over the dreadfully oppressed masses. Revolutionaries do not have a side in this conflict.

Yet the fake-Trotskyist British Workers Power (WP) group has unhesitatingly sided with Kabila against the Kinshasa regime, labeling his movement "progressive" and "a legitimate struggle against the pro-imperialist Mobutu dictatorship by an alliance of petit bourgeois opposition forces" (*Workers Power*, December 1996). WP also argues for support to Kabila's forces because they are supposedly waging a "legitimate war of self-defence" on behalf of the Tutsi minority in Zaire against attempts to expel them. Likewise, Workers Power claims that Kabila's allies in the Rwanda Patriotic Front (FPR) regime on Zaire's eastern border have been waging a "just war" in "defence of the Rwandan population against the genocidal raiding parties" by Hutu militias.

AP

U.S./UN "humanitarian" mission in Somalia meant racist imperialist terror.

Along the same lines, the Communist Workers Group (CWG) in the San Francisco Bay Area, which is associated with the Argentine Partido Bolchevique por la Cuarta Internacional (Bolshevik Party for the Fourth International, PBCI), campaigned last winter to raise funds for the FPR, with the preposterous claim that the rebellion in Zaire is directed "against the forces of imperialism" and is nothing less than "the mother of all battles for African Liberation"!

Workers Power and the CWG renounce in practice the Trotskyist theory and program of permanent revolution, which holds that in backward countries in this epoch, an end to imperialist domination can only be achieved through the seizure of state power by the proletariat—standing at the head of all the oppressed masses—which must seek to extend socialist revolution to the advanced capitalist countries. Trotsky also explained that the subordination of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois forces in the colonial and semi-colonial world to imperialism makes them incapable of consolidating homogenous nation-states. Thus, while Kabila's forces have made an effort to avoid appearing like a Tutsi-dominated ethnic rebellion (Kabila himself is not a Tutsi), once in power they will inevitably seek to play off various tribal and ethnic groups to maintain their rule while serving as the agents of imperialist pillage.

AP

Starving Hutu refugees in eastern Zaire. Murderous ethnic conflicts in Africa are the legacy of colonialism.

For Socialist Revolution Throughout Africa!

Of course, there are circumstances in which Marxists give military support to petty-bourgeois forces as, for example, in a direct conflict with imperialist/colonialist forces or when questions like national self-determination are posed, as was the case in the Biafran and Eritrean struggles. But a regime headed by Kabila would in no way be fundamentally different from the present neocolonial regime. Indeed, Kabila has already been granting gold mining concessions to imperialist investors. Eastern Zaire, where most of the country's gold mines are located, was seized by the rebels in January; within weeks they were offering prospecting concessions to foreign companies. "It is pretty open for business already," gushed a South African investment analyst (London *Financial Times*, 25 March).

Kabila's vaguely "leftist" aura is based on the fact that as a young follower of Lumumba in the 1960s, he led a short-lived guerrilla movement in which Che Guevara briefly participated. But now Kabila is, in the words of the *Times of London* (24 March), the "darling of the diplomatic crowd" in Washington and London, and his finance minister is a U.S.-trained economist with a reputation as a "committed free-marketeer."

Kabila is no less pro-imperialist than Mobutu; they are simply allied with different imperialist powers. According to *Le Monde* (29 March), Kabila's forces and the FPR army include several dozen "unofficial" U.S. military "advisers." WP itself acknowledges the U.S. ties of the anti-Mobutu forces when it seeks to justify its support to the FPR regime in Rwanda, arguing that "despite the bourgeois nature of the Rwandan regime, and its backing by Uganda and ultimately the USA, this does not remove the progressive character of Rwanda's war against the [Hutu] Interahamwe."

The Interahamwe militias and the former Hutu-dominated regime in Rwanda perpetrated hideous massacres against the Tutsi population. But WP's support to the "just struggle" of the FPR/Kabila forces denies the fact that under imperialism, "nation-building" in backward countries necessarily means one tribal or ethnic group dominating the others and seeking to drive them out or eliminate them. Especially in Africa, where the imperialist policy of "divide and rule" has created artificial states containing a multitude of peoples, nationalism in power, even the nationalism of a formerly oppressed people like the Tutsis in Rwanda, inevitably strives to compact an ethnically homogeneous state through the brutal methods of forced assimilation, expulsion or genocide directed against racial and national minorities.

The key to social progress and national development in central Africa, with its weak and dispersed working class, lies in an internationalist perspective, particularly directed at the powerful black proletariat of South Africa. Pursuing the regional imperialist ambitions of the neo-apartheid bourgeoisie, Nelson Mandela's African National Congress regime is now acting as the intermediary for negotiations between the Zairian rebels, the Mobutu dictatorship and U.S. imperialism. South Africa's capitalist Randlords have been pouring investments into Zaire and the rest of sub-Saharan Africa, even as they continue to lord it over the millions of black workers who create their wealth and other oppressed layers of the population.

As we noted in our article last November: "The expropriation of the South African bourgeoisie through socialist revolution and the creation of a black-centered workers republic would mean not only the emancipation of the nonwhite masses in that country but would open the road to social transformation throughout the rest of that horribly impoverished continent." What is necessary is the forging of internationalist Trotskyist vanguard parties to lead the struggle against capitalist imperialism and its neocolonial bourgeois regimes throughout Africa. ■

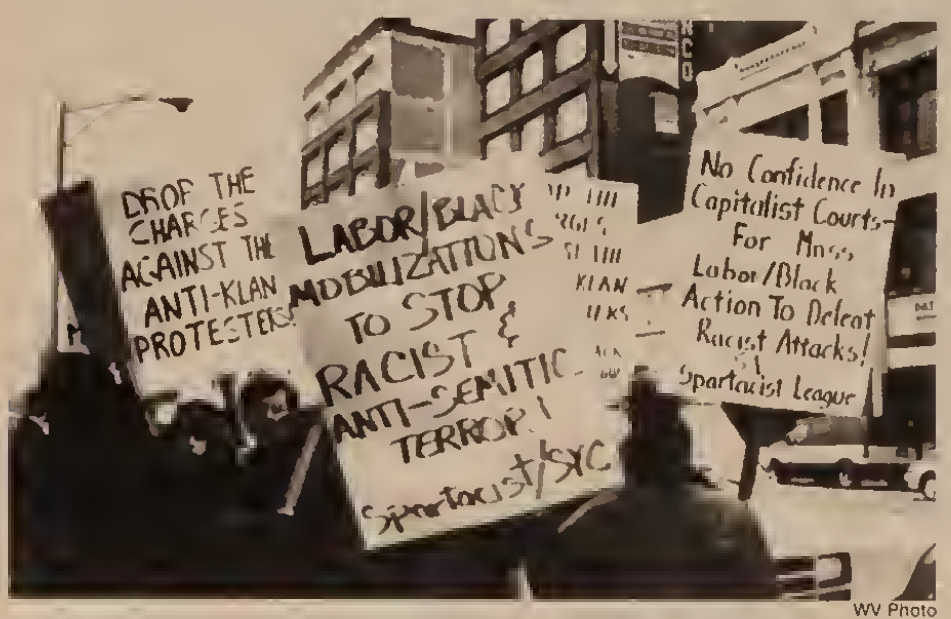
Chicago...

(continued from page 12)

out of nowhere, nor is such racist terror a phenomenon peculiar to Chicago's white enclaves. It is the "street gang" expression of the attacks on blacks, immigrants and working people being waged by the Democrats and Republicans in the White House, on Capitol Hill and in state and city governments across the country. Whole layers of the population in the inner cities are deemed to be a "surplus" population by a greedy ruling class which doesn't want to shell out even the most paltry social benefits to those whose labor power is no longer necessary to this rotting profit system. In Chicago, convict labor is being brought in to clean the city's buses—jobs which were once unionized!

The axing of welfare and introduction of slave-labor workfare; the attacks on such basic needs as schools and hospitals for the poor; prisons that are overflowing with black and minority youth; the speed-up by the state's executioners on death row—all this reflects an impulse to genocide by America's capitalist rulers. The instrument for enforcing the increasingly hideous exploitation and oppression of the many at the bottom by the few at the top is the capitalist cops and courts.

Not surprisingly, the racist enclave of Bridgeport is home to large numbers of Chicago cops. These racist thugs in blue daily carry out terror on the streets, from routinely picking up black youth and dropping them off in Bridgeport and Canaryville to gunning blacks down in the name of the "war on drugs." Mayor Richard Daley Jr., who until recently called Bridgeport home, weeps crocodile tears for Lenard Clark, while Cook County State's Attorney Richard Devine appears on television to denounce "hate crimes." Meanwhile, both Daley and Devine are behind a cop vendetta against opponents of racist terror who participated in an anti-Klan protest initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee and Labor Black Struggle League in Daley Plaza on June 29. At this protest, a potentially lethal Klan assault was turned back. The cops retaliated by launching their own vicious rampage against the anti-Klan protesters. Three of the protesters will be put on trial on May 5, facing one to two years in jail on phony charges of assault and battery against police. Drop the charges against the Anti-Klan Three!



WV Photo

Chicago, February 28: Demonstration at Cook County Circuit Court in defense of the Anti-Klan Three.

Defend the Anti-Klan Three!

The trial of Gene Herson, Jeff Lyons and Dennis Glass—who were arrested last June 29 for participating in an anti-Klan protest—is set to begin May 5 in Cook County Circuit Court. The labor movement and all opponents of racist terror must rally to the defense of the Anti-Klan Three! Protest statements demanding the charges against the Anti-Klan Three be dropped should be sent to: Richard Devine, State's Attorney of Cook County, Richard J. Daley Center, 55 W. Randolph Street, Chicago, IL 60602. Mail urgently needed donations for legal defense (earmarked "Anti-Klan Protesters") and copies of protest statements to the Partisan Defense Committee. For more information, contact the PDC in Chicago at Box 802867, Chicago, IL 60680-2867, phone (312) 454-4931; or in New York at P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013-0099, phone (212) 406-4252, e-mail: 75057.3201@compuserve.com.

A Spartacist League speaker at a protest in defense of the Anti-Klan Three last month explained the role of the police in enforcing capitalist attacks on workers and the poor, saying: "These assaults on the very ability of most people to live in anything but misery, or simply to live, require repression and, even more, silence—lest the spark of social protest ignite a conflagration of discontent and social struggle.... The frame-up of Rolando Cruz, the cop murder of Jorge Guillen, the drug-dealing in Austin are simply the price the cops extort for maintaining 'order' in this rotting system, an order enforced by terror and by the courts of the bourgeoisie."

The crying need for the unions to fight racist attacks runs right up against the current misleadership of labor, which is completely tied to the racist rulers' political machinery, particularly in its Democratic Party face. The union bureaucrats did their bit for the ruling class by not mobilizing the slightest union presence against the racist Klan murderers on June 29. On September 21, the Klan, under massive cop protection, was able to rally in Daley Plaza. The labor misleaders did nothing, as their main concern was to prevent *any* protests which might upset Clinton's re-election campaign.

To put a stop to the system that breeds lynch mobs and cop terror, to achieve what we need for a decent life—jobs, quality integrated housing and education, health care for all—requires a struggle to break the ties that bind workers and minorities to the Democratic and Republican parties. This requires a political fight against the pro-capitalist labor tops. The Labor Black Struggle League stands for building a revolutionary workers party that will unite all workers—black, white, Hispanic, Asian—in a fight for socialist revolution to sweep away this racist, corrupt profit system and build an egalitarian society where those who labor rule. Join us in this fight! ■

Williams...

(continued from page 12)

high gear. The city's "Office of Citizen Complaints" exonerated police "investigators" who destroyed evidence of the crime, throwing out the mask used to suffocate Williams and hosing down the bloody police van. Last November, the Police Commission acquitted the cops of "excessive force" charges.

Recently, hundreds of protesters have turned out for meetings of the city's Police Commission, which is appointed by the mayor, to voice their outrage over the killing of Williams. At the same time, these hearings have been the scene of ominous bonapartist mobilizations by the cops, who chafe at even the most token "constraints" on their ability to terrorize working people and minorities. The more than 300 protesters who came out for a March 19 hearing were met with a legion of more than 130 cops packing one side of the hall in support of Mark Andaya—the leader of the police pack that killed Williams—who had earlier been slapped on the wrist with a suspension for "failure to follow medical procedures." At a hearing the following week, cops outnumbered protesters three-to-one.

Reformists such as Van Jones, a black lawyer who leads Bay Area PoliceWatch, have worked overtime to channel anger at Williams' killing into pressuring the Police Commission, upholding it as a vehicle for reforming the killer cops. In this they take their cue from black Democratic Party mayor Willie Brown, who called for firing Andaya, and other liberals who portray Andaya as simply a "bad apple." But the real role of the Police Commission was expressed by liberal commissioner Pat Norman, who pleaded with the cops on March 26 that "We work on your behalf." In fact, in voting to suspend Andaya last month, the Police Commission reversed the Police Department's recommendation to fire him. "Oversight" bodies such as the Police Commission and civilian review boards act only to make the system of racist capitalist repression more efficient and "credible," as the cops pursue their daily reign of terror against working people and minorities.

Beneath the city's burnished veneer of "do your own thing" liberalism, San Francisco is a racist hell for blacks and immigrants. The white capitalist upper crust has a longstanding practice of pitting white working-class and petty-bourgeois neighborhoods against Asian and Latino immigrants as well as blacks. The pattern set by vicious anti-Chinese pogroms at the end of the 19th century was repeated with the concentration camps set up in the state and elsewhere for Japanese Americans during World War II. Today, fascist scum emboldened by the racist mobilizations against immigrants and affirmative action have targeted the growing Asian population of the historically white Sunset district, carving swastikas signed by the "Sunset white boys" on Asian storefronts.

The Spartacist League and Labor Black League for Social Defense have participated in protests against the killing of Aaron Williams, calling for class-struggle action against racist cop terror. Below we print a speech by SL spokesman Barbara Franck at a February 26 protest outside the Richmond District police station where Aaron Williams was killed.

* * *

Aaron Williams was beaten to death by a mob of bloodthirsty cops while his family and friends watched helplessly. And the racist thugs who carried out this brutal act are ***not*** the exception, as some here say. They are the rule in this historically racist city.

These cops were just doing their job, terrorizing black people, serving their capitalist masters from the SF financial district to Wall Street. We've had one whitewash after another as the racist ruling class stands by their thugs in blue. People like PoliceWatch say that the Mark Andayas and Mark Fuhrmans are only "rogue" cops and that the police are mainly all right and can be reformed to "help people." This is a lie.

The truth is that the cops are the armed fist of a whole system of class and racial oppression. Along with the courts and the prosecutors of the District Attorney's office, they are special bodies of armed men that constitute the capitalist state. Their function is to defend the property and privilege of the wealthy against the working class and the poor. Once this basic truth is grasped, it becomes clear that this official apparatus of repression cannot be reformed. It must be completely smashed as part of a struggle to put the working class in power, so that those who produce the wealth shall also rule society.

So when Van Jones and PoliceWatch tell you to plead with the Police Commission for "justice" for Aaron Williams, or when the International Socialist Organization and their newspaper *Socialist Worker* tell you to dialogue with the cops, think about something Aaron Williams' uncle, William Bowser, said: "This is a pattern that seems to be throughout the United States—that police officers can do anything and get away with it. This system is useless." After the SF cops killed Aaron Williams, they killed Latino Teamster Mark Garcia in the Mission District. Then they killed another black man, William Hankston. The rate of cop killings in SF is double that of New York City and Los Angeles. And in 20 years, the D.A.'s office has not prosecuted a single cop for one of these killings.

Aaron Williams' killing personifies the campaign of race terror by the ruling class which is intended to drive the black population out of San Francisco. In Democrat Willie Brown's SF, trigger-happy cops occupy the black neighborhoods, arrests of the homeless are up and public housing projects are coming down. Brown was elected with the backing of big business and the Police Officers Association. And he's doing their bidding in terrorizing the city's minorities and squeezing them out to make room for new and bigger stadiums, other million-dollar developments—in a word, more money.

The American ruling class and its twin parties, the Democrats and Republicans, are waging war on blacks, immigrants and the poor. And that means war on the working class. In SF, the working class is multiracial and potentially a powerful social force, from the longshoremen to the Teamster truckers to the bus drivers. But the workers are chained to their bosses through the pro-capitalist trade-union misleadership and its slavish embrace of Willie Brown and the Democratic Party. The SF Labor Council endorsed Brown; Muni bus drivers were sent door to door to campaign for him; the ILWU tops let him use their hall. Willie Brown was elected for the reason given by New York's former black mayor David Dinkins: "They'll take it from me."

A one-day strike that shuts down Bay Area ports or public transport to protest the racist killing of Aaron Williams, Mark Garcia or any other victim of the racist cops would do a lot more for the barrios and ghettos of this city than a hundred worthless Police Commission hearings. That means breaking from the Democrats and carrying out a political struggle inside the unions to replace the union bureaucracy with a class-struggle leadership that will stand up to the cops and defend black people and all minorities against racist repression. To carry out this struggle requires the forging of a fighting workers party. The SL and LBL are dedicated to this struggle. For black liberation through socialist revolution! ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Chicago: Mobilize Integrated Union Power Against Lynch Mob Terror!

We reprint below a March 30 statement issued by the Chicago Labor Black Struggle League.

Racist Atrocity in Bridgeport

Thirteen-year-old black youth Lenard Clark lies in a hospital bed after being beaten nearly to death on March 21 by three depraved racist punks. Clark was riding home after a basketball game with friends when he crossed through Bridgeport, a notorious racist enclave in Chicago. The young boy's crazed attackers repeatedly beat his head against a wall, kicked him and then left him for dead. The three then bragged to friends that they had "taken care of the n-----s in the neighborhood." Outrageously, while Clark was fighting for his life in the hospital, the thugs who tried to kill him were released after paying a paltry bail fee.

The bloody attack on Lenard Clark comes in the wake of a racist campaign that drove a black couple out of Mount Greenwood in February; the invasion of Cabrini-Green by an army of CHA [Chicago Housing Authority] and Chicago cops who fired over 70 rounds at terrified residents and pumped a bullet through the chest of the president of the residents' council, Fernanda Royal; the racist epithets shouted against black Thornton High basketball players by white Brother Rice High School students at a game two weeks ago.

Worried that things could blow in "Segregation City," everyone from Mayor Daley to Jesse Jackson to black and white priests and preachers have been appealing for "racial harmony." Meanwhile, black nationalists sought to channel outrage over the brutal beating of Lenard Clark into a march to send a "message to whites." Attempting to polarize the situation along race lines feeds directly into the hands of the racist rulers who seek to keep the working class and oppressed divided by fomenting racial hatred.

Velasquez/Chicago Sun-Times

Wanda McMurray and Tallulah Black, mother and aunt of 13-year-old Lenard Clark (right), victim of savage racist attack.

Lenard Clark's mother, Wanda McMurray, spoke to the need for an integrated protest after someone approached her with a proposal for a march: "I told him that was fine, just as long as it wasn't just blacks marching. I told him to get whites and blacks and Chinese and Mexicans together and then march.... What happened to my son should be the whole city's business." Avenging the racist terror of which Lenard Clark is the latest victim should be the business of the integrated unions of Chicago, in whose hands lies the power to prevail against racist terror and the entire system of capitalist exploitation which breeds it.

AP

We of the Labor Black Struggle League

say: Labor/black defense against the racist terrorists is an urgent necessity! A disciplined and militant mobilization of black, white, Hispanic and Asian trade unionists, marching through Bridgeport in a citywide day of protest centered on the integrated labor movement, would send a powerful message that the working class of this city is determined to defend blacks, immigrants and all who are targeted by racist thugs and lynch mob murderers. Mobilizing labor in the fight against racism is both necessary and possible. A small but important example was given in 1975 when a black United Auto Workers (UAW) member had his house firebombed after he moved into the white suburb of Broadview. His union, UAW Local 6, organized a weeks-long, nightly, integrated union defense guard outside his home that sent the racists packing.

Bridgeport has long been one of the most segregated white bastions in "Segregation City." Prominent among the white gangs which organized four days of lynch mob terror against blacks during the "race riot" of 1919 was Richard Daley Sr.'s Bridgeport-based Hamburg Club. The aim of Daley's thugs was to drive blacks out of white neighborhoods and to smash an integrated meatpackers union organizing drive. In 1964, riots raged for three days after two black college students leased an apartment in Bridgeport three blocks from the Daley home. The students were eventually evicted by Daley Sr.'s cops and replaced with white tenants. In recent years, an interracial couple was driven out of the neighborhood and a black postal worker was attacked on the job.

The fists and boots of racist terror that rained down on Lenard Clark didn't come

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Sinister Police Mobilization for Racist Killer Cop

S.F. Police Commission Whitewashes Killing of Aaron Williams

SAN FRANCISCO—Protests over the continuing whitewash of the cop killing of Aaron Williams, a 35-year-old black man, have helped turn a spotlight on the reality of racist police terror in "liberal" San Francisco. In June 1995, 12 cops savagely beat Williams with clubs, doused him repeatedly with pepper spray and rained kicks to his head, in full view of more than 20 horrified family members and neighbors. Williams was hogtied, gagged with a surgical mask over his nose and mouth and tossed face down into a police van. Wounded, blinded, desperately trying to breathe, Williams died as his heart gave out (see *WV* No. 625, 30 June 1995).

Following Williams' brutal killing, the cops' cover-up machinery went into

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WV Photo

February 26 protest in front of police station, where Aaron Williams was killed in 1995.

WORKERS VANGUARD

50¢

No. 666

18 April 1997

Jobs for All at Union Wages!

Labor Must Fight Racist, Union-Busting "Workfare"!

In New York City, more than 35,000 desperately poor people have been forced into working for no pay other than their paltry welfare checks at municipal service jobs that were once unionized and relatively well paid. In Baltimore, welfare clients are being brought in to work as school janitors and bus drivers for less than $40 a week. In Chicago, convict labor is being deployed to fill formerly unionized jobs cleaning city buses.

One million immigrants, many of whom have lived in this country most of their lives, were cut off food stamps on April 1. In August, 500,000 are scheduled to lose their Supplemental Security Income disability benefits. While the Democrats shed some crocodile tears and are now hatching a deal to restore minimal benefits for "legal" immigrants, the wanton and cruel destruction of the lives of millions is being enforced under the provisions of the "welfare reform" bill which was introduced by the Republicans and signed into law by Democratic president Clinton last August.

As we wrote last year in our article "Welfare-Bashers: Busting Unions, Starving the Poor" (*WV* No. 657, 6 December 1996):

> "Seeking as always to foster and deepen racial antagonisms within the working class, the bourgeoisie seeks to sucker white workers and the middle class into believing that the assault on social welfare programs is directed at black people and immigrants, who supposedly live off of working people's hard-earned tax dollars. Aside from the fact that the majority of welfare recipients are white, this grotesque racist lie aims to cover over the reality that the attacks on welfare are part and parcel of a broader assault on the living standards of *all working people*."

As Marxists, revolutionary socialists, we understand that this assault can only be defeated through proletarian *class struggle*. This perspective stands in marked contrast to reformists like the Workers World Party (WWP), which is currently organizing a demonstration in Philadelphia on April 27 centered on the dismal goal of begging imperialist commander in chief Bill Clinton to "suspend" the anti-welfare law he himself signed. Beholden to the "politics of the possible," the reformists accept the existing miserable conditions of workers, minorities and the poor. But particularly with the capitalist ruling class dead set

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Union Tops: Enforcers for Clinton's Democrats

AFSCME union tops Gerald McEntee and William Lucy embrace welfare-basher Clinton. "Workfare" forces the poor to replace unionized municipal workers, while thousands line up for handful of jobs in NYC.

Cohen/Public Employee Press

Economist

Lippman/NY Post

Italian Navy Massacres Boatload of Refugees

Imperialist Troops Out of Albania!

MILANO, April 13—On April 9, less than two weeks after an Italian navy ship rammed and sank a boat on the Adriatic Sea filled with desperate refugees fleeing poverty and chaos in Albania, the Italian parliament voted by a large majority in favor of military intervention in that tiny Balkan country. Advance units of a 2,500-strong Italian military contingent, to be joined by 3,500 troops from France, Spain and other European powers, have already begun landing in the Albanian capital of Tirana. This act of war is aimed at disarming the population of Albania, militarily halting the flow of refugees to Italy and restoring and reinforcing a pliant capitalist puppet regime that can oversee and enforce the exploitation of the Albanian masses by Italian capitalism.

As a result of capitalist counterrevolution, the populace of what was already the most economically backward and impoverished country in Europe was driven to such desperation that fully a quarter of Albania's eight million people threw their life's savings into phony pyramid "investment" schemes promising enormous returns. When the scams collapsed earlier this year, burgeoning mass protests culminated in an armed revolt throughout much of the country. In a bid to restore order, in March the country's discredited right-wing president, Sali Berisha, appointed as prime minister Bashkim Fino from the opposition "Socialist" Party, whose leaders had been thrown in jail by Berisha!

Taking advantage of an Albanian population reduced to near-starvation, Italian imperialism is now intervening in Albania with the excuse of providing "humanitarian aid." In reality, behind this hypocritical cover the army will bring oppression, exploitation and death to the Albanian masses, as it has already to the boatload of refugees. In a leaflet denouncing this imperialist massacre, the Lega Trotskista d'Italia (LTd'I), section of the International Communist

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Against "Tricolor" Fake Left, French Trotskyists Say:

Our Flag Is Red!

On March 29, tens of thousands of people demonstrated in the French city of Strasbourg to protest a national congress of Jean-Marie Le Pen's fascist National Front (NF) being staged there. The NF has been registering significant electoral gains through a violent campaign targeting immigrants and people of North African or African origin as scapegoats for the highest unemployment rates the country has seen since the end of World War II. In the past year, Le Pen's thugs have won control of four city governments in southern France. The fascists have also been emboldened by an "official" climate of anti-immigrant chauvinism, marked by racist deportations of *sans-papiers* (undocumented immigrants) and escalating cop terror.

In protest against such measures, there have been a number of mass demonstrations in recent months, some including sizable working-class contingents, in defense of the *sans-papiers* and against the racist expulsions. Yet many of the reformist and centrist groups, tailing the Socialist (PS) and Communist (PCF) parties, have sought to channel the fight against the government's anti-immigrant racism and Le Pen's fascist thugs into popular-frontist mobilizations which march behind the tricolor flag of "democratic" French imperialism. In contrast, our comrades of the Ligue Trotskyste de France (LTF) and the Jeunesse Spartaciste youth have raised the demand for full citizenship rights for all immigrants and called for worker/immigrant mobilizations against fascist terror. They fight for a revolutionary internationalist perspective based on mobilizing the social power of the multiethnic proletariat against the bourgeoisie. We publish below a report by the LTF on an intervention at a public meeting following the Strasbourg anti-NF rally, translated and slightly adapted from *Le Bolchévik* (No. 142, Spring 1997).

Reuters

Demonstration against Le Pen's fascist National Front, Strasbourg, March 29.

TROTSKY

LENIN

Lessons of the April 1927 Shanghai Massacre

This month marks 70 years since the massacre of the Communist-led proletariat in Shanghai, China by the bourgeois-nationalist Guomindang of Chiang Kai-shek. The ground for Chiang's bloody terror was prepared by Stalin/Bukharin's Communist International, which had subordinated the Chinese Communist Party to Chiang as leader of the "anti-imperialist," "democratic" revolution. In drawing the lessons of the defeat of the Chinese Revolution of 1925-27 as part of his struggle against the Stalinist bureaucracy, Left Opposition leader Leon Trotsky generalized his theory of permanent revolution: that in the imperialist epoch, national liberation, agrarian revolution and social emancipation in semicolonial and formerly colonial countries can be achieved only through proletarian revolution and its extension to the advanced capitalist countries.

Under the conditions of the imperialist epoch the national democratic revolution can be carried through to a victorious end only when the social and political relationships of the country are mature for putting the proletariat in power as the leader of the masses of the people. And if this is not yet the case? Then the struggle for national liberation will produce only very partial results, results directed entirely against the working masses. In 1905, the proletariat of Russia did not prove strong enough to unite the peasant masses around it and to conquer power. For this very reason, the revolution halted midway, and then sank lower and lower. In China, where, in spite of the exceptionally favourable situation, the leadership of the Communist International prevented the Chinese proletariat from fighting for power, the national tasks found a wretched, unstable and niggardly solution in the régime of the Kuomintang.

When and under what conditions a colonial country will become ripe for the real revolutionary solution of its agrarian and national problems cannot be foretold. But in any case we can assert today with full certainty that not only China but also India will attain genuine people's democracy, that is, workers' and peasants' democracy, only through the dictatorship of the proletariat. On that road there may still be many stages, steps and phases. Under the pressure of the masses of the people the bourgeoisie will still take steps to the left, in order then to fall all the more mercilessly upon the people. Periods of dual power are possible and probable. But what there will not be, what there cannot be, is a genuine democratic dictatorship that is not the dictatorship of the proletariat. An "independent" democratic dictatorship can only be of the type of the Kuomintang, that is, directed entirely against the workers and the peasants. We must understand this at the outset and teach it to the masses, without hiding the class realities behind abstract formulas.

— Leon Trotsky, *The Permanent Revolution* (1929)

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

EDITOR Len Meyers

EDITOR, YOUNG SPARTACUS PAGES: Joe Sol

PRODUCTION MANAGER Susan Fuller

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The closing date for news in this issue is April 15.

No. 666 **18 April 1997**

LE BOLCHEVIK

Newspaper of the Ligue Trotskyste de France

On March 30, the day after the big protest demonstration against Le Pen's National Front meeting in Strasbourg, a forum on immigration was organized by the leftist, anti-NF "Committee of Vigilance." A team from the International Communist League intervened, composed of comrades from the Ligue Trotskyste de France and our German section, the Spartakist Workers Party.

The platform speakers included Mouloud Aounit of the MRAP [Movement Against Racism and for Friendship Among Peoples], Fodé Sylla from SOS-Racisme and Ababacar Diop, a representative of the *sans-papiers*. The meeting was attended by 350 people, many of them young and of North African descent. The speeches from the podium put forward a perspective of defending "republican values" and fighting to prevent "France's democratic image" from being "tarnished by the NF's ideas."

After condemning the racist policies carried out by the former PS-PCF governments and the attempts to mislead youth onto a reformist path of "capitalism with a human face," one of our comrades intervened to denounce the red-white-and-blue French flags flying in the official contingent at the head of the previous day's demonstration. To applause from one part of the room and boos from the other, she said, "It made me want to throw up." She continued: "This flag is the flag of massacres of hundreds of thousands of colonial people, for example, the Algerian people." This intervention touched off a heated debate, the panel intervening almost at once to explain, in the person of Aounit, that "we shouldn't concede the national flag to the NF."

In this way, the social democrats try to line up behind their own bourgeoisie. They want to sell people the notion that there's a common interest between the capitalist class on one side and the workers and oppressed on the other—all fighting for a presumed common end, the "democratic" fatherland.

In 1789, at the time of the French Revolution, the tricolor flag was the rallying point of progress all throughout Europe, because it was the symbol of the overthrow of feudalism—a historic leap forward which liberated society from the yoke of feudalism, allowing the rapid advance of science, culture and the productive forces. But in the revolutions of 1848 and 1871, rivers of blood drew the line between the bourgeoisie's tricolor flag and the workers' red banner. In 1871, the blood of 40,000 Communards flowed between the tricolor of the reactionary bourgeois state forces of Versailles and the red flag of the Paris Commune. Today the red-white-and-blue flag is the flag of the imperialist chauvinism of our class enemy, the French bourgeoisie, of dirty colonial wars and interimperialist world wars.

In 1914-18 and 1939-45, during the First and Second World Wars, it was under this flag that the bourgeoisie sent young workers and peasants to their deaths by the millions, as cannon fodder fighting for French imperialist plunder. From Sétif, Algeria in 1945 to the Persian Gulf War in 1991, not to mention the brutal colonial repression in Madagascar and the Vietnamese and Algerian Wars, it's behind this flag that French imperialism sends its troops to massacre the colonial peoples and suck their blood. It's behind this flag that the paratroopers and French Foreign Legionnaires are terrorizing the peoples of Africa to protect corrupt neocolonial dictatorships.

And it's also so that this flag will continue to fly in Pacific New Caledonia that Eloi Machoro and the Kanak fighters of Ouvéa were massacred by the French state's murderers. This flag flies over the police station in the 18th arrondissement [district] of Paris, where Makomé Mbowole was killed by the cops. This tricolor was displayed on the cops' uniforms as they killed Malik Oussékine.

No, the tricolor flag is not our flag, it's the flag of our class enemies. We will leave to the fascists and the bourgeoisie and its reformist lapdogs their tricolor rag, stained with the blood of the workers and oppressed. Our flag is the red flag of the Commune and the 1917 October Revolution, the first victorious workers revolution. Our comrade reminded everyone in the room how we demand that "Everybody who got here should have the right to stay here" and fight for "Full citizenship rights for all immigrants!" She concluded: "The last time in history that full citizenship rights for all became reality was in 1917, when the bourgeoisie was overthrown by socialist revolution, with the victory of the working class under the leadership of a revolutionary party, the Bolshevik Party." ■

D.A. Admits Racist Jury Rigging

Philadelphia: Frame-Up City

Hard on the heels of a police frame-up and corruption scandal which has already led to the overturn of nearly 300 convictions, Philadelphia is now being rocked by revelations of a pervasive pattern of racist jury rigging by the district attorney's office. The latest disclosure came right from the horse's mouth: Democratic Philly D.A. Lynne Abraham. On March 27, Abraham released a ten-year-old "training" videotape made by her current Republican opponent for the office, Jack McMahon, when he was an assistant D.A. The tape showed McMahon giving a one-hour lecture—shot through with blatant racism—tutoring new prosecutors in the art of rigging juries, particularly aimed at excluding black jurors.

Abraham sanctimoniously pronounced: "The sentiments and practices discussed on that videotape are repugnant to me and they are in direct contradiction to my beliefs and to the policies of this office." What's on that tape is definitely repugnant, but Abraham's statement is the height of cynicism, coming from one of the country's most repugnantly racist district attorneys, who presides over the largest and most overwhelmingly black death row in any Northern city. Abraham released the tape—which had supposedly been sitting in a drawer for seven years—only as a transparent election ploy, to counter McMahon after he had accused her of being "racially insensitive" for her comments about black prosecutors. Puncturing Abraham's pretensions of innocence, local defense attorney Jules Epstein said: "Let's not mistake this for a noble act. I wasn't getting any videotapes in nonelection years."

There is now talk that some of the 36 murder convictions secured by McMahon may have to be overturned, and some observers have even raised the need to re-examine cases pursued by McMahon's "students." In fact, what is posed is a legal basis for the potential overturn of thousands of convictions. Meanwhile, Abraham has ludicrously denied that any of the 253 assistant D.A.s currently on her staff attended McMahon's lecture. But as John Ackerman, a former dean of the National College of Criminal Defense, remarked, "DAs traditionally have tried to remove black jurors from cases where there's a black defendant." In fact, the video itself—which carries the imprimatur of Ronald D. Castille, Abraham's immediate predecessor in the job—makes eminently clear that racist jury rigging is standard operating procedure.

Berman/Sipa

Cramer/NY Times

Joseph Morris (above) and Betty Patterson (near right), falsely imprisoned by Philly police frame-up machine.

Nor was the racist "lecture" by McMahon an isolated incident, as indicated by the logo at the start of the tape referring to "DATV Productions." A column in the *Philadelphia Inquirer* (6 April) ironically noted, "You've got to wonder what other how-to videos are gathering dust in the D.A.'s vault: *The Care and Feeding of Informants; How to Win Friends and Influence Judges; Fabricating Evidence: The End Justifies the Means; Expert Testimony: If You Pay Them, They Will Say It?*"

What is conspicuous in all the bourgeois media coverage of the McMahon tape is that the case of Mumia Abu-Jamal has gone virtually unmentioned. Racist jury rigging was a key aspect in Jamal's 1982 frame-up trial. Moreover, the police and prosecution scandals which have erupted in Philadelphia not only shed light on the conspiracy to railroad Jamal, but have been directly linked to his case. Most recently, Pamela Jenkins, the key witness in the two-year-old 39th District cop corruption investigation, came forward to reveal that the police had tried to get her to perjure herself to finger Jamal for the 1981 killing of police officer Daniel Faulkner, for which he was falsely convicted (see "Witness Reveals New Link in Jamal Frame-Up," *WV* No. 664, 21 March).

Echoed by the bourgeois press, Abraham denounced McMahon as a "rogue assistant district attorney." McMahon is no more a "rogue" than are the racist cops who gun down black and Hispanic youth on the streets, manufacture and plant "evidence" and "testilie" against innocent people in the courtroom. Former D.A. Castille, who clearly authorized the jury-rigging lectures, today sits on the state Supreme Court, which is slated to rule on Mumia's appeal at any moment. This gives added weight to the fight by Jamal's attorneys for Castille to recuse himself from hearing Jamal's appeal. Police and prosecutors, like the judges who act as "prosecutors in robes"—as Albert Sabo, who presided over Jamal's farce of a trial in 1982 and an appeal hearing two years ago, is widely described—are all integral components of the apparatus of racist capitalist repression.

Capitalist "Justice"—Racist to the Core

While citing a few of his more egregious statements, the bourgeois press has in fact downplayed the grotesquely and thoroughly racist character of McMahon's "lecture." The "DATV" tape of course takes aim against liberals (go for "stable conservative" types), social workers, teachers and "smart people"—who, McMahon intones, might take seriously the standard judicial injunction not to convict if there is "reasonable doubt." Even then, McMahon singles out white teachers who work with black students as potentially "good" jurors—because they

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Spartacist East Coast Regional Educational

150 Years of the Communist Manifesto

Speaker: George Foster, Spartacist League Central Committee 1 p.m.

Mobilize to Defend the Chicago Anti-Klan 3!
Free Mumia Abu-Jamal—Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!

Speaker: Rachel Wolkenstein, Partisan Defense Committee counsel, Jamal co-counsel 3 p.m.
To be followed by organizing workshops on how to build these campaigns

Avenge Steve Biko Through Workers Revolution!

Neo-Apartheid Regime: Enemy of South African Masses

Eyewitness Report: Jon Brule, Spartacist League Central Committee 7 p.m.

Saturday, April 19
P.S. 41, 116 West 11th Street

For more information, contact the Spartacist League.
New York (212) 267-1025 Boston (617) 666-9453 Washington, D.C. (202) 872-8240
or visit the New York Spartacist Public Office, open every Saturday 1 p.m. - 5 p.m.
at 41 Warren Street (near Chambers Street)

NEW YORK CITY

Spartacist West Coast Regional Educational

For a Black-Centered Workers Government!

Neo-Apartheid Regime: Enemy of South African Masses

Eyewitness Report: Don Alexander, Spartacist League Central Committee 11 a.m.

Mobilize to Defend the Chicago Anti-Klan 3!
Free Mumia Abu-Jamal—Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!
Free Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt)!

1:30 p.m. *To be followed by organizing workshops on how to build these campaigns*

No to Capitalist Counterrevolution! For Proletarian Political Revolution!

Central Tasks of the Working Class in Cuba, China, Vietnam and North Korea

Speaker Oliver Stephens, Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste (Canada) Central Committee 4 p.m.

Saturday, May 10
The Women's Building, 3543 18th Street (at Valencia)
Audre Lorde Room (BART stop: 16th and Mission)

For more information and readings, contact the Spartacist League: Los Angeles (213) 380-8239
San Francisco (415) 777-9367 Oakland (510) 839-0851 Vancouver (604) 687-0353
or visit the Bay Area Spartacist Public Office, open Thurs 5:30 p.m. - 8 p.m. and Sat 1 p.m. - 5 p.m.
at 1634 Telegraph, 3rd Floor (near 17th Street), Oakland

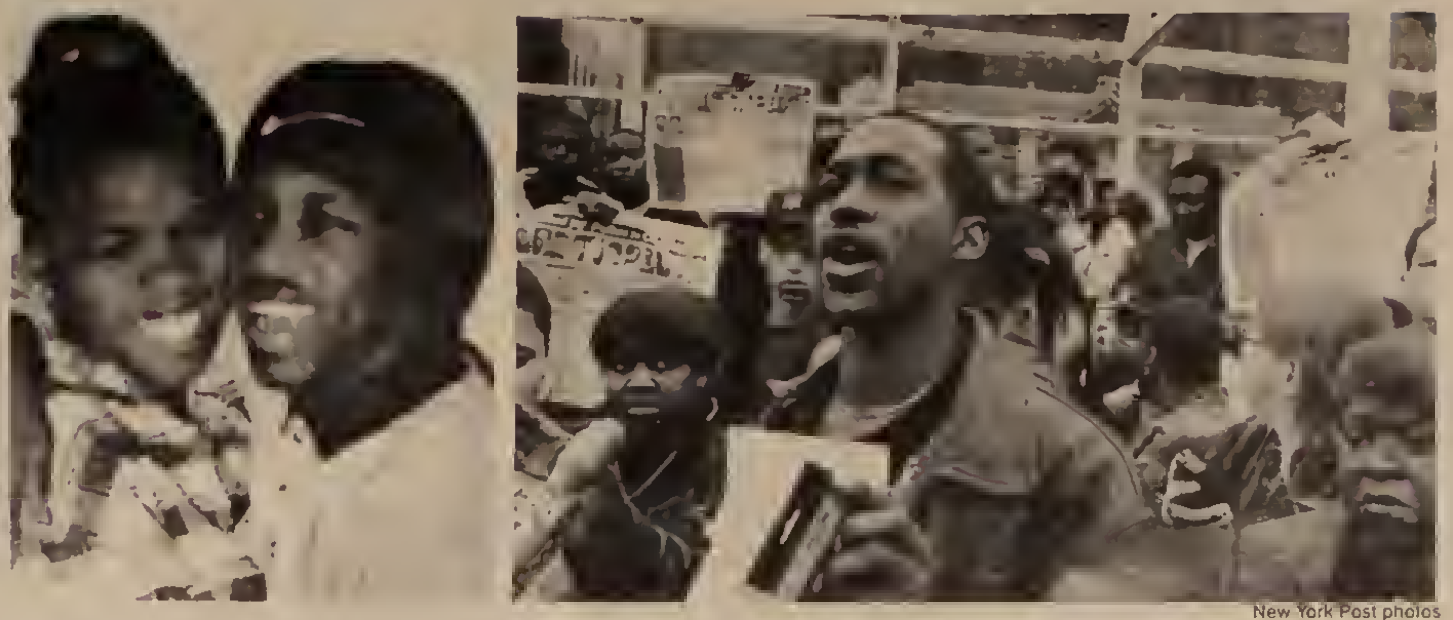
SAN FRANCISCO

NYPD Reign of Racist Terror

In the early morning hours of April 6, 16-year-old Kevin Cedeño, a black high-school freshman, was gunned down with a shot in the back by New York City cop Anthony Pellegrini. A squad of cops then brutally handcuffed the youth as he lay bleeding on the sidewalk. After waiting half an hour for an ambulance to arrive, Cedeño was taken not to Columbia Presbyterian Hospital a few blocks away, but to Harlem Hospital more than two miles away. Cedeño died there.

Republican mayor Rudolph Giuliani immediately jumped in to justify the killing. Dismissing eyewitness accounts to the contrary, Giuliani retailed the cops' story that they shot Cedeño in the stomach after he had supposedly threatened them with a 22-inch machete. But the following day, an official autopsy report revealed that Cedeño had indeed been shot in the back. So the killers-in-blue then claimed that Cedeño was running toward *other* cops when Pellegrini shot him. One commander even claimed that the cops had mistaken the machete Cedeño had allegedly been carrying for a shotgun!

Speaking to the press on a street corner outside her home two days after the brutal killing, an anguished Roma Cedeño, who had brought Kevin to the U.S. from Trinidad when he was five years old, called for her son's killer to be "prosecuted to the full extent of the law. He must be accountable for this ungodly act." On April 10, some 600 residents marched from the scene of the shooting to the 33rd Police Precinct to demand Pellegrini's indictment.



New York Post photos

Police killing of 16-year-old Kevin Cedeño (in photo with girlfriend) sparked protests by Washington Heights residents.

Police officials tried to quell anger in the overwhelmingly Hispanic and black Washington Heights neighborhood where Cedeño lived by staging a series of public "briefings" in the 33rd Precinct building. But the latest killing is far from an isolated event. The shooting of Cedeño and the cops' far-fetched cover-up story is part of the NYPD's standard operating procedure as it carries out an escalating reign of terror in the ghettos and barrios. In the last couple of months alone, New York's racist cops have tried to justify a series of police killings with the exact same excuse they used for gunning down Kevin Cedeño:

• On February 22, undercover cops raided the El Caribe social club in Queens where Dominican immigrant Jose Antonio Sanchez worked as a cook. The cops began beating a patron of the club. Detective Richard Soto then shot and killed Sanchez, claiming that the 56-year-old worker had threatened the cops with a kitchen knife.

• On March 21, Bronx cops shot and killed Donald Davidson after his daughter called "911" to report that her father, who had a history of psychiatric problems, was upset and needed to be hospitalized. Cops shoved Davidson, pepper-sprayed him and then shot him in the back, again claiming that their victim had attacked them with a knife. Davidson's daughter reports that her father was unarmed and was running from the cops when they gunned him down.

• Two days later, cops who were called to settle a domestic dispute in Queens gunned down Deonarine Matan, a Guyanese immigrant and grandfather, when he unsuspectingly walked into his living room carrying a kitchen knife.

AP

Police assault July 1992 Washington Heights protest over cop killing of young Dominican.

These police outrages have provoked a number of angry protest demonstrations in various neighborhoods, most recently the march in Washington Heights. On March 2, some 300 friends and neighbors of Jose Antonio Sanchez and others marched to the local precinct house in Queens chanting, "Richard Soto, asesino!" As well, there have been repeated protests in the Bronx called by Parents Against Police Brutality, an organization formed by the families of victims of cop terror. Criminally, however, the heads of the city's heavily minority trade unions refuse to lift a finger in protest against this intensifying reign of racist cop terror. What's needed is mass protest centered on the social power of the labor movement, as part of a fight to mobilize the working class as a whole for socialist revolution to sweep away this system of racist repression.

Cop Terror, U.S.A.

The latest wave of NYPD killings is part and parcel of the Giuliani administration's "Quality of Life" crackdown, supposedly aimed at "cleaning up" New York through such measures as running out "squeegee men" and removing legions of homeless from the public eye. This has meant repeated demolition of homeless camps, brutal harassment of panhandlers and naked cop terror in the ghettos and barrios. Giuliani has been the cops' man in City Hall from the outset, winning the mayor's office in 1993 on the strength of cop support and a racist backlash against former black Democratic mayor David Dinkins. While Giuliani's racist "war on crime" has won him accolades from Wall Street and growing support from yuppies and predominantly white and middle-class neighborhoods, it has exacerbated the racial divide in this already raw city. Describing "a city divided by race, ethnicity and economic class," a recent *New York Times* (12 March) poll reported that while an increasing number of whites think conditions in the city are improving, the sentiment among most blacks and Hispanics is the opposite.

New York City's minorities are under a virtual siege of police terror. From 1993 to 1996, the number of police brutality complaints rose by over 35 percent. Amnesty International even published a special report last summer, titled "Police Brutality and Excessive Force in the New York City Police Department." The report notes that not only are minorities "the large majority of the victims of police abuses," often after "very minor disputes with officers on the street," but that "racial disparities appear to be especially marked in cases involving deaths in custody or questionable shootings."

A sense of the growing climate of fear pervading the streets of the city's minority areas was captured by a Washington Heights mother who told the *New York Times* (8 April): "I used to tell my children the police are here to protect and serve." Now, she continued, she tells them to "walk on the other side of the street" when they see cops. And, in one of a series of recent pieces by Bob Herbert on the NYPD, the *Times* columnist graphically detailed how black and Hispanic youth are constantly "stopped, frisked, searched, threatened with arrest if they don't produce identification, cursed at, slapped around, spread-eagled on the ground, thrown against walls, run off of streetcorners, threatened with weapons" (*New York Times*, 7 March).

While liberals like Herbert eloquently describe and express alarm over such ever more brutal repression, at bottom they have no answer in the face of what is, in fact, a manifestation of the workings of this racist capitalist system. What is happening in New York is anything but unique. America's capitalist rulers have consciously augmented the forces of repression to try to keep the lid on the potentially explosive conditions in this society, especially pronounced in the inner cities, in the face of the growing gap between the filthy rich ruling class and those at the bottom. The effects of this policy—supported and enforced by both the Democratic and Republican parties—are seen in the growing incidence of racist killings by police nationally, in the skyrocketing numbers of minority men and women being locked away in prison hellholes, and in the speedup of "legal lynching" on the country's death rows.

"Review Board" Fraud

In the face of an all-sided reactionary offensive, even some bourgeois liberals are drawing a link between growing racist attacks and the assault on workers' unions and living standards. But, in their eyes, both minorities and labor are simply victims. Marxists fight to mobilize the *social power* of the multiracial labor movement in defense of its interests and those of all the oppressed under the leadership of a revolutionary workers party which will act as a "tribune of the people." The working class must make the fight against racist repression its own. The deadly fire that issues out of the cops' weapons on the streets of Washing-

WV Photo

March 1996 protest at New York City Hall against police brutality. It will take socialist revolution to sweep away entire apparatus of racist capitalist repression.

Ominous KKK Rally in Pittsburgh

On April 5, nearly 50 robed Klansmen and Nazi skinheads rallied in downtown Pittsburgh under the protection of over 300 uniformed cops, including SWAT teams. Spewing racist filth at anti-Klan protesters, one KKKer railed, "I came here to start a holy race war," while another bragged, "This ain't the first time we've been in Pittsburgh, and it sure won't be the last." The *New York Times* (6 April) found it noteworthy that the Klan had succeeded in rallying in a major Northern city, calling it "a public relations coup for white supremacists."

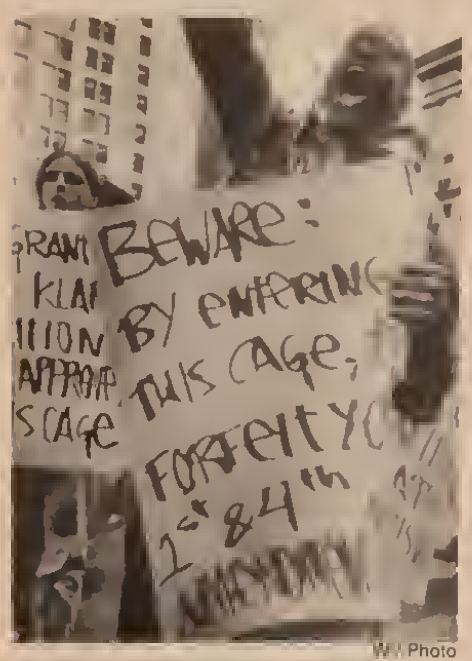
The Klan/Nazi scum think they can find fertile ground for their genocidal program in the Pittsburgh area, feeding off the despair fueled by the general economic decline of the region, with high unemployment and low-wage jobs. The devastation in the 1960s of the aging steel industry—with its heavy concentration of black workers—has meant a long-term decline of the trade-union movement in Pittsburgh and conditioned a situation of growing racist attacks. The KKK is clearly emboldened by the "official" racist violence of the cops, especially their brutal killing last year of black motorist Jonny Gammage. In some area high schools, KKK cards have been distributed and flyers circulated calling for the "hunting" of minorities.

What was needed in Pittsburgh on April 5 was a labor-centered mass mobilization drawing in all the fascists' intended victims—blacks, unionists, youth, gays—in united-front action to *stop* the Klan. An example of the kind of determined action needed to counter the fascists' attempts to penetrate the Northern cities can be seen in the series of mass labor/black mobilizations initiated by the Spartacist League and Partisan Defense Committee over the past 15 years, which have successfully countered attempts at such fascist incursions.

Beale/Pittsburgh Post-Gazette

Chaz Palla

Pittsburgh, April 5: KKK and Nazis staged race-hate provocation guarded by cops, who set up pen to corral anti-fascist protesters.



W.I. Photo

Many Pittsburgh anti-Klan protesters understood police pen is trap.

The fascists' presence in Pittsburgh was met by widespread outrage. Over 3,000 people came out to protest. However, bent on heading off any attempt to drive out the Klan, local civic groups and politicians, including the mayor, staged a diversionary "Unity Day" festival several blocks from the site of the Klan rally. The four-hour gathering was described by a local reporter as being in the "Woodstockian spirit of harmony and celebration."

A second demonstration, held at the site of the Klan provocation, was called by the "Grant Street Anti-Klan Coalition," a lash-up of liberal and reformist leftist groups including the Socialist Workers Party, International Socialist Organization and Anti-Racist Action. Billed as a "peaceful, non-violent Klan counter-rally," this effort had no intention of stopping the Klan terrorists. Instead, it was only an impotent "moral witness" protest, fundamentally no different than the mayor's diversion. Many demonstrators realized this, as the continual foot traffic between the two demonstrations attested.

To protect the fascist rally, the cops set up a police pen to cage in anti-Klan protesters. This has become standard operating procedure for the police at anti-fascist rallies in recent years. The Spartacist League has repeatedly warned that these pens are traps for anti-racist protesters. By allowing themselves to be fenced in by the police, anti-Klan protesters guarantee in advance that the fascists will get away with their race-hate provocations and incitements to lynch-mob terror.

Anyone who doubted that the Pittsburgh pen was a trap only had to look at the sign posted on the pen: "Warning, Do Not Climb Fence! Violators Will Be Sprayed With Mace." As in past anti-Klan demonstrations, those who entered this pen had to go through metal detectors and undergo police searches. They then found themselves sharing the pen with racist provocateurs in Confederate-flag tee shirts.

Our warnings over the years against entering police pens have evidently had some effect, as many protesters in Pittsburgh refused to enter them. Organizers of the Grant Street rally argued that demonstrators should not subject themselves to this form of police-state control on the grounds that it violates their First and Fourth Amendment rights to free speech and assembly and against unreasonable search and seizure. Meanwhile, the muddleheaded anarchists of Anti-Racist Action couldn't make up their minds whether to enter the pens or not, arguing that it all depends on what everybody else is doing! At an open meeting prior to the Grant Street rally, Spartacist supporters pointed out that it is more than a question of surrendering constitutional rights: police pens prevent anti-fascists from actually stopping the Klan. But then, that wasn't the Coalition's goal to begin with.

The capitalist state—its police, prisons and courts—exists to protect the rule of the racist ruling class through the brutal suppression of the labor movement and minorities. The homegrown fascism of the KKK, like Hitler's Nazis in Germany, is bred by capitalism in acute decay. The aim of fascism is to smash the organized workers movement and to unleash genocide against racial minorities. While today the fascists are a relatively small force, the ruling class protects these gangs and holds them in reserve as the last bulwark to defend their system in the event of a proletarian challenge to capitalist class rule.

The Klan certainly knows that the cops are their allies. One KKKer made an explicit pitch to the cops on the basis of the police campaign to push through the legal lynching of black death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal. The Klansman "called on the police to join him, saying that many Klan opponents supported convicted Philadelphia cop killer Mumia Abu-Jamal" (*Philadelphia Inquirer*, 6 April). The fascists followed this with the chant, "Hail Frank Rizzo!"—referring to the notorious racist former police chief and mayor of Philadelphia.

Mobilizing the multiracial labor movement to fight racist terror is a critical task for the very survival of the unions—the racist violence carried out by the Klan is ultimately aimed at destroying the organizations of the labor movement. The reason the Klan got away with its provocation in Pittsburgh has everything to do with the prostration of today's labor "leadership," which polices the unions on behalf of the racist rulers, blocking any attempt to mobilize the ranks of labor in class struggle.

As we wrote in "Stop the Fascists Through Labor/Black Mobilization!" (*WV* No. 587, 5 November 1993):

> "From Chicago in 1982, where we mobilized steel workers, black youth and Holocaust survivors to stop the Nazis from threatening the Gay Pride parade, to mass mobilizations in Washington, D.C., Detroit, Philadelphia, San Francisco and Atlanta, and in Vancouver last year, our strategy of mobilizing the organized working class has given a taste of the power that must be brought to bear to stop the fascist scum. To defeat the fascists once and for all means building a revolutionary party to overthrow the decrepit rule of the capitalist class which spawns the fascists, and bring the working people who create the wealth in this country to power." ■

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ton Heights is not only meant for minority youth whom the racist rulers deem "expendable," but is part of an arsenal of state repression aimed at forcing all working people to meekly accept the driving down of their wages and living conditions by the capitalist class. Mobilizing the trade unions to fight racist cop terror requires a political struggle against the labor bureaucracy, whose undying loyalty to the bourgeoisie and its partner political parties makes the union tops bitter enemies of any struggle that challenges the capitalist exploiters and their state.

This is eminently clear in New York City, where the labor misleaders are in the hip pocket of the rabidly racist, labor-hating Giuliani. It is a measure of the level of frustration and despair among black and Hispanic working people in New York that someone like the Reverend Al Sharpton has been able to put himself forward as a champion of the victims of cop terror. Sharpton, who is now running for the Democratic nomination for mayor, has been a prominent fixture at many protests against police killings, including in Washington Heights.

Yet this liberal charlatan who today poses as an opponent of Giuliani and his reign of cop terror literally worked for then federal prosecutor Giuliani as an FBI fink in the 1980s. Sharpton helped set up prominent blacks for arrest through wearing a concealed microphone, escorting "wired" undercover agents to meetings and having a wiretap installed on his phone. He has also helped poison relations among the oppressed by spearheading campaigns to boycott shops owned by Koreans or Jews. This is flatly counterposed to the kind of unity seen in some of the protests against police brutality, which have brought together families and friends of black, Hispanic and Asian youth killed by the cops. In short, Sharpton is an enemy of the kind of multiracial class struggle needed to fight police brutality and racial oppression.

Of late, Sharpton has particularly been pushing to put "teeth" into New York's Civilian Complaint Review Board (CCRB) and to require all police newhires to live in the city as a way to bring "racial balance" to the NYPD. Such schemes for reforming the cops are regularly put forward by liberals as a way to dispose of a few "bad apples" in order to whitewash the police force and make it more "credible" and efficient in carrying out racist repression for the capitalist rulers. Mayor Dinkins's 1992 proposal to replace the police members of the CCRB with civilians was met with a racist riot by 10,000 armed cops—who besieged City Hall, egged on by their candidate Giuliani—chafing at even the most token constraints. But while the cops have felt more emboldened under Giuliani, Dinkins himself had hired a record 6,000 more cops even as he slashed city workers' jobs.

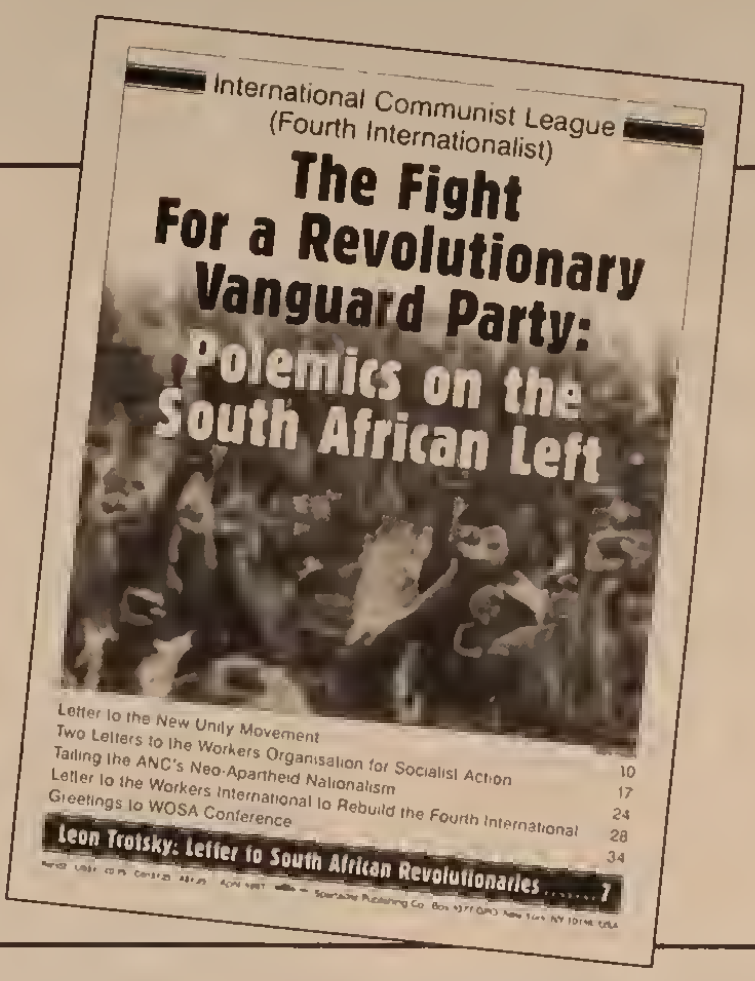
The call for civilian review boards and cop residency requirements was echoed by liberal lawyer Ron Kuby as a featured speaker at a March 28 forum at New York University sponsored by the International Socialist Organization (ISO). For its part, the ISO maintains that the cops, the murderous hired thugs of the ruling class, would cease to be "agents of the state" if only they "rebel collectively" (see "ISO: Looking for a Few Good Cops," *WV* No. 664, 21 March). How about the NYC cops' "collective" demand to be issued the more deadly hollow-tipped bullets? Logically, the ISO should support the provocative demonstrations the cops have been staging around town as part of their current pay dispute with City Hall.

The police cannot be "reformed" because they, along with the courts and prisons, are integral components of the capitalist state, through which the racist rulers enforce their exploitation of working people and the systematic racial oppression that helps divide the workers against each other. Labor-centered protest against the racist cops, drawing on the city's transit, hospital and public workers unions, could galvanize the dispossessed of the ghettos and barrios behind some real social power, and would serve to revitalize the unions against the union-busters on Wall Street and in City Hall. This strategy requires forging a revolutionary workers party that champions the cause of all the oppressed on the road to sweeping away the system of murderous police terror—and avenging its countless victims—through socialist revolution. ■

NEW ICL PAMPHLET

Polemics on the South African Left

We reprint below the introduction to "The Fight for a Revolutionary Vanguard Party: Polemics on the South African Left," a pamphlet published earlier this month by the International Communist League.



Just out! $1.00. Order from/pay to: Spartacist Publishing Co., Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116.

With the election of Nelson Mandela in 1994 as South Africa's first black president, the African National Congress (ANC) has become the primary political agent for the Randlords and their senior partners in Wall Street and the City of London, bringing to fruition the process of "reconciliation" initiated with Mandela's release from prison. Indeed, Mandela has stated that one of his most important accomplishments has been creating "an investor-friendly environment." Police still break the strikes of black and coloured [mixed-race] workers and expel squatters from their shantytowns as before, but they now do so in the name of a "democratic, nonracial" South Africa. The economic base of the old apartheid system—the superexploitation of black labour by the white capitalists—remains while the political superstructure has undergone a radical change. The "new" South Africa can thus be defined as neo-apartheid.

At the same time, under the rubric of "black empowerment," we are beginning to see the formation of a black capitalist class drawn from the leading cadre of the ANC who now drive BMWs, wear Pierre Cardin suits and have moved into posh, formerly all-white suburbs. This development is personified by Cyril Ramaphosa, former head of the National Union of Mineworkers and subsequently ANC parliamentary leader, now the deputy chairman of New Africa Investments, the country's largest black-owned corporation. In their own way the black masses recognise the bourgeoisification of one-time leaders of the "liberation" struggle whom they contemptuously describe as hopping aboard the "gravy train."

But despite popular denunciations of the "gravy train," black African workers and other toilers remain tied to their exploiters and would-be exploiters by their traditional and continuing support to the ANC abetted by its longtime ally, the reformist South African Communist Party (SACP), which historically enjoys the allegiance of advanced sections of the proletariat. To break the chains of neo-apartheid and achieve genuine national and social liberation, the working class must transcend the ideology of nationalism, the false belief that the black African people—brutally oppressed by the white rulers of South Africa—all have a common interest which stands higher than class divisions.

The ideological dominance among the black masses of nationalism in its various forms is also indicated in that the main perceived "radical" opponents of the ANC are the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) and AZAPO (the successor to Steven Biko's Black Consciousness Movement). While the ANC/SACP-led Congress of South African Trade Unions is the principal organisation of black labour, another sizable trade-union grouping, the National Council of Trade Unions (NACTU), is politically run in bloc by the PAC and AZAPO. The division of the labour movement into two union federations led by rival nationalist parties, as well as a number of independent unions led by leftists, weakens the workers in the day-to-day struggles with the employers and is potentially very dangerous. We stand for industrial unionism. All workers in a given industry should be in one union governed by the principles of internal democracy, with one worker, one vote.

To the left of the ANC/SACP are a number of small groups which claim to be or are generally regarded as Trotskyist. The material in this pamphlet presents a revolutionary Marxist position, theoretically and programmatically, on key questions of debate within the South African left, including elements of the SACP, in recent years: whether South Africa has now become a stable bourgeois democracy, moreover, one which can carry out the ambitious economic and social reforms promised by the ANC's Reconstruction and Development Programme; how to build a mass workers party, its nature and relation to the trade unions; the doctrine of "socialist nation-building" in the countries of the so-called "Third World."

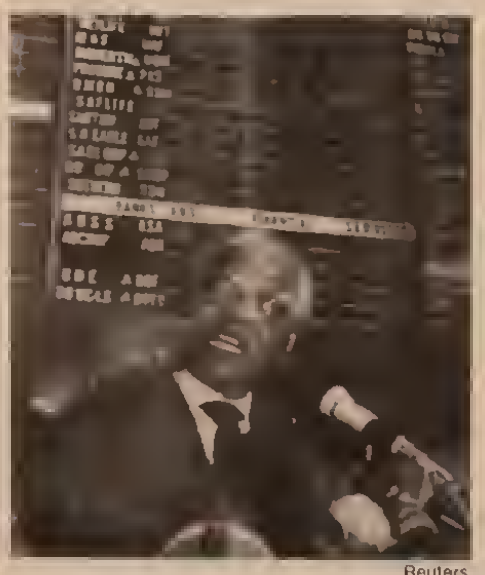
The core of the pamphlet consists of letters from our organisation, the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist), to the New Unity Movement, the Workers Organisation for Socialist Action (WOSA) of Neville Alexander and the Workers International to Rebuild the Fourth International [then associated with the former Workers Revolutionary Party of Cliff Slaughter in Britain]. We are here publishing for the first time a presentation given by a representative of the ICL to a WOSA national conference in 1995. Also included is an exchange with the Comrades for a Workers Government originally published in May 1995 in *Workers Vanguard*, the newspaper of our American section. Additionally, we have reprinted Trotsky's 1935 "Letter to South African Revolutionaries," a letter to his South African supporters which addresses the slogan of a "black republic" and also discusses what attitude, strategy and tactics a proletarian revolutionary vanguard should have toward the ANC.

This pamphlet supplements two previous publications. "South Africa and Permanent Revolution" (published in 1991 as No. 8 in our *Black History and the Class Struggle* series) covered the township revolt of the mid-1980s, the rise of a powerful black workers movement and the legalisation in 1990 of the ANC and Communist Party. "South Africa Powder Keg" (*Black History and the Class Struggle* No. 12), published in 1995, analysed the neo-apartheid arrangement and put forward a proletarian revolutionary perspective under the new conditions of the Mandela/De Klerk "Government of National Unity."

Class Exploitation and National Oppression

The central and underlying theme of the material in this pamphlet is a defence of the Trotskyist concept and programme of permanent revolution in opposition to the various and intertwined currents of nationalism and reformism prevailing on the South African left. The theory of permanent revolution holds that the national bourgeoisie in backward countries is so weak, backward and imperialist-dependent that it can no longer play any progressive role. National liberation and social and economic modernisation in "Third World" countries can be achieved only under the leadership of the working class, through proletarian revolution and its extension to the imperialist centres of West Europe, North America and Japan.

Our Marxist understanding that the working class is the only progressive class in the contemporary world, including in backward countries, is in no sense a glorification of trade-union militancy for its own sake. Quite the contrary. The workers in South Africa and elsewhere can achieve a substantial and permanent improvement in their living conditions only by overthrowing the capitalist order and replacing it with a


Reuters

Spartacist

TJ Lemon

ANC's Nelson Mandela at Johannesburg Stock Exchange on eve of April 1994 election. Striking nurses, September 1995, denounce "gravy train" for ANC front men for neo-apartheid capitalism.

planned, collectivised economy. This, in turn, requires, especially in a country like South Africa, that the working class, under its vanguard party, place itself at the head of all oppressed sections of society. As we wrote in the letter to WOSA (9 March 1995), what is needed in South Africa is a revolutionary workers party which:

> "does not simply defend the particular interests of the working class, especially its unionized sector, but is fighting to eradicate *all forms* of national and social oppression—the mass homelessness in the black townships, the hideous conditions of the millions of Africans still trapped on the 'tribal homelands,' the degradation of women (e.g., polygamy) in rural villages where tribal traditions remain strong. To unite all of the oppressed, a workers party must staunchly champion the democratic rights of those who have cause to feel threatened by the ANC's brand of nationalism—e.g., coloureds, Indians, Zulu villagers, immigrants from Mozambique, Zimbabwe and other neighboring African states." [emphasis in original]

Our programme for proletarian leadership in the struggle for national liberation is encapsulated in the formula of a "black-centred workers government." Under a black-centred workers government there would be an important role and full democratic rights for coloureds, Indians and other Asians, and those whites who accept a government centrally based on the black working people. Many South African leftists object to this slogan, arguing that by acknowledging that there are differences and divisions among the nonwhite masses, we echo the line of the apartheid rulers who constantly played "divide and rule" among the racial groupings, while coercively reimposing tribal identity on urban blacks. These leftists, instead, cling to the ANC-promoted illusion of "nonracialism" which conveniently enables them to ignore the real and dramatic expressions of division along colour, national and tribal lines in Mandela's neo-apartheid state. The nationalist fiction of a "rainbow nation" is their means for denying reality, because they have no programme to change reality.

Just as the theory of permanent revolution would have predicted, this capitalist regime, based on superexploitation of the black proletariat, must frustrate the aspirations of every section of the oppressed. Widespread expectations for better housing and jobs cannot be met; even simple democratic demands such as the right to an education for all children or the right of women to birth control and abortion are denied to the overwhelming majority by social inequality and lack of facilities. If the masses' frustration does not find expression along *class* lines it will fuel and embitter every other kind of division.

Unwilling to draw a class line against the ANC government, the colour-blind South African "leftists" must be silent or worse as communities which once joined together in defying the apartheid butchers are now pulling apart. Recently some protests of coloured township residents against payment of back rates have been infused with a virulently anti-black thrust [see "Neo-Apartheid Regime: Enemy of South African Masses," *WV* No. 662, 21 February]. Capitulating to false consciousness, most "leftists" quietly acquiesce to the ANC view that coloureds might as well be punished for having had more "privileges" than blacks, and see the police repression meted out to the protests by the regime as justifiable. Meanwhile other leftists tail after "movements" in the coloured community like People Against Gangsterism and Drugs (PAGAD), "anti-crime" vigilantes influenced by Muslim fundamentalists and fundamentally hostile to black rule.

Similarly the "left" generally does not bother to fight for full rights for the "immigrant" workers from elsewhere in Africa who today face unemployment and deportation. A party with a perspective of workers revolution in South Africa would militantly fight the chauvinist attacks on immigrants and seize every such means to extend the struggle beyond the borders of the country to offer the toiling masses of the less-developed regions of the continent a road forward out of hideous poverty and oppression.

In South Africa, ***class exploitation is integrally bound up with national oppression***. Despite a sizable coloured proletariat, especially in the Western Cape, and an urban Indian working class in Natal, the overwhelming majority of workers in the white-owned factories, mines and farms are black Africans. Black Africans make up 80 per cent of the country's overall population, actually more if one takes into account the recent wave of immigration from neighbouring African states. As Trotsky wrote to his followers in South Africa in the mid-1930s:

> "It is entirely obvious that the predominant majority of the population, liberated from slavish dependence, will put a certain imprint on the state.
>
> "Insofar as a victorious revolution will radically change not only the relation between the classes, but also between the races, and will assure to the blacks that place in the state which corresponds to their numbers, insofar will the *social* revolution in South Africa also have a *national* character." [emphasis in original]

For an Internationalist Perspective!

Our recognition that proletarian revolution in South Africa is the supreme act of national liberation in no way entails support to nationalism as an ideology or to the project of "nation-building." The letter to the New Unity Movement is primarily devoted to criticising their programme of "nation-building" not only in the particular South African context but also more generally in the neocolonial states of Africa, the Near East and the Indian subcontinent. As Leninists, we defend the democratic right of self-determination—i.e., the right to form their own, separate state—for *all* nations.

The doctrine of "socialist nation-building," while espoused in South Africa by groups claiming the Trotskyist tradition, is closely akin to the old Stalinist dogma of "building socialism in one country." The bankruptcy of this nationalist perversion of Marxism is now manifest. As Trotsky predicted, under the economic, political and military pressures of world capitalism the Kremlin bureaucracy disintegrated in the mid-late 1980s. This directly posed the alternatives of proletarian political revolution or capitalist counterrevolution. Given the deterioration of socialist consciousness among the Soviet working class brought about by generations of Stalinist rule, it was counterrevolution which prevailed. The resulting destruction of the Soviet Union in 1991-92 was a historic defeat for the working class and oppressed peoples throughout the world.

This can be seen clearly in South Africa. For decades, the Soviet Union had been the ANC's primary international sponsor, supporting it in various diplomatic forums and providing arms for its symbolic guerrilla actions. As the Kremlin regime fell apart under Gorbachev, the ANC leaders came to terms with the white racist rulers of South Africa and their senior American and British imperialist partners.

During the Cold War, bourgeois-nationalist regimes in Africa and Asia were able to play off Washington and Moscow, thereby giving themselves a certain room to manoeuver. The Mandela regime has no such option as it faces the unbridled domination of imperialist capital on a global scale. Thus Mandela, Mbeki & Co. explain away the failure to carry out the promised reforms of the Reconstruction and Development Programme, the privatisation of state-owned enterprises, their drive to hold down wages and so on by pointing to the pressures of the world capitalist market, low-wage competition from East Asia, the harsh demands of the International Monetary Fund and World Bank, etc.

In their own way, the bourgeois nationalists of the ANC are expressing an important truth: the condition of the working class and other oppressed toilers in South Africa cannot be determined in national isolation but is integrally linked to the struggle between labour and capital on a global scale. A socialist revolution in South Africa would confront formidable enemies: the Western imperialist powers emboldened and strengthened by the final undoing of the Russian Revolution and determined to obliterate any obstacles. Yet a socialist revolution in South Africa, centred on the black proletariat, would immediately find strategically powerful allies. The "New World Order" is anything but stable. A militant young proletariat in countries such as South Korea and Indonesia poses a challenge to right-wing regimes, while the powerful working class of Western European countries like Italy and France has begun a round of sharp struggles of its own which could threaten the control of the reformist bureaucrats and go toward a struggle for power.

Elsewhere, millions of union members, students and others were active in solidarity with the struggle against white supremacy in the apartheid state. Racial minorities and immigrants facing persecution identified strongly with the South African masses. In particular, a South African workers revolution would have an immediate radicalising impact on American black workers, who have historically tended to be a vanguard layer of militant class struggle and social activism in the U.S. Thus even within the strongest imperialist bastions, revolutionary South Africa will find a powerful echo.

For the perspective of permanent revolution in South Africa to become a reality requires the forging of a ***revolutionary vanguard party*** modelled on the Bolshevik Party built by Lenin in the Russian tsarist empire, a party which led the first and only successful proletarian revolution in history. This party united the most politically advanced worker militants with the best of the leftist intellectuals. The Bolshevik Party was built through political and polemical struggle against the reformist pseudo-Marxists (the Mensheviks), the populist Social Revolutionaries and the left nationalists of the various oppressed peoples of the tsarist empire. Similarly, we seek to aggressively confront the different currents of the South African left in political and polemical struggle with the aim of forging the nucleus of an authentic Leninist-Trotskyist party through a process of splits and fusions—revolutionary regroupment—on a clear programmatic basis.

We begin this pamphlet with an article written by Trotsky in 1935 as a letter to South African Trotskyist comrades. At that time South Africa was still a semi-colony of Britain, then the world's dominant imperialist power. Still to come were World War II, the coming to power of the Nationalists and their apartheid scheme in 1948, the "Suppression of Communism," the explosive mass struggles led largely by the ANC, and the emergence of the powerful black trade-union movement. Today the new "black" government presents a very different face of the continued class rule of exploiters and oppressors. But while particular aspects analysed by Trotsky and the corresponding tasks for revolutionists have changed over the last 60 years, the article admirably sets out the basic framework and programme of revolutionary Marxists: the fight for working-class power through the construction of a vanguard party on a programme of complete political independence of the proletariat from its class enemies and unity with its class brothers and sisters around the globe. ■

UPI

Weinberg/NY Times

Mozambican migrants working in South African mines (left), rural family left homeless after white landowner demolished their house. A Bolshevik party in South Africa would champion defense of immigrants, all the oppressed, in fight for workers revolution.

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Italy...

(continued from page 1)

League, demanded: "Italy, Hands Off Albania! Full Citizenship Rights for All Albanian Refugees!"

This latest act of imperialist aggrandizement harks back to the Italian invasion of Albania in 1914 and Mussolini's fascist occupation in 1939. The Italian-led imperialist intervention force has been pushed hard by the "left" Prodi government, which is politically dominated by the ex-Stalinist, social-democratic Party of the Democratic Left (PDS) and supported by Rifondazione Comunista (RC), another, nominally more leftist, reformist offshoot of the former Communist Party. This popular-front government wants to impose its "answer" of blood and tears on the Albanian proletariat. Likewise in Italy, it has shoved austerity measures down the throats of the working class and forced through drastic cuts in the living standards of workers, women and youth. It is this same government that now criminalizes Albanian refugees arriving in Italy as part of a furious campaign of racist terror against all immigrants. The anti-immigrant hysteria also serves to fan the flames of national chauvinism, to bolster ideological support for Italian militarism.

Though a loyal supporter of the governing Ulivo (Olive Tree) coalition, RC

La Repubblica

Fausto Bertinotti, head of Rifondazione Comunista.

was compelled by the pressure of growing discontent among much of its base to vote against the government motion to send troops to Albania. In any case, RC has made it absolutely clear that it has no intention of letting the right-wing popular-front government fall. This was evident in the past few days, as RC parliamentary deputies voted for a motion of confidence in the Prodi government.

At the same time, RC has very clearly sought to reassure the bourgeoisie of its support for a military intervention under somewhat different tactical circumstances. The resolution that RC presented for a vote in parliament during the debate over the Albanian expeditionary force did not oppose an Italian military intervention per se but simply pleaded to "*delay* the anticipated military mission" until a number of conditions had been met. Among these were calling on the United Nations to provide more of a fig leaf for the imperialist intervention. In fact, that imperialist den of thieves—under whose cover the massacres in Iraq and Somalia and the partitioning of ex-Yugoslavia took place—has already endorsed the Italian-led intervention force. Echoing widespread imperialist sentiment, RC also called on the government to "openly refuse to acknowledge the legitimacy of the Sali Berisha presidency" and to "supply every assistance and political support to the Fino government" (*Liberazione*, 7 April). In other words, these "refounded Communists" appeal to the Italian bourgeoisie to change who will serve as its puppet at the head of the Albanian government.

King/Sygma

AP

Desperate Albanian refugees fleeing chaos, poverty. Italian naval frigate *Sibilla* (right) rammed refugee boat, killing 89.

RC also echoes the racist clamor which is typified by the rantings of Milano's chauvinist Northern League mayor, Formentini, who says, "Every vote for the League means one less Albanian in Milano." For its part, RC calls for "limited and temporary legal papers [for refugees], renewable until the end of the emergency in Albania, eventually bringing criminal elements to justice and seeing to their expulsion." Since in the eyes of bourgeois "public opinion" all Albanians are real or potential criminals, this amounts to supporting their deportations. In any case, RC calls for this openly once Italian imperialism has finished its work of repressing the masses in Albania.

Like much of the centrist and reformist left internationally, the so-called internal "left wing" of RC—led by Marco Ferrando and Franco Grisolia and grouped around the journal *Proposta*—hails the Albanian revolt as "the beginning of the proletarian revolution." The armed revolt, which began in southern Albania, was certainly widespread. But this inchoate "people's uprising"—which by all accounts was to some extent fomented by Berisha himself in the northern region, in an attempt to suppress his opponents and to provoke imperialist intervention—not only has no clear proletarian axis, it does not even appear to have a definable working-class component. That said, *Proposta*'s anti-Leninist enthusing over the "Albanian revolution" has not prevented it from shamelessly capitulating to the warmongering appetites of the Italian bourgeoisie. In an April 7 RC leadership meeting, they voted *in favor* of RC's motion, which would also result in the sending of imperialist troops to crush the Albanian masses.

Grisolia, Ferrando and others who are part of the leadership of RC pass themselves off as Trotskyists, and are accepted as such by the bourgeois press. In fact, they are only the left wing of the bourgeois popular front and its imperialist, anti-worker, anti-woman and anti-immigrant politics.

The comrades of the LTd'I made clear what Trotskyism really stands for in an intervention at an April 5 public forum on Albania organized by the Leoncavallo social center in Milano. RC leader Fausto Bertinotti spoke and called on the Europe of imperialist bandits to support the Italian government in an intervention "for peace" in Albania. Speaking immediately after Bertinotti, one of our comrades counterposed the need for "strikes and working-class mobilizations *against* this government" to combat the planned occupation by Italian imperialism. The LTd'I speaker emphasized that support to the popular front "lulls the working class and prevents it from struggling." The comrade continued:

> "Rifondazione Comunista distributed a leaflet that said that there is a risk that Albania will turn into 'our Vietnam.' But for communists, workers and the oppressed all over the world, Vietnam was a victory. We want two, three, many Vietnams for Italian imperialism!"

As the LTd'I leaflet (translated below) stressed, Leninists understand that the main enemy is at home. The Italian proletariat must fight in solidarity with the working masses of Albania against the depredations of the Italian imperialist bourgeoisie.

SPARTACO

5 April 1997

In an outrageous and arrogant act of imperialist barbarity, on March 28 the Italian navy ship *Sibilla* massacred 89 Albanian refugees, mostly women and children, by ramming the small motorboat that was taking them toward Puglia on the Italian coast. With inhuman brutality, the police sequestered the 34 survivors, most of whom had just seen their own families murdered, and held them in isolation behind barbed wire for days. They made it impossible for the survivors to come into contact with anybody, including journalists and Caritas charity workers, in order to keep them from telling the truth about what had happened.

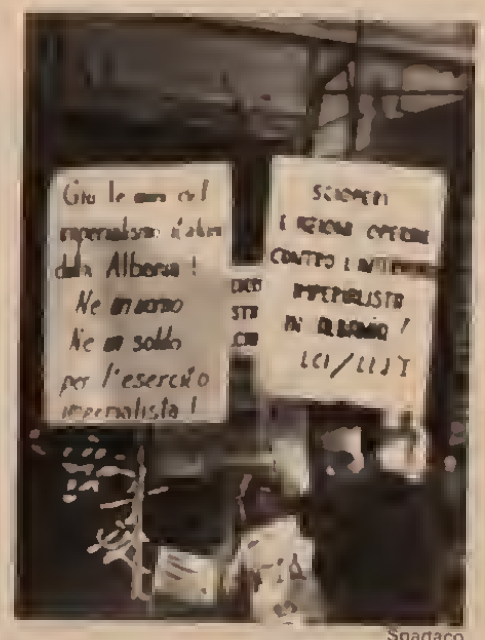
The sinking of the Albanian boat is a clear message from Italian imperialism to the Albanian population that no more refugees will be accepted on the peninsula. This mass murder took place at the high point of a growing campaign of racist terror that has lasted for several weeks. Thousands of Albanians who came to Italy to save their lives have been treated worse than animals. They have been enclosed in concentration camps, repressed and treated by the police as criminals and deported in a totally arbitrary way. Meanwhile, a steady media drumbeat tries to stir up racism within the population.

Now, after imposing a naval blockade, the racist and bellicose Prodi popular-front government—supported by Rifondazione Comunista and whose mainstay is the PDS—is preparing an imperialist military intervention of 5,000 soldiers (2,500 Italians) which will operate directly on Albanian territory, under the fig leaf of "humanitarian aid" and UN support. Every communist, every militant worker must condemn this massacre and clearly and explicitly demand: ***Italian imperialism, get your bloody hands off Albania! Full citizenship rights for the Albanian refugees and all immigrants!***

The renewed aggressiveness of Italian imperialism goes hand in hand with the Prodi government's domestic policies of anti-worker, racist and anti-woman austerity. The deaths of the Albanians at sea go side by side with the desperate unemployed in the South who commit suicide and the thousands of industrial murders caused by "accidents at work"—which are destined to increase with the shameful "agreement for work" pushed by the Ulivo, RC and the trade-union bureaucracy. The disgusting Italian/Albanian financial speculation that has reduced thousands of Albanian families to extreme poverty goes with the brutal capitalist exploitation that increases daily in Italy. The bourgeoisie uses the scarecrow of an "invasion of Albanians" to whip up racism against immigrants among the Italian population and in order to find a scapegoat for growing unemployment. It uses the racist terror of the police and prepares the way for fascists like the "Green Shirts" of the Northern League, who organize anti-Albanian "patrols."

The working class must respond to all of this with: ***Workerlimmigrant mobilizations to smash racist terror! Organize all immigrants into the trade unions! Workers actions and strikes against the departations, the naval blockade and the imperialist intervention in Albania! The main enemy is at hame!***

The current leaders of the workers movement are the direct authors of the imperialist, racist and anti-worker policies that the Italian bourgeoisie wants. The PDS, including Minister of Justice Napolitano, vigorously supports the military intervention in Albania. Rifonda-



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Milano, April 9: Trotskyists call for workers actions against Italian imperialist intervention in Albania.

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Philadelphia...

(continued from page 3)

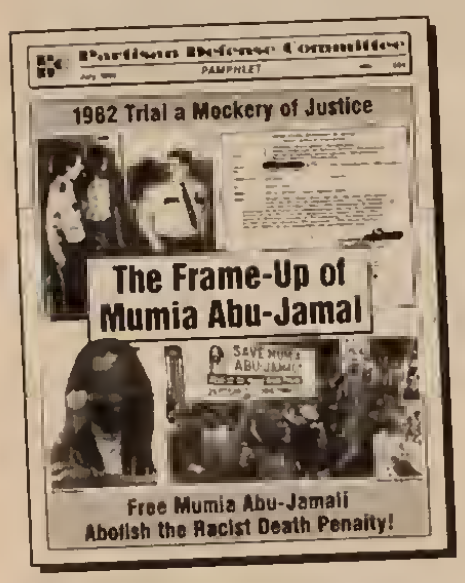
may be "sick" of that "garbage."

The last third of the videotape is virtually one long racist diatribe on how to remove blacks from juries, particularly in homicide cases involving black defendants, punctuated by giggles from the audience of prosecutors. Urging his charges to always "ask what section of the city they live in," McMahon derisively rails against selecting "some nitwit from 33rd and Diamond," a black neighborhood. He sneers that "the blacks from the low-income areas are less likely to convict" and warns that "young black women are very bad." Sounding just like a Southern "good ole boy," McMahon says, "in selecting blacks, you don't want the real educated ones." Indeed, this racist pig explicitly underlines the affinity felt by the rulers of Philadelphia, PA for Philadelphia, Mississippi, as he makes an exception for "blacks from the South" because there's "a different way of living down there."

This disgusting racist tirade will hardly come as a surprise to most black people, many of whom have had direct experience with the criminally racist injustice system. What is notable about the tape, however, is that it was produced only months after a 1986 U.S. Supreme Court ruling (*Batson v. Kentucky*) forbidding prosecutors from "challenging potential jurors solely on account of their race." The tape was clearly intended to coach apprentice prosecutors in how to subvert the *Batson* decision. McMahon makes this explicit at the very end, as he warns his students to question black jurors "at length" to come up with bogus reasons for striking them in case a judge challenges the prosecutors on grounds of racial discrimination.

Auth/Philadelphia Inquirer

While hypocritically decrying jury rigging by her own office, racist Philly D.A. Lynne Abraham is notorious for her death penalty bloodlust.



Vital information in fight for Jamal's freedom. 50 cents. Order from PDC, P.O. Box 99 Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013.

In a press conference after the release of the tape, McMahon defended his statements, saying, "That's not being racist—that's being realistic." When talking about the American "injustice" system, racism *is* the reality. The U.S. Supreme Court itself has effectively said as much, acknowledging in the 1987 *McCleskey* ruling the overwhelming racist bias in death penalty cases, but dismissing such racism with the remark that "apparent discrepancies in sentencing are an inevitable part of our criminal justice system." Warren McCleskey was then executed.

At the core of the *Batson* decision was the notion that district attorneys—as the supposed representatives of "the people"—are interested in "justice." In his videotape intended only for the eyes of other D.A.s, McMahon himself dismisses this pretense of bourgeois democracy, labeling as "ridiculous" the idea of seeking "a competent, fair and impartial jury." Indeed, when a jury does rule in a high-profile case on the basis of the evidence and "reasonable doubt"—particularly when the defendant is black or Hispanic—it provokes the sort of racist furor which was manifested over the 1995 O.J. Simpson acquittal. That outcome provoked an outcry by sections of the bourgeoisie for non-unanimous verdicts and even eliminating trial by jury altogether. Meanwhile, right-wingers have launched a witchhunt against the occasional "liberal" judge who takes constitutional safeguards seriously. Thus, House majority whip Tom DeLay is currently sponsoring a Congressional bill which would call for the wholesale impeachment of "wayward judges."

Free Mumia Abu-Jamal Now!

The latest revelations are directly linked to the Jamal case. Jamal's June 1995 Post-Conviction Relief (PCRA) petition noted, "In this case, every basic trial element—the defense, the prosecution, the jury, and the court—was so riddled with prejudicial error as to deny Mr. Jamal any semblance of a fair proceeding." Indeed, many of the prosecutors and judges in Jamal's case have simply changed places. Castille was the D.A. who signed the prosecution papers against a 1987 appeal by Jamal. Current D.A. Lynne Abraham, who was labeled the "Deadliest D.A." in the country in a *New York Times* magazine (16 July 1995) profile, served as the arraignment judge in Jamal's case in December 1981 and later went on to become a homicide judge before her election as D.A. in 1991.

Jamal's "trial" was shot through with the sort of techniques outlined by McMahon. As the PCRA papers made clear, at least 10 of the 14 possible black jurors in Jamal's trial were stricken by the prosecution without cause, and one black woman who did make it onto the jury was removed midway through the case by Sabo. Jamal's court-appointed attorney at that trial requested that the race of jurors stricken by the prosecution he recorded as evidence of discrimination. Sabo turned him down.

The discriminatory jury selection in the 1982 trial was raised both in Jamal's 1987 direct appeal and in the subsequent PCRA petition, which noted that "the Philadelphia district attorney's office has engaged in a pattern of striking black jurors." Jamal's PCRA appeal papers specifically referred to a 1991 federal court decision, *Diggs v. Vaughn*, which overturned a 1977 conviction because the Philly D.A. had peremptorily rejected black jurors. In response, the prosecution disingenuously claimed that the *Diggs* decision only applied to 1977 and was not "relevant" to Jamal's 1982 trial. Yet in the case of Edward Sistrunk, a black man convicted of murder by an all-white jury *in 1981*, the federal District Court ruled that the Philly prosecutor had used her 13 peremptory challenges "in a racially discriminatory manner." But the federal Third Circuit Court reversed the appeal on procedural grounds. And now, with the release of the McMahon tape, even the D.A.'s office itself has admitted that the policy of racist jury rigging continued at least through 1986.

In 1992, the Third Circuit overturned a three-year-old conviction of a young black man on the same grounds. Three of the four blacks who were interviewed as potential jurors in that case had been struck by the prosecution without cause. In the original trial and in four other appeals, the defense lawyer had unsuccessfully argued that the prosecutor had violated the *Batson* decision. Abraham's office, recalled lawyer Jeffrey Shender, "fought me tooth and nail," until the federal court finally agreed with him. As a report in the *Philadelphia Inquirer* (6 April) commented, "Abraham's appellate unit, seeking to preserve convictions, has defended the very jury-selection techniques that Abraham so deplores when they are mouthed by McMahon." And this will undoubtedly continue, both in Mumia's case and in countless others.

Racism is shot through the entire capitalist legal system, from arrest to trial to imprisonment, as is exemplified by Mumia's case. The decades-long vendetta waged against this award-winning journalist—from the time he was targeted by the FBI's COINTELPRO murder operation as a 15-year-old spokesman for the Black Panther Party to his harassment as a supporter of the MOVE organization to the frame-up which sent him to death row—shows the vast array of terror and repression wielded by the capitalist state against those who challenge it. As we wrote in the PDC pamphlet, *The Frame-Up of Mumia Abu-Jamal*:

> ***"Mumia Abu-Jamal did not have a fair trial, he could not have had a fair trial and he would not now be allowed to have a fair trial....***
>
> "Mumia Abu-Jamal has been a special target of the racist rulers, because he dared *and dares* to speak out with force and passion against their injustices. But the system which has tormented him also oppresses black and Hispanic minorities as a whole, as its apparatus of legal repression defends the property and interests of the tiny handful of fabulously wealthy capitalists against the working people who produce their wealth. Jamal's case serves as a reminder of the fundamental realities of capitalism, for the nightmare he has endured continues today."

As part of our struggle for workers revolution, which alone can sweep away this capitalist system and its apparatus of frame-up and police terror, we fight to mobilize the integrated working class and all opponents of racist terror to demand: ***Free Mumia now! Abolish the racist death penalty!*** ■

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zione Comunista continues to actively support the Prodi government, a support that is indispensable for this government to carry out its policy of tears and blood. For RC, the sinking of the Albanian boat is important only insofar as "Italy dishonors its name in front of all the world." RC supports the possibility that Italy would send "a military force of peace in the name of the UN and the OSCE [European "security" organization]" (*Liberazione*, 30 March). The interests of more than 2,000 Italian capitalist companies are at stake in Albania. Furthermore, the Italian bourgeoisie wants to use Albania as a bridgehead to reinforce its position in the competition for the imperialist division of the Balkans. Mussolini had the same objectives when he sent troops into Albania in 1939. The Ulivo coalition in which RC participates carries out the same policies.

The working class needs to break completely with bourgeois popular-frontist politics. Rifondazione and its left wing, grouped around the paper *Proposta*, try to keep the more leftist elements of the working class tied to the popular front, and are thus an active obstacle to the struggle for the emancipation of the working class. ***The Ulivo government is a den of imperialist assassins! RC and*** Proposta ***are their tail! Break with the popular front! Not a man or a penny for the imperialist army!***

The situation in Albania is a result of capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet degenerated workers state and in the bureaucratically deformed workers states of East Europe, which caused the dramatic immiseration of the mass of the population, the outbreak of bloody intercommunal wars in the Balkans and in the ex-Soviet republics, and the furious activity of unscrupulous speculators dedicated to the accumulation of capital by any means. The imperialist powers, involved in an increasingly bitter economic competition, are intervening heavily in these countries to divide the booty represented by the labor market and low-cost raw materials. Reduced to misery by the worst capitalist speculation, a good part of the Albanian population has taken up arms and launched a generalized revolt. But after 40 years of Stalinist domination, in the consciousness of the working class the idea of communism is associated with the grotesque parody of bureaucratic domination of Enver Hoxha. The leadership of the revolt remains within the framework of capitalism and in large part is linked in varying degrees to Italian imperialism, Rome's puppet Berisha, Fino and the other leaders of the Socialist Party.

In Albania as in Italy, the construction of authentic revolutionary parties—multiethnic parties that act as tribunes of the people—modeled on the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Trotsky is more urgent than ever. ***For the rebirth of the Fourth International! For a socialist federation of the Balkans in a Socialist United States of Europe!*** ■

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Union-Busting Workfare...

(continued from page 1)

on shredding social programs and increasing the rate of exploitation across the board, even a fight to defend, much less improve, the living conditions of working people must be based on a broader program of socialist revolution to sweep away this entire profit system.

A System Based on Exploitation, Misery and Degradation

Today, the fact that an aim of the anti-welfare law was to further drive down wages is openly acknowledged. An article in the *New York Times* (1 April) titled "Welfare Recipients Taking Jobs Often Held by the Working Poor" explained: "With the American economy thriving and unemployment low, employers frequently find themselves scrambling to find enough entry-level workers. Normally, they raise wages to lure people who would not otherwise be willing to take these jobs. But with the injection of so many welfare recipients as workers, the wage pressure is dulled."

The idea that the economy is "thriving" is certainly lost on all but the handful of those at the top. The capitalist rulers are reaping massive profits out of the increasing exploitation of the working class and the total immiseration of those they no longer see as necessary for the production of profit. Writing last century, Karl Marx explained how the deepening immiseration of the working class is an integral aspect of the workings of the capitalist system: "Accumulation of wealth at one pole is therefore, at the same time accumulation of misery, agony of toil, slavery, ignorance, brutality, mental degradation, at the opposite pole, i.e., on the side of the class that produces its product in the form of capital."

What was posited by Marx at a time of the general expansion of the capitalist economic system is driven home ever more starkly today when that system has long since outlived any capacity for economic or social progress. With the destruction of the former Soviet Union—a workers state which however bureaucratically deformed stood as a counterweight to the rapacious appetites of the world's bourgeoisies—it's now no holds barred. From Tokyo to Washington to Berlin, the world's imperialist rulers are in a heated race to increase their competitive edge on the world market by attacking the living standards and working conditions of the proletariat.

In the U.S., working people and the unemployed poor are pitted in a desperate competition for jobs, mostly at poverty-level wages. Pointing to the mass of black and Latino welfare recipients now forced to look for *any* job, a *Los Angeles Times* (19 January) Op-Ed piece argued that L.A. "cannot afford" to lose its garment shops by cracking down on sweatshop conditions. For decades, American capital relied on the black population concentrated in the destitute inner cities to provide a "reserve army of labor" to be brought in to fill jobs during economic "boom" times. Today, the capitalist rulers see the ghetto masses as a "surplus" population no longer worth maintaining on even the most minimal subsistence level. The prescription of the welfare "reform" bill is simply to let them starve and die.

In racist America, class exploitation has always been wrapped in the envelope of raw racism. Today, the desperate conditions of life—rotten schools and rotting housing, no health care, low-wage jobs—that were visited first on blacks and immigrant workers are increasingly a reality for the working class as a whole. The head of a temporary employment agency in Utah which placed 5,000 welfare recipients in jobs last year explained to the *New York Times* (1 April): "Without the welfare people, we cannot fill all our orders for temps. To get enough people without them, we would have had to raise the wage."

The defense of even the most basic conditions of a livable existence for the mass of the population—education, health care, housing, employment—requires a fight against the entire capitalist system which is premised on exploitation and which in its decay can only produce profits for the few by increasing the impoverishment and destitution of the many. It will take a thoroughgoing socialist revolution as part of a fight for workers rule internationally to break the power of the bourgeoisie and reclaim the wealth of this country for the benefit of those who labor to produce it.

The "Labor Lieutenants" of Capitalist Austerity

In 1939, Leon Trotsky, who together with V. I. Lenin stood at the head of the Bolshevik Party that led the Russian working class to power in 1917, described the increasing misery faced by the working masses:

> "The ***relative*** decline of the masses' standard of living has been superseded by an ***absolute*** decline. Workers begin by economising on skimpy entertainment, then on their clothes and finally on their food. Articles and products of average quality are superseded by shoddy ones, and the shoddy by the worst. Trade unions begin to look like the man who hangs on desperately while going down in a rapidly descending escalator."

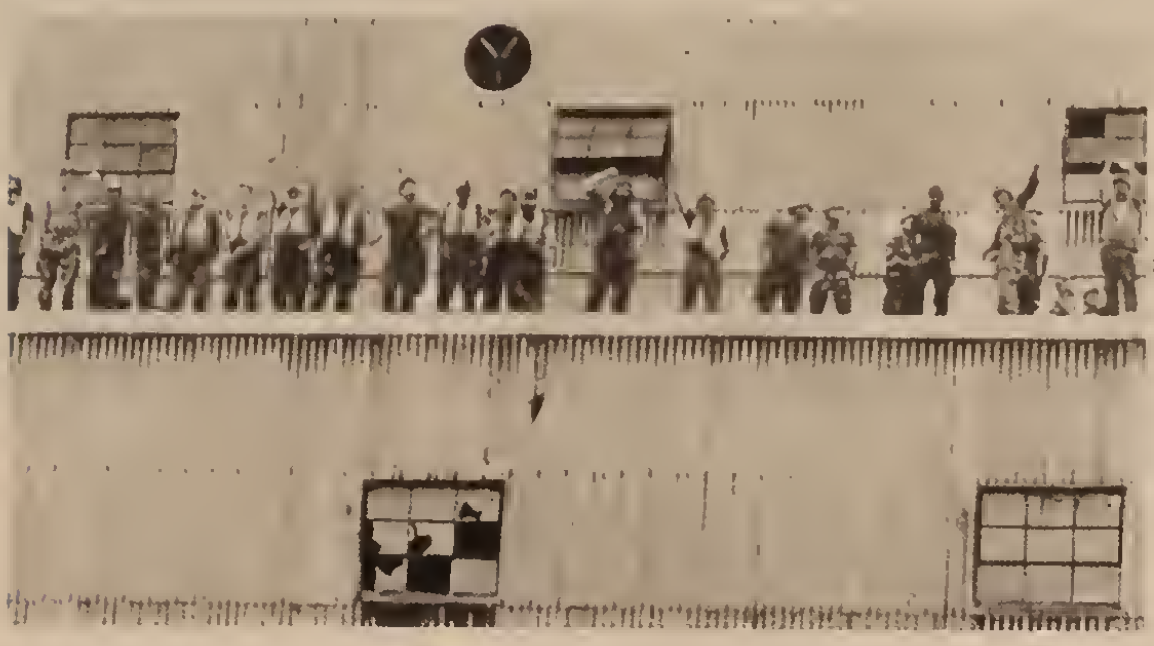
Organized labor in this country has been decimated by nearly two decades of union-busting—ushered in by Reagan's destruction of the PATCO air traffic controllers union in 1981—and by a labor bureaucracy which has sapped the power of the trade unions by subordinating them to the interests of American capitalism, particularly through the vehicle of the Democratic Party. The savage attacks on the working class and on the very ability of the poor to even live are a direct product of this class collaboration. Increasingly, the pro-capitalist union bureaucracy acts as low-wage labor contractors, enforcing "giveback" contracts and the imposition of "workfare" slave labor.

Last September, the leadership of Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100—the most powerful union in New York City—rammed through a contract under which hundreds of unionized transit cleaners' jobs would be replaced by "workfare" recipients. The only reason this agreement has yet to be implemented is that Republican mayor Giuliani has refused to supply the welfare recipients to do the work. Why? Because Giuliani was furious that the TWU contract would blow the cover off the sweetheart deal that he had cooked up with AFSCME city workers chief Stanley Hill. Hill agreed to the slashing of thousands of unionized municipal service jobs in exchange for a promise that the positions would not be filled by "workfare" crews. But today, more than 20,000 of these jobs are being done by "workfare" slave laborers.

As we wrote in our article on the

Public Employee Press (left) Siesel/NY Times (right)

NYC public employees union head Stanley Hill (left) joined Mayor Giuliani in sweetheart deal slashing city jobs and replacing them with welfare recipients. Right: NYC protest by "workfare" organization.



Joe Baker/Cumberland Times

Plant occupation by striking Pittston miners, 1989. Labor's social power must be mobilized to fight attacks on workers, minorities, poor.

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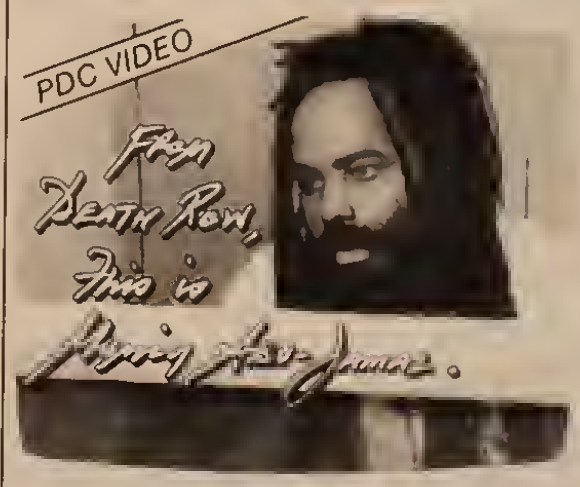
Labor Black League for Social Defense Video Showing



Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!

Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

Also, special report: Defend the Chicago Anti-Klan Three! Mobilize Labor Defense of Anti-Racist Fighters!

Saturday, April 19, 2 p.m. 1634 Telegraph Ave.

OAKLAND, CA For more information: (510) 839-0852

TWU's "workfare" deal ("Enslaving the Poor, Busting the Unions," *WV* No. 652, 27 September 1996):

> "What is required is a fight for ***jobs for all***—for a shorter workweek at no loss in pay—and full cost-of-living escalator clauses in union contracts. New York needs a ***massive program of public works at union wages***—for quality, integrated housing and schools, for free quality health care for all, for massive reconstruction of roads, bridges and tunnels, for everything we need for a decent life. It is necessary to demand ***equal pay for equal work***. The city wants to bring in hundreds of poor people to clean the filthy subway stations? Fine. They should be hired at ***union wages with full union protection!*** The TWU should lead a fight to ***organize the unorganized!***"

At the February gathering of the AFL-CIO Executive Council, the "new" leadership under John Sweeney issued a statement on "welfare reform and union representation" which proclaimed the intention of extending "the benefits of union representation to workfare recipients." The trade-union tops aren't talking about any kind of fight for union wages and benefits for these workers. On the contrary, their program is to lobby state legislatures to "insist" that those on workfare are paid the minimum wage! This is simply a prescription for "organizing" low-wage "union" ghettos to maintain a dues base for the labor bureaucracy. Yet it was greeted with much enthusiasm by some groups who claim to be socialist.

The International Socialist Organization hailed the AFL-CIO's proclamation as "a key step in defending workers and the poor," claiming that the "union leaders restated their intention to organize welfare recipients forced to work for their benefits" (*Socialist Worker*, 28 February). The Workers World Party, which some months ago launched the "Workfairness" group to supposedly campaign for labor rights for "workfare" laborers, is even more effusive in its praise for the labor bureaucracy. *Workers World* (27 February) gushed how Stanley Hill had made a "major turnaround" with his cynical lip service about organizing those press-ganged into "workfare," while quoting a "Workfairness" spokesman who enthused that Hill's move was an "important step forward." Hardly. Hill is simply concerned with keeping his own bread buttered with union dues.

Prison Rehabilitative Industries

Buchanan/NY Times

Left: Capitalists use prison labor to slash payrolls. Right: Sham "welfare to work" schemes mean starvation, slave labor and union-busting.

Build a Revolutionary Workers Party!

It is no accident that reformists like Workers World tail after the abjectly pro-capitalist union tops; they share a perspective based on pressuring the capitalist Democratic Party to act as "friends of labor." This is clear in the April 27 Philadelphia rally being organized by Workers World—to coincide with Clinton's "summit meeting" there—which is billed as a protest against everything from corporate downsizing to the destruction of welfare. A flyer for this demonstration proclaims: "We demand that President Clinton use the legal powers of executive authority that he uses to deal with floods, hurricanes and other disasters to suspend the application" of the welfare-axing law (*Workers World*, 3 April). The destruction of welfare is not some kind of "natural disaster," but is the product of a system based on capitalist exploitation which is currently represented and enforced by the "executive authority" of Clinton's Democratic Party.

It is a measure of how far to the right the reformist left has moved that the program of such self-proclaimed "socialists" is simply to posture as the militant defenders of the wretched status quo before the capitalist rulers took the ax to welfare. As revolutionary Marxists, we fight against the destruction of welfare and other social programs benefitting the working class and the poor. But our goal is not to reintroduce programs that were designed to simply sustain the unemployed poor in permanent poverty. Ours is the fight for a proletarian socialist revolution and the establishment of an egalitarian, planned economy where everyone will have a place in social and economic life.

To realize the social power that lies in the hands of the multiracial working class requires the forging of a revolutionary workers party, built in political struggle against the trade-union bureaucracy which has shackled labor to the class enemy. The independence of the labor movement from the capitalist class is a fundamental precondition for transforming the unions from instruments for the subordination and disciplining of the working class into organizations of ***class struggle***. The introduction of slave-labor "workfare" is designed to pit the ghetto and barrio poor against the unions. For labor to become a fighting force for its own emancipation it needs a revolutionary leadership which mobilizes the working class to actively champion the cause of black freedom and to fight for full citizenship rights for all immigrants.

The racist rulers of America arrogantly presume they can get away with starving the poor, killing the sick and aged and further impoverishing all working people without provoking any social unrest. But this is a foolish calculation. While they bray that Marxism has proven to be a "failure," they cannot eliminate the class struggle which is born of the irreconcilable conflict of interests between labor and capital. There is tremendous pressure building up at the base of this society which can and will explode. Harnessing and directing this anger toward the eradication of capitalist exploitation and oppression is a question that can only be resolved through building a revolutionary-internationalist leadership of the working class modeled on the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Trotsky. ■

Anti-Klan...

(continued from page 12)

Housing Authority police officer, if dozens of people hadn't seen the cop pump a bullet into her chest for no reason on March 4 and then witnessed the all-out barrage of police gunfire at the Cabrini-Green housing project that followed. Mayor Daley is now driving to openly revive the Red Squad, which for years spied and kept files on everyone from striking bus drivers to the Black Panthers to the PTA. This capitalist "justice system" is a system of racist terror and anti-working-class *injustice*.

Police violence isn't random, but serves to prop up a decaying profit system. It enforces the Democrats' and Republicans' racist attacks on welfare, immigrants, unions and affirmative action—attacks which feed rising Klan terror. The fascist nightriders must be stopped, and what's necessary to do it is a strategy of mass mobilizations of all the Klan's intended victims. The same racist terrorists—Thomas Robb's Arkansas-based "Knights of the Ku Klux Klan"—who tried to rear their ugly heads in Daley Plaza on June 29 had also mobilized for a provocation against Martin Luther King Day in Springfield, Illinois in January 1994. In Springfield, Robb's Klan was met by a 500-strong labor/black mobilization initiated by the PDC for which a hard core of Chicago labor turned out in a sub-zero blizzard. This anti-Klan mobilization points the way toward mobilizing the decisive social power of the organized working class in the fight against Klan/Nazi terror and against the entire capitalist system which breeds it.

Defense of the Anti-Klan Three is a vital necessity for the labor movement and all opponents of racist terror. If the cops get away with framing up these three fighters against Klan terror, it will further embolden the nightriding fascists in their genocidal aim of a "racially pure" America where trade unions don't exist. It is urgent for all anti-racist fighters to come together in united-front action, in which all those who rally together behind the demand "*Drop the charges against the Anti-Klan Three!*" are free to raise their views. All out for the May 1 rally! Fill the courtroom beginning May 5!

* * *

Protest statements demanding that the charges against the Anti-Klan Three be dropped should be sent to: Richard Devine, State's Attorney of Cook County, Richard J. Daley Center, 55 W. Randolph Street, Chicago, IL 60602. Mail urgently needed donations for legal defense (earmarked "Anti-Klan Protesters") and copies of protest statements to the Partisan Defense Committee. For more information, contact the PDC at P.O. Box 802867, Chicago, IL 60680-2867, phone (312) 454-4931; or at P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013-0099, phone (212) 406-4252, e-mail: 75057.3201 @compuserve.com. ■

Anti-Klan Three Sue City of Chicago, Cops

On April 11, David Thomas, attorney for the Chicago Anti-Klan Three, filed suit in the U.S. District Court for the Eastern Division of Northern Illinois against the city of Chicago and police officers Patrick McNulty and Densey Cole, who were involved in the cop attack on anti-Klan protesters in Daley Plaza on June 29. The civil suit lays out that the arrest of anti-racist activists that day was a retaliatory action without probable cause, that the police used excessive force, and that the actions of city and police officials were part of a policy of suppression of all political protest in the weeks leading up to the Democratic National Convention which was held in Chicago in August.

As the document states:

> "The City and its Police Department retaliated against Plaintiffs and the other protestors because, despite every effort to limit anti-Klan protest, a sizable anti-Klan demonstration took place, and the anti-Klan demonstrators, including Plaintiffs, successfully defended themselves against a violent Klan provocation, generating significant media interest and coverage of the demonstrations, and thus breaking through the City's intended press blackout."

Charging violation of protesters' First and Fourteenth Amendment rights to freedom of expression, freedom to gather and express political dissent, and due process of law, the suit demands more than a million dollars in damages and other relief. ***Drop the charges against the Anti-Klan Three!***

SPARTACUS YOUTH CLUB

Campus Speakouts to Defend the Anti-Klan Three

BOSTON

Harvard University, April 24, 12 noon, outside of the Science Center

Boston University, April 30, 12 noon, outside of the George Sherman Union

For more information (617) 666-9453

NEW BRUNSWICK, NJ

Rutgers University, April 24, 1 p.m., Voorhees Mall, College Avenue Campus

For more information, (212) 267-1025

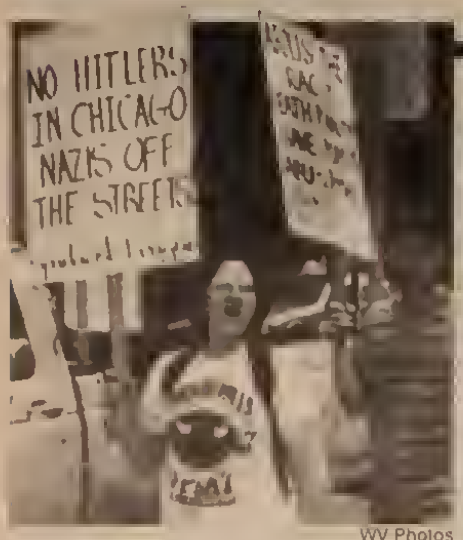
SANTA CRUZ, CA

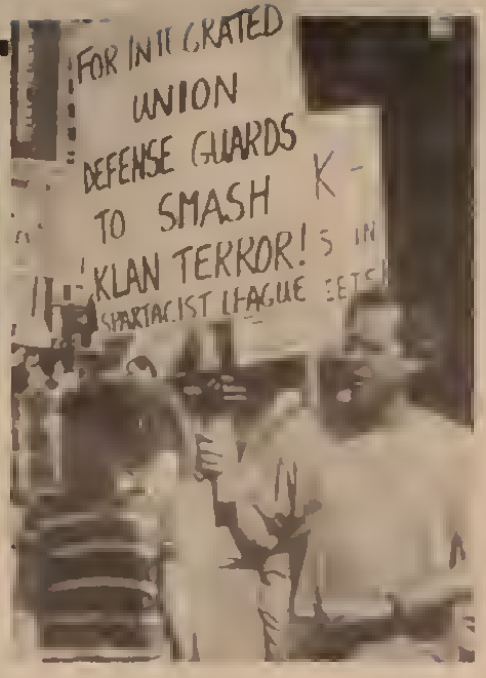
UC Santa Cruz, April 24, 7:30 p.m., Room 106 Oakes

For more information, (510) 839-0851

WORKERS VANGUARD

Chicago





WV Photos

Jeffrey Lyons, Dennis Glass, Gene Herson (in center photo), arrested for participating in 29 June 1996 anti-Klan protest.

Drop All Charges Against the Anti-Klan Three!

Fill the Courtroom May 5!

Circuit Court of Cook County
1340 S. Michigan Avenue

Chicago mayor Richard Daley Jr. and Cook County State's Attorney Richard Devine are cynically decrying the racist terror whose latest victim is 13-year-old black youth Lenard Clark. Yet while they weep crocodile tears over the brutal near-murder of Clark, the "city fathers," their cops and courts are waging a legal vendetta against three opponents of racist terror for the "crime" of protesting against that most savage expression of lynch mob murder—the Ku Klux Klan.

Gene Herson, Labor Coordinator of the Partisan Defense Committee, Jeff Lyons of Refuse & Resist, and Dennis Glass, a young black worker, will stand trial on May 5. They face from one to two years in jail on trumped-up charges of assault and battery against police stemming from a successful demonstration—initiated by the PDC and the Labor Black Struggle League—which turned back a potentially lethal assault by the Klan terrorists. This blow against the KKK's racist, genocidal designs was a victory for all working people, blacks and other minorities.

The PDC calls on trade unionists, blacks, gays, immigrants, youth, leftists—everyone the KKK has lined up in its sights—to mobilize in defense of these three anti-Klan militants. ***Join with unionists, anti-racist activists and others in a united-front rally initiated by the PDC to demand "Drop the Charges Against the Anti-Klan Three!" on May 1 at 7 p.m. at the Blackstone Hotel (636 S. Michigan Avenue).*** Organize now in your union, in your community and on your campus for the May 1 rally and for a big turnout to fill the courtroom every day of the trial which begins May 5!

Among the wide range of speakers for the May 1 rally is James Cameron, who narrowly survived a Klan lynching in Marion, Indiana in 1930 in which two other black youth were murdered. Cameron has since devoted his life to exposing the horrors of slavery and racist terror in the U.S. He is the director of the Black Holocaust Museum in Milwaukee and author of *A Time of Terror: A Survivor's Story*.

On 29 June 1996 in Chicago's Daley Plaza, thugs from the Arkansas-based "Knights of the Ku Klux Klan," armed with bolt-studded shields and heavy flagpoles wielded as lances, marched provocatively towards the demonstration of over 100 anti-fascist protesters. After the protesters successfully defended themselves and stopped these lynch-rope terrorists, the Chicago police intervened to return the Klan's weapons to them and then turned to exact revenge against the anti-Klan protesters.

At a February 28 evidentiary hearing on a defense motion to dismiss the charges, an eyewitness who had participated in the June 29 protest testified that Gene Herson, one of the organizers of the anti-Klan demonstration, was particularly singled out by the cops. Herson was pepper-sprayed in a completely unprovoked attack by police commander Patrick McNulty. Another witness, a volunteer in the AFL-CIO's "Union Summer" program who was also part of the anti-Klan protest, testified that even after the Klan had been escorted away by the police, a phalanx of Chicago cops waded into the protest swinging their nightsticks against the protesters. He described how Dennis Glass was simply snatched by the cops for no reason and how Jeffrey Lyons was spread-eagled on a car by police after protesting the arrest of another "Union Summer" participant.

The assaults by the racist rulers of this country on the unions and on welfare and other social programs benefiting working people and the poor are being enforced through increased state repression aimed at quashing any protest or social struggle. A victory for the Anti-Klan Three would be a critical victory for the right to protest injustice and oppression.

As the defense motion calling to drop the charges vividly documented, the arrest of these anti-racist militants was a blatantly malicious act aimed at justifying the police attacks on the anti-Klan protest and was also one of a series of attempts by the Chicago city government and police to suppress social protest, particularly in preparation for the Democratic National Convention held in Chicago last August. This is also demonstrated in the vindictive arrest and prosecution of the "Chicago Five," who were targeted for participating in protests against the Democratic convention.

Railroading people to jail—particularly blacks—is standard operating procedure for the Chicago police and Cook County state's attorneys. The unfolding cop corruption scandal in the Austin police district has forced the courts to throw out 85 drug cases, and now similar revelations are emerging in the Gresham district on the South Side. Fernanda Royal would still be in police custody, charged with assaulting a Chicago

continued on page 11

RALLY!

All Out to Defend the Anti-Klan Three!

Thursday, May 1, 7:00 p.m.
Blackstone Hotel, Gold Room
636 S. Michigan Ave. (at Balbo)

For more information: (312) 454-4930

CHICAGO

Speakers Include:

Jackie B. Breckenridge, International Vice President, Amalgamated Transit Union*
James Cameron, Founder, Black Holocaust Museum
Danny K. Davis, Representative in Congress*
Henry English, President/CEO, Black United Fund of Illinois*
Gene Herson, Labor Coordinator, Partisan Defense Committee; Anti-Klan Three
Jane Kerrigan, Spartacist League
Jeff Lyons, Chicago Refuse & Resist!, Anti-Klan Three
Rob MacDonald, Cures Not Wars, Chicago 5*

*Organizational affiliation for identification purposes only

WORKERS VANGUARD

50¢

No. 667 — 2 May 1997

Protest Massacre of Peruvian Túpac Amaru Leftists

For Workers Revolution Against Fujimori Dictatorship!

Only minutes after his troops had turned the Japanese ambassador's mansion in Lima into a mass grave for 14 members of the Túpac Amaru Revolutionary Movement (MRTA) on April 22, Peruvian dictator Alberto Fujimori toured the charred, bullet-riddled compound to gloat over the corpses of the courageous leftist martyrs. Every capitalist government in the world joined in applauding the brutal massacre which ended the 126-day siege in Lima.

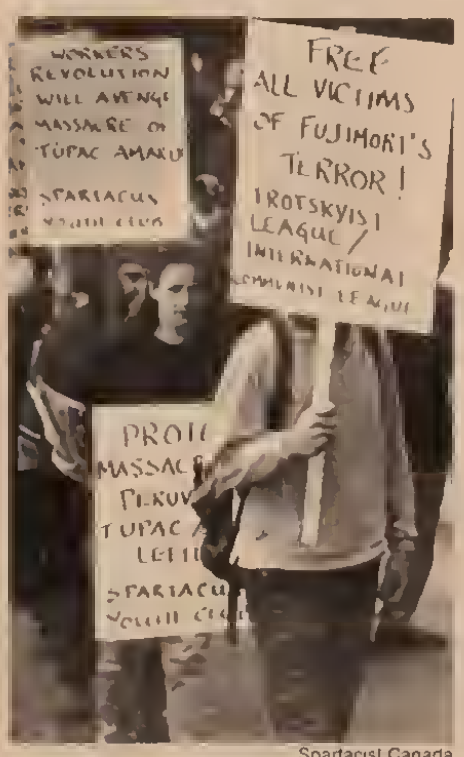
As details of the commando raid filtered out over the following days, they amply confirmed that this was, as an urgent protest statement by the International Communist League (reprinted below) had called it, a cold-blooded mass execution. While the capitalist press carried endless accounts of the "psychological ordeal" of the 72 military butchers, high-ranking businessmen and government officials who had been held as hostages—one of whom died in the military assault—the MRTA fighters left their hostages unharmed to the very end. Fujimori's death squad showed no such compunction when it came to the leftists. Two teenage women, among others, were gunned down by troops as they tried to surrender. MRTA commander Néstor Cerpa Cartolini was not only shot through the head but had his throat slashed.

As the ICL statement stressed, the Lima massacre was intended as a message to the combative worker and peasant masses throughout Latin America and the rest of the "Third World" to submit to imperialist-dictated starvation policies.

AP

Japanese ambassador's residence in Lima following raid by Peruvian dictator Fujimori's military assassins. Mass execution of 14 MRTA leftists was hailed by Fujimori's imperialist godfathers in Washington and Tokyo.

Reuters



Spartacist Canada

Toronto, April 26: ICL protesters denounce Peruvian massacre.

This will embolden Washington's Latin American front men—notably in Mexico, where peasant-based revolts rage in several provinces—to step up their murderous "counterinsurgency" efforts. Argentina's president Menem, who has faced a wave of militant strikes against union-busting and International Monetary Fund austerity measures, immediately proclaimed that he "would have acted in the same manner" as Fujimori. Most immediately, the lives of some 450 MRTA members, including Cerpa's wife, imprisoned in Fujimori's dungeons—for whose freedom the 14 MRTA militants fought and died—are in imminent danger. The international workers movement must urgently demand the immediate release of all victims of Fujimori's right-wing dictatorship.

U.S. imperialism played a direct role in orchestrating this bloodbath. Right at the outset, Clinton had offered to send a team of elite U.S. troops based in Panama to take out the MRTA. The Pentagon, along with Zionist Israel and Britain's SAS commando unit, trained Fujimori's assassins in the months leading up to the raid. The CIA provided high-tech electronic surveillance of the Lima compound. Beyond that, in the guise of its "war on drugs" Washington has been providing massive military aid to the Peruvian dictatorship for years to pursue its bloody reign of terror against guerrilla insurgents and the impoverished peasant masses. In the U.S., it is imperative that class-conscious workers, as part of the fight against their "own" rapacious ruling class, raise the demand: *U.S. bloody hands off Latin America!*

In a statement from Hamburg, Germany, MRTA spokesman Isaac Velazco declared: "There will be justice for all those who were murdered by the Fujimori dictatorship." Yes. But it will only be achieved through the forging of Leninist-internationalist vanguard parties to lead proletarian revolutions which topple the semicolonial bourgeoisies and their imperialist paymasters.

Statement by the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist)

The International Communist League denounces the mass execution of leftists perpetrated today by the Peruvian dictatorship of Alberto Fujimori inside the Japanese ambassador's residence in Lima. The slaughter of 14 members of the Túpac Amaru Revolutionary Movement (MRTA) is a message to the impoverished peasants and working people of that country to submit to the yoke of imperialist exploitation. The Peruvian regime's patrons and paymasters in Washington and Tokyo are up to their necks in this bloodbath. Japanese Prime Minister Hashimoto immediately declared: "I am pleased with the results and I thank the Peruvian forces." The U.S. State Department grotesquely blamed the leftist victims themselves for this grisly mass murder.

Despite our political differences with the guerrillaist strategy of the MRTA, we Trotskyists of the ICL have from the outset solidarized with their just demand for the release of some 400 of their comrades held hostage in Peruvian dungeons. Honorably, the MRTA fighters stuck to this demand on behalf of their imprisoned comrades to the very end. From the beginning, Fujimori insisted that the MRTA prisoners "will only get out dead." Faced with sympathy among the country's peasant and working masses for the MRTA's bold action as well as an internal political crisis provoked by it, Fujimori ordered the bloodbath by commandos trained by the Israeli Zionist butchers. Meanwhile, in the last 18 months alone, some 500,000 people have been detained in sweeps against "terrorists."

The Peruvian bourgeoisie's brutal repression against leftists and peasants has been backed to the hilt by U.S.

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Update in the Fight for Mumia's Freedom

New Legal Papers Show: Racist Jury Rigging in Jamal Frame-Up

At an April 23 press conference outside the Philadelphia mayor's office, attorneys for death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal announced the filing of new papers supplementing the Post-Conviction Relief (PCRA) petition currently before the Pennsylvania Supreme Court. The supplemental application for "relief in the form of a remand" reiterates the call for overturning Jamal's 1982 conviction and dismissing false charges against him in the 1981 shooting death of a Philadelphia policeman. The new papers are based on recent revelations, contained in an official "DATV" videotaped lecture, confirming a policy by the Philly district attorney's office aimed at excluding blacks from juries (see "Philadelphia: Frame-Up City," *WV* No. 666, 18 April).

Pointing to "a chain of prosecutorial and police misconduct, stretching from the suppression and destruction of a witness statement that the shooter fled the scene, to a fabricated confession, to improper cross-examination and argument," the legal papers noted that "the newly released 'DATV' videotape demonstrates that the chain of misconduct encompassed the jury selection as well." Jamal lead counsel Leonard Weinglass told reporters, "From day one of his trial, Mumia made it clear that the district attorney's office in Philadelphia would racially remove qualified jurors who were African-American, and in fact they did precisely that."

The decades-long government vendetta against Jamal—from the time he was a teenage Black Panther Party member targeted by the FBI's infamous COINTELPRO operation to his harassment by Philly police for supporting MOVE and speaking out against racist police brutality as a prominent black radio journalist—shows the vast array of repression and terror wielded by the capitalist state against those who challenge it. We fight to mobilize the multiracial working class and all opponents of racist terror to demand: Free Mumia now! Abolish the racist death penalty!

To join the fight to free Mumia Abu-Jamal, contact the Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013-0099; phone (212) 406-4252. E-mail: 75057.3201@compuserve.com. Urgently needed contributions for Mumia's defense, which are tax-deductible, should be made payable to the Bill of Rights Foundation, earmarked "Mumia Abu-Jamal Legal Defense," and sent to the Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, 163 Amsterdam Ave., No. 115, NY, NY 10023-5001. ■

The Capitalist State: An Instrument of Class Oppression

TROTSKY

LENIN

The climate of racist reaction in the U.S. is underscored by the rapidly growing prison population, especially of black youth, and the drive to execute death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal. Marxists understand that the bourgeois state—the police, the courts, the army—is an agency by which the propertied classes hold down the exploited classes. Drawing on studies of earlier societies and on the lessons of the revolutionary upheavals in Europe in the 19th century, Friedrich Engels explained that whereas the earliest human societies had no state, once society divided into classes a special apparatus of repression arose committed to defending the interests of the dominant class. The capitalist state thus cannot be reformed to serve the interests of the working people, but must be smashed through proletarian revolution and replaced with a workers state, opening the road to a classless, socialist society.

This special public force is needed because a self-acting armed organization of the people has become impossible since their cleavage into classes. The slaves also belong to the population: as against the 365,000 slaves, the 90,000 Athenian citizens constitute only a privileged class. The people's army of the Athenian democracy confronted the slaves as an aristocratic public force, and kept them in check; but to keep the citizens in check as well, a police-force was needed, as described above. This public force exists in every state; it consists not merely of armed men, but also of material appendages, prisons and coercive institutions of all kinds...

The highest form of the state, the democratic republic, which in our modern social conditions becomes more and more an unavoidable necessity and is the form of state in which alone the last decisive battle between proletariat and bourgeoisie can be fought out—the democratic republic no longer officially recognizes differences of property. Wealth here employs its power indirectly, but all the more surely. It does this in two ways: by plain corruption of officials, of which America is the classic example, and by an alliance between the government and the stock exchange, which is effected all the more easily the higher the state debt mounts and the more the joint-stock companies concentrate in their hands not only transport but also production itself, and themselves have their own center in the stock exchange....

The state, therefore, has not existed from all eternity. There have been societies which have managed without it, which had no notion of the state or state power. At a definite stage of economic development, which necessarily involved the cleavage of society into classes, the state became a necessity because of this cleavage. We are now rapidly approaching a stage in the development of production at which the existence of these classes has not only ceased to be a necessity, but becomes a positive hindrance to production. They will fall as inevitably as they once arose. The state inevitably falls with them. The society which organizes production anew on the basis of free and equal association of the producers will put the whole state machinery where it will then belong—into the museum of antiquities, next to the spinning wheel and the bronze ax.

— Friedrich Engels, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* (1884)

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

EDITOR: Len Meyers

EDITOR, YOUNG SPARTACUS PAGES: Joe Sol

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Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint

The closing date for news in this issue is April 29

No. 667 **2 May 1997**

Hatchet Job on the Bruderhof
Sinister Smear Against Jamal Supporters

We print below an April 24 protest letter by the Partisan Defense Committee.

Paul LaRosa
48 Hours/CBS
New York, NY

Dear Mr. LaRosa:

The Partisan Defense Committee protests the recent segment of *48 Hours* which used the Heaven's Gate mass suicide to depict the Bruderhof community as a dangerous cult. This depiction recalls the media hysteria against the Branch Davidians in Waco who were ***massacred*** by the United States government for the "crime" of being a nonconformist religious sect with an integrated membership which dared to defend itself against assault by heavily armed federal agents.

The Bruderhof is well known for its activity in opposition to the death penalty. In particular, they have championed the cause of death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal and were instrumental in the publishing of Jamal's second book, *Death Blossoms*. You cannot be unaware that powerful interests from the Fraternal Order of Police to the Philadelphia D.A.'s office to the Pennsylvania governor's office want Jamal dead and his defenders and supporters rendered ineffective.

Mainstream churches in America flourish, grow wealthy, proselytize and are considered highly respectable in this ostensibly secular, but in reality deeply religious, country. Many small religious groups also dot the American landscape. The Bruderhof community is a voluntary religious organization in the Christian Anabaptist tradition. Your reasons for singling it out and pillorying its specific beliefs and practices are suspect and we protest your discrimination against it.

Yours truly,
Rena Herson
for the PDC

April 19: Commemorating Warsaw Ghetto, Waco Massacre
We Will Not Forget!

The following remarks, published in slightly edited form, were made by a Spartacist League speaker during a discussion on bourgeois state repression at the SL regional educational in New York City on April 19.

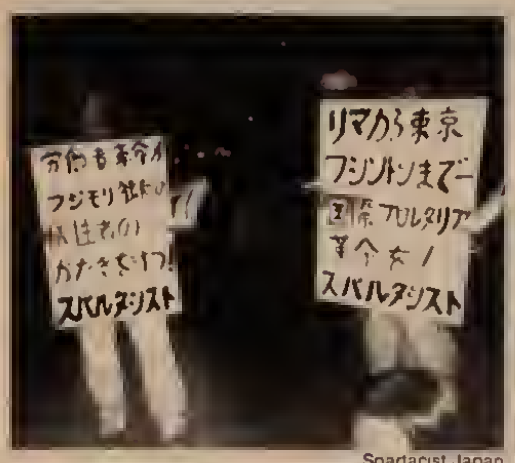
Today marks two anniversaries. The first, 54 years ago, was the beginning of the 1943 uprising in the Warsaw Ghetto against the Nazis. It was the largest Jewish rebellion in Nazi-occupied East Europe in the course of the Second World War. Fifty years later was the 1993 massacre by the FBI and the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms of over 80 people in an integrated religious commune outside Waco, Texas—ironically, on the very day when Clinton's vice president was in Poland hypocritically commemorating the Nazi Holocaust.

There are a couple of points to be made about these events. One is to underscore, against those who have illusions in bourgeois democracy, that a regime doesn't have to be fascist to carry out mass murder. The American government operates with all the trappings of democracy. But that didn't stop it from carrying out the massacre at Waco, it didn't stop it from carrying out the massacre of MOVE in Philadelphia in 1985, one in Tulsa, Oklahoma earlier this century—not to mention the slaughter of the indigenous Indian population—and one could go on and on. All this was perpetrated in the framework of constitutional democracy.

The other thing I want to say is about the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising itself. When I was growing up, April 19 meant simply a commemoration of the Nazi Holocaust. It took me years to find out it was also, and more importantly, a commemoration of an uprising against Nazism which was carried out by people who by and large considered themselves socialists. The Warsaw Ghetto Uprising was staged in the situation of a truly totalitarian occupation, against odds which are unimaginable for us today. This was the entire Nazi SS/Wehrmacht juggernaut against a handful of people with handmade hand grenades and a few weapons that had been smuggled in—mostly small arms—and it went on for something like two or three weeks against these enormous odds. The flag that was flying over one of the headquarters of the Ghetto insurgents was the red flag [see "Hail Warsaw Ghetto Fighters!" *WV* No. 452, 6 May 1988].

And this of course has all been suppressed by Zionists and "good anti-fascist democrats," who today would have you believe that the state of Israel, which carries out its own genocidal war against the Palestinian people, is the representative of the Jewish struggle against the Nazi regime. The memory of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising belongs to the revolutionary proletariat everywhere. It harks back to a time in East Europe when socialism was the belief of the mass of the working class, when the workers went into battle with the red flag flying and with the aim of achieving international working-class power. And that had its echo in the Warsaw Ghetto. ■

ICL Protests Massacre of MRTA Fighters



Spartacist Japan

WV Photo

Christian von Polenz

April 23 (from left): Tokyo, New York City, Berlin. Spartacist Group Japan signs read: "Workers Revolution Will Avenge Martyrs of Fujimori Dictatorship!" and "From Lima to Tokyo and Washington—For International Proletarian Revolution!"

Hours after the Peruvian regime's April 22 massacre of 14 Túpac Amaru Revolutionary Movement (MRTA) leftists in Lima, the International Communist League issued an urgent protest statement. The following day, ICL comrades mobilized for protest demonstrations in New York City, San Francisco, Los Angeles, Mexico City, Tokyo and Berlin. Over the next three days, the ICL initiated or joined protests in Washington, D.C., Vancouver and Toronto, while the Spartacus Youth Clubs held speakouts on various U.S. campuses denouncing the Washington-backed bloodbath.

In Tokyo, the Spartacist Group Japan intervened at a protest against a visit to Washington by Prime Minister Hashimoto, who had just applauded the Peruvian regime's mass murder. While the demonstration focused on calls for U.S. bases out of Okinawa, our comrades distributed the ICL statement in Japanese and carried placards denouncing the bloodbath. In Berlin, the Spartakist Workers Party declared: "The German government is no less brutal in its own backyard and has armed the Turkish regime in its bloody war against Kurds and leftists."

A number of the protests in the U.S. were initiated or joined by supporters of the Workers World Party (WWP) and its International Action Center, as well as the Maoist Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) and its allied Committee to Support the Revolution in Peru. The protests called by our comrades of the Trotskyist League/Ligue Trotskyste outside the Peruvian consulates in Toronto and Vancouver were joined by the Workers Communist Party of Iran and several other organizations, including the Black Action Defense Committee in Toronto.

Overall, however, what was striking was the abysmal response by the bulk of the left internationally. Even the largest of the demonstrations barely drew more than 100 people. It is a measure of the rapid rightward motion of the various reformist and centrist groups under the tow of the bourgeoisie's lies about the "death of communism" that they mostly had a token—if any—presence at the protests.

For their part, Workers World and the RCP—sharing a reformist worldview which rules out any possibility of mobilizing the working class in socialist revolution to sweep away the imperialist rulers and their semicolonial regimes—simply enthuse over "Third World" guerrilla struggles. Worse yet, the RCP—occasionally echoed by the WWP—acts as virtual press agents for the Peruvian Sendero Luminoso (Shining Path). Despite its occasional leftist verbiage, Shining Path is distinguished by its pathological violence, which it regularly employs against trade unionists, peasants and political opponents—including the leftist MRTA.

While honoring the slain MRTA fighters, ICL protesters stressed that the strategy of peasant-based guerrilla struggle is incapable of eliminating the oppression and injustice meted out by semicolonial regimes like the Peruvian dictatorship. We counterpose the need for international proletarian revolution led by Leninist-Trotskyist parties. As an SYC spokesman declared at an April 25 speakout at the University of Chicago:

> "U.S. domination of Latin America has been enforced over the decades through savage terror against impoverished peasants, oppressed indigenous people and restive workers, carried out by both the American military and its neocolonial death-squad regimes. In the spirit of international proletarian solidarity, we fight to mobilize the power of the U.S. labor movement in struggle against the American ruling class as a part of the fight for socialist revolution throughout the Americas and worldwide!" ■

Túpac Amaru...

(continued from page 1)

imperialism in the guise of a global "war on drugs." At the same time, the racist American rulers carry on their own war of police terror and repression against working people, blacks and Hispanics in the U.S. The barbarism of the U.S. capitalist ruling class is amply evident in the ongoing crusade to legally lynch black death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal, whose cause has won the support of hundreds of thousands of working people and minorities around the world. As for the Japanese government, in the course of the Lima crisis it has sought to shore up its "anti-terrorist" credentials by escalating its international vendetta against the leftist "Red Army Faction" group.

Despite the valor of its militants, the MRTA's guerrillaist strategy is incapable of eliminating capitalist exploitation and oppression. As the MRTA's own impotent appeals to Fujimori to change his anti-worker and anti-peasant policies have made clear, such petty-bourgeois guerrillas are simply, as we have written, "reformists with guns." The ICL is guided by Leon Trotsky's program of permanent revolution. In semicolonial countries like Peru, only through the seizure of state power by the revolutionary proletariat supported by the peasantry can the historic tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution—agrarian revolution, the emancipation of the doubly oppressed peasant and working women, and liberation from imperialist bondage—be achieved. This requires the expropriation of capitalist property and the formation of a planned socialized economy. Ultimate victory for the toiling masses of Latin America requires extending workers revolution to "the belly of the beast," U.S. imperialism. We fight for Leninist-Trotskyist parties from Peru to Japan to the U.S. as part of a reforged Fourth International to lead the proletariat to power and sweep away capitalist-imperialist barbarism internationally. *Free all victims of Fujimori's terror! From Lima to Tokyo and Washington—For international proletarian revolution!*

22 April 1997

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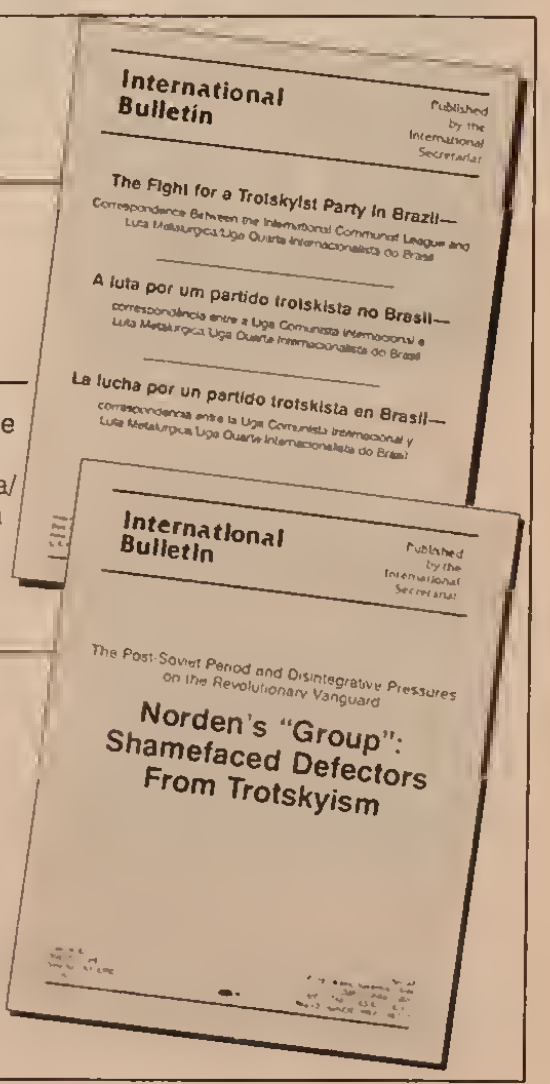


LRP's South Africa Lash-Up

In a recent issue of its journal *Proletarian Revolution* (Spring 1997), the U.S. League for the Revolutionary Party (LRP) heralds the founding of a "New Revolutionary Group in South Africa"—the Workers International Vanguard League (WIVL). The LRP is sponsoring a U.S. speaking tour in May by a WIVL spokesman. The WIVL is a recent split from the Workers International to Rebuild the Fourth International (WIRFI), whose largest component was Cliff Slaughter's Workers Revolutionary Party (WRP) in Britain. Militants in South Africa who, out of ignorance, might be favorably inclined to the LRP had better think twice. The calling card of the tiny American LRP is militant opposition to struggles for basic democratic rights for the oppressed. These "separate but equal" socialists oppose even the call for integration of schools, an elementary demand to provide black children some measure of equal access to education.

What the South African WIVL and the American Shachtmanite LRP mainly have in common politically is their virulent Stalinophobia. For the LRP, their support to all known enemies of the Soviet degenerated workers state, no matter how reactionary, was at least consistent with their view that the USSR was "state capitalist." The WIVL and its predecessor, the Workers International group, formally adhered to Trotsky's position that the Soviet Union was a degenerated workers state, while in practice repudiating Trotsky's programmatic conclusions. Trotsky's program of proletarian political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracy was premised on unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union against internal counterrevolution and imperialist attack.

For Permanent Revolution Against Neo-Apartheid Capitalism!

Reuters

Workers protest anti-labor provisions in neo-apartheid constitution, April 1996. Leninist vanguard party is needed to lead proletariat and all the oppressed to sweep away white capitalist exploiters and their ANC-led government.

The WIRFI's "Trotskyism" was strictly on paper. In practice, just like the LRP, it supported capitalist-restorationist forces across the board. Both organizations joined the NATO imperialists in demanding the withdrawal of the Soviet Red Army from Afghanistan, where it was fighting CIA-backed Islamic reactionaries, in the 1980s; hailed counterrevolutionary Polish Solidarność (the only "union" in the world supported by imperialist politicians like Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher); and supported Boris Yeltsin's counterrevolutionary coup in Russia in August 1991. In short, the LRP and WIRFI opposed Stalinism *from the right*, or in bloc with the right.

Trotskyist opposition to Stalinism, in contrast, flows from the standpoint of *defending* the historic interests of the working class through the fight for international socialist revolution. Thus we have consistently condemned the South African Communist Party (SACP) for supporting and liquidating into the African National Congress (ANC), betraying the workers and oppressed black masses. With Nelson Mandela's election as South Africa's first black president in 1994, the bourgeois-nationalist ANC now administers the neo-apartheid capitalist state on behalf of the masters of the Jo'burg stock exchange and their partners in Wall Street and the City of London. As Marxists, we have a perspective of splitting the SACP, i.e., of winning its subjectively revolutionary elements to a genuinely communist program and party.

Rodger Bosch

South African fake Trotskyists support PAGAD, communalist vigilante movement dominated by Islamic fundamentalists.

But the Slaughterite WIRFI treats this mass reformist workers party as if it were a purely bourgeois organization, drawing no distinction between the SACP and the ANC. Moreover, the WIRFI's track record was one of indiscriminately supporting all sorts of unsavory and reactionary forces, including pro-apartheid elements, as long as they hated the SACP and ANC. In opposing a vote to the WIRFI slate in the 1994 South African elections (*WV* No. 602, 10 June 1994), we noted:

> "Their unrepudiated record of blocs with some of the most reactionary forces in the region, in the name of 'fighting Stalinism,' ruled out support for their candidates. In the November 1989 elections in Namibia, they participated in an electoral lash-up called the United Democratic Front (UDF), which included several bantustan parties who were collaborators of South Africa's puppet regime. The UDF received money from the apartheid government, which was anxious to undercut the vote for SWAPO. Today, the Slaughterites' virulently Stalinophobic election manifesto essentially accuses the ANC of bringing Stalinist gulags to the veld."

From the limited documentation that we have seen, the split between the Slaughterites and the WIVL appears largely cliquist, centering more on organizational squabbles rather than political principle. A document circulated by the WIVL declares: "From the moment of our first contact with the International, we opposed and criticized the opportunist alliance with the UDF in Namibia." But the elections in Namibia took place in 1989, *two years before* the leaders of what is now the WIVL affiliated to the WIRFI. This means that even though they knew beforehand that Slaughter's Namibian section was in an electoral bloc with forces financed by apartheid, they joined the WIRFI anyway. They then remained in the same international organization with Slaughter and his Namibian group for *five years*. Now they want to pass themselves off as principled Leninists!

The same WIVL document briefly touches on Bosnia. For several years, every issue of Slaughter's *Workers Press* featured articles on their campaign for "Workers Aid to Bosnia." Running supplies to the bourgeois-nationalist Bosnian Muslim regime, with French and British imperialist troops in "UN" blue helmets riding shotgun, "Workers Aid" was simply a stalking horse for the imperialists, who were also shedding crocodile tears for "poor little Bosnia." The WIVL now complains that the WIRFI pursued a "politically inconsistent line" on Bosnia, at times becoming a "spokesperson for the nationalist and restorationist Izetbegovich government."

But the WIVL never challenges the WIRFI's line of military support to the reactionary Muslim Izetbegovic regime in Sarajevo. Similarly, the LRP gave military support to the Bosnian Muslims and to the Croatian forces under the fascistic Tudjman government, at least up until the summer of 1995 when NATO initiated a bombing campaign against the Bosnian Serbs. In contrast, we in the International Communist League opposed all sides in the squalid nationalist slaughter in the former Yugoslavia. We opposed all imperialist intervention, calling for defense of the Bosnian Serbs against repeated NATO air strikes. The only perspective that offers a way out for the working class amid the devastation wrought by capitalist counterrevolution is to overthrow *all* the bourgeois-nationalist leaders in a struggle for a socialist federation of the Balkans.

For a Black-Centered Workers Government in South Africa!

As Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution asserts, in countries of belated capitalist development the tasks historically associated with bourgeois-democratic revolutions cannot be achieved short of the establishment of proletarian rule. Our program for proletarian leadership in the struggle for national liberation is encapsulated in the slogan of a black-centered workers government, under which there would be an important role and full democratic rights for "coloureds" (mixed-race), Indians and those whites who accept a government centrally based on the black working people.

The bourgeois ANC regime manifestly cannot deliver on its promises to the South African masses. Yet if the frustration of the masses does not find expression along class lines, it will fuel and exacerbate every other kind of communal and ethnic division. The ANC has scapegoated immigrants from other African countries, as well as coloureds and in some instances Zulu-speaking black African migrant workers. At the same time, reactionary demagogues have sought to exploit popular discontent with the ANC. For example, a prominent local politician in Buthelezi's right-wing Inkatha Party recently organized protests in the coloured residential areas of Johanneshurg against government attempts to force payment of back rates and rent. The protests combined generally supportable demands against the regime with a virulent anti-black thrust. In this increasingly polarized situation, some fake-left groups have alibied the ANC while others champion reactionary and communalist movements among sectors of the oppressed threatened by the ANC's brand of nationalism.

In South Africa, WIVL cadre have argued with our comrades against our call for a black-centered workers government, claiming that our emphasis on the centrality of black African labor is "divisive," or somehow backhandedly pro-nationalist. On the contrary, it is the WIVL which tails a "coloured nationalism" which is prevalent in the Western Cape area where the WIVL is concentrated.

An example of this is the WIVL's support to People Against Gangsterism and Drugs (PAGAD), a reactionary vigilante organization centered in the coloured community of the Western Cape and dominated by Islamic fundamentalists. PAGAD appeals to hostility within the coloured community toward a government

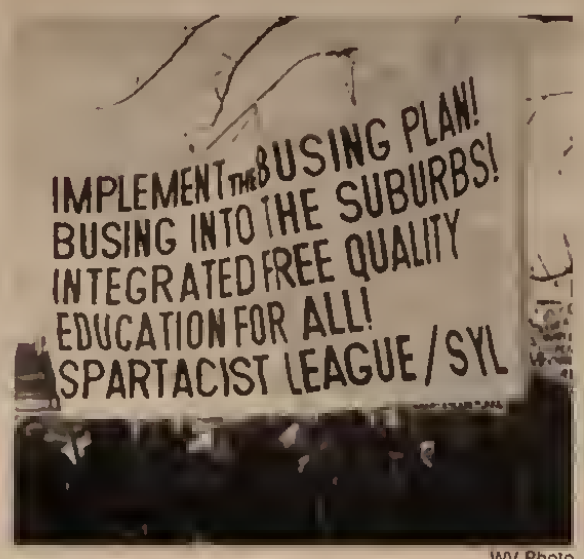
representing the black majority. It is this "anti-government" sentiment which leads the WIVL to capitulate to PAGAD in the guise of "township community activism," ignoring its virulently anti-black character. Last fall, before the WIVL split, the WIRFI issued an undated leaflet—"Hands Off PAGAD!! Build the Mass Movement!!"—which is virtually uncritical of PAGAD, complaining that the media "seeks to break up the support of PAGAD by calling it a vigilante group, or muslim organization, or extremist and so on." At an April 19 Spartacist League East Coast regional educational in New York City, an LRP supporter defended the WIRFI leaflet, claiming PAGAD has only recently come under the sway of Muslim reactionaries. Yet even last year, PAGAD was parading with banners proclaiming "We Fear No One But Allah 'God'" and its armed wing, Qibla, is led by elements who fought with the *mujahedin* cutthroats in Afghanistan and Bosnia.

The fact that the WIVL is blind to the reactionary character of such forces is not surprising, given that it embraced these elements in Afghanistan as a "lesser evil" to the Soviet intervention forces. The victory of the *mujahedin* has meant virtual enslavement for women in Afghanistan, as well as the institution of medieval tortures. The WIVL's support to PAGAD is a measure of its contempt for the necessary struggle for the social liberation of women.

While the WIVL lines up with anti-ANC communalists, the LRP simply ignores the burning democratic tasks that must be addressed as part of the struggle to carry out Trotsky's perspective of permanent revolution. The LRP calls for a South African workers party based on the unions, with a program that makes *no* mention of the need to champion the interests of ***all the oppressed***: black farm laborers, women degraded by such practices as enforced polygamy and the bride price, the homeless and squatters, the millions of Africans still trapped by economic necessity in the "tribal homelands" (bantustans). The LRP explicitly advocates a labor party based on a minimum program, and even the "transitional demands" it does put forward, such as a sliding scale of hours and wages, are not meant to be taken seriously. "These demands cannot be used as slogans for immediate mass struggle in South Africa today," says the LRP (*Proletarian Revolution*, Summer 1996).

The LRP's advocacy of a labor party in South Africa expresses not only an economist outlook but its ingrained social-democratic anti-Communism. The large majority of politically advanced workers in South Africa support the Communist Party, whose industrial cadre form the leadership at all levels—from shop stewards to union presidents—of the principal mass organization of the black proletariat, the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU). As a representative of the ICL stated in addressing a conference of the Workers Organisation for Socialist Action in 1995:

> "While its leaders are on the government 'gravy train,' the South African CP still contains leftist elements who take the party's one-time Leninist pretensions as good coin. Only a party openly standing for the principles of Bolshevism can attract those militants now in the Communist Party who are sympathetic to the perspective of proletarian revolution and internationalism."
>
> — published in the ICL pamphlet, *The Fight for a Revolutionary Vanguard Party: Polemics on the South African Left* (April 1997)



WV Photo

Unke Welsch

Spartacist League called for defense and extension of busing for school integration in Boston, 1974. Forerunners of LRP opposed busing, racial integration, putting themselves in objective bloc with racist mobs (right).

LRP: Left Apologists for White Racism

Formed in 1975, after the expulsion of its central leader, Sy Landy, from a larger Shachtmanite outfit, the LRP has over the years combined softness toward black nationalism with opposition to elementary defensive struggles in the interests of blacks and working people. In the U.S. blacks are an oppressed race-color caste, segregated at the bottom of capitalist society. We fight for ***revolutionary integrationism***—understanding that full social and political equality for blacks can only be achieved through workers revolution and the creation of an egalitarian socialist society—while defending even such partial steps toward racial integration and equality for black people as are possible under capitalism. The LRP's opposition to integration was simply a capitulation to black nationalists who despaired of the possibility of integrated struggle uniting black and white workers.

The reactionary consequences of the LRP's line was shown by its opposition to school busing. When the courts ordered the schools in Boston to bus children from the racially segregated black ghettos to mainly white areas in the mid-1970s, racist mobs went into a frenzy. We supported busing and demanded its extension to the overwhelmingly white, middle-class suburbs, and called for the formation of workers defense guards to repel the racists. Sy Landy and his cothinkers opposed busing and claimed that integration "means the ***subordination*** of blacks to the dominant whites. It represents a strategy to *quell* the black struggle" (*Torch*, December 1974). Thus, in the guise of supporting a suicidal separatist strategy for blacks, Landy & Co. placed themselves in an objective bloc with outright racist scum, who claimed that separate schools for blacks were somehow "equal." Anyone who has experienced the horrors of apartheid knows this is a blatant lie. A couple of years later the LRP used the same false methodology to motivate opposition to the "Equal Rights Amendment" to the Constitution, which simply asserted formal equality for women!

In another flagrant example of the LRP's solidarizing with white racism, its paper *Socialist Voice* (Winter 1976-77) published a photo of the Alabama state capitol showing the American flag flying above the Confederate flag of the old Southern slavocracy with a caption saying that this "symbolizes dominance of Northern capital in the South." With this line, the LRP should have opposed the Northern Union forces in the Civil War! And today, the Confederate flag is not only the prime symbol of hardline white racism in the U.S., but has become an international emblem of fascism, commonly flaunted, for example, by German Nazi skinheads.

Partly as the result of the defeat of busing and other struggles for black rights in the North, fascists like the Ku Klux Klan grew in strength and sought to gain a foothold in urban centers in America. The Spartacist League and Partisan Defense Committee were successful in initiating powerful mobilizations of labor and blacks that prevented the Klan and Nazis from marching in such cities as Detroit, San Francisco, Washington, D.C. and Philadelphia. These labor/black mobilizations were genuine united-front actions, endorsed and participated in by trade unions. The LRP opposed these actions. Denouncing the 5,000-strong anti-Klan mobilization in Washington, D.C. in November 1982, the LRP declared it wasn't a real labor rally because it was endorsed by reformist union bureaucrats. Since all American unions are run by reformists, this is tantamount to excluding the unions—the only mass workers organizations in the U.S.—from anti-fascist mobilizations, i.e. turning them into impotent protests by handfuls of leftists. The LRP's ingrained hostility to any real struggle in defense of blacks and other minorities is in good part responsible for its inability to attract more than a handful of members, after 20 years in existence.

Rejecting united fronts with the trade unions, the LRP looks to joint action with dangerous demagogues like Louis Farrakhan. Thus they write: "In the future, Farrakhan may be forced to raise militant demands and call meaningful actions, in order to hold leadership when mass struggles break out. In that case revolutionaries would join in common action, always warning against Farrakhan's treacherous pro-capitalist leadership" (*Proletarian Revolution*, Fall 1995). But Farrakhan is *hostile* to social struggle, including the fight against racism. He conducts joint meetings with KKK leaders, provides bodyguards for Hitler apologists like pseudo-historian David Irving and amnesties slavery in the Sudan and other African countries.

As the Spartacist League speaker at the April 19 Spartacist educational in New York City noted, groups like the LRP and WIVL repudiate Lenin's fight for "a party that must be a tribune of the people, that must take on the challenge of all questions of special oppression." Our speaker continued:

> "Your tailing of black pseudo-nationalists like Farrakhan—who are in fact very much the enemy of integration, who pow-wow with the Ku Klux Klan, who were happy to see Malcolm X dead—goes hand in hand with opposition to a struggle for simple democratic rights. In South Africa you oppose the struggle for democratic rights of women and immigrants. You champion people who are effectively reactionary on the question of women and communalism with regard to other sections of the population. We're opposed to that. What a vanguard organization, a Bolshevik party, fights for is internationalism. It's against this provincial, parochial backwards crap! That's not communism." ■

U.S. flag above Confederate banner atop state capitol building in Montgomery, Alabama, symbolizes dominance of Northern capital in the South.

Grotesque *Socialist Voice* (Winter 1976-77) photo caption. LRP's only complaint about KKK emblem is its position on the flagpole!

JUST OUT!

Letters and articles presenting the Marxist position on key questions of debate on the South African left: for revolutionary proletarian opposition to the "neo-apartheid" government of the now bourgeois-nationalist ANC; the debate over a "mass workers party"; the Trotskyist program of permanent revolution vs. the doctrine of "nation-building" in colonial and neocolonial countries.

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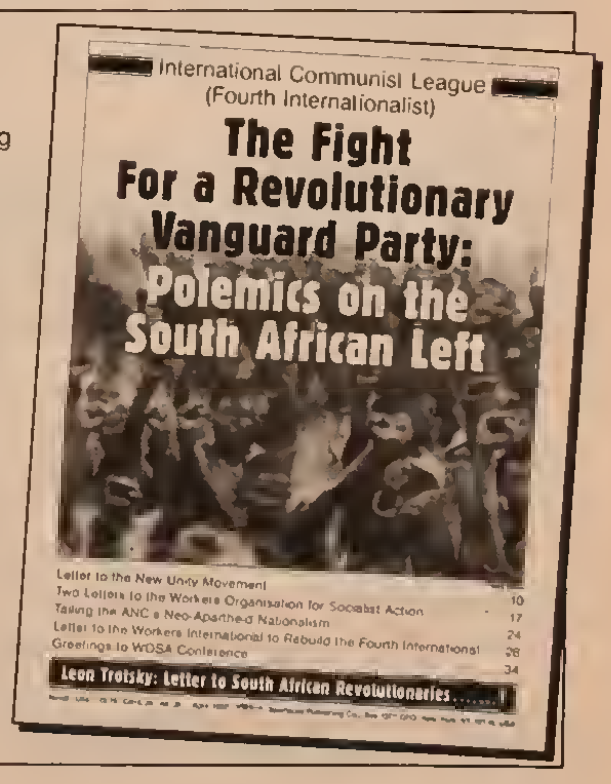


Clarification on the Slogan "U.S. Bases Out of Japan!"

Interimperialist Rivalry in the "New World Order"

In "Why Internationalists Call for U.S. Bases Out of Japan" (WV No. 657, 6 December 1996), we published a reply by the Spartacist Group Japan to a reader named Fujimoto who questioned the call for "U.S. military out of Japan!" raised in a 9 September 1996 SGJ leaflet protesting the U.S. bombing of Iraq. In his letter, Fujimoto pointed to groups like the Japanese Communist Party, in whose mouth slogans against U.S. imperialism signify an overturn to Japanese nationalism. We publish below an article—titled "Smash the Counterrevolutionary Alliance Between Japan and U.S. Imperialism Through Workers Revolution!"—translated from the upcoming Spartacist Japan *(No 18, May 1997) which supplements the reply to Fujimoto and clarifies when and how Leninists use the above slogan.*

In our 29 November 1996 reply to comrade Fujimoto we upheld our leaflet as a fine statement of proletarian internationalism. The International Communist League campaigned against U.S. imperialism's slaughter in Iraq, with ICL sections putting out revolutionary propaganda infused with the Leninist understanding that "the main enemy is at home." Thus the SGJ leaflet was directed against the Japanese ruling class, complicit in the September bombing of Iraq.

The exchange with comrade Fujimoto provoked a wide-ranging and rich internal discussion within the ICL. A presentation and discussion at the 6 February 1997 meeting of the International Secretariat resulted in a motion clarifying the slogan on U.S. bases in Japan. The motion noted:

"Without the former Soviet Union as a force to stay the hand of U.S. imperialism from interventions abroad we have seen escalating U.S. military engagements (often under cover of the UN flag) from Bosnia to the Near East to Africa. All this occurs in a period of heightened interimperialist rivalry where the militarily and economically dominant position of the U.S. since the end of World War II is challenged particularly by resurgent German and Japanese imperialism and their respective spheres of influence. We note that the question of slogans must be taken up and carefully reviewed as applicable, or not, in each instance. Slogans applicable in the 'old world order' cannot be shoehorned into the new world disorder, nor is one slogan applicable for all places at all times. The 9 September 1996 SGJ leaflet ('Japanese Imperialism Endorses the Killing of Arabs and Kurds—U.S. and All Imperialist Forces Out of the Persian Gulf!') is a fine proletarian internationalist statement directed against the Japanese bourgeoisie and U.S. imperialism and their call for 'U.S. bases out!' came clearly *in the context* that 'The main enemy is at home, our own rapacious bourgeoisie and military.' However, a reader familiar with ostensibly revolutionary organizations lifted that demand *out of context* which left it open to misinterpretation as a utopian/pacifist demand or left cover for social-democratic/nationalist revanchist forces.

"Moreover, the slogan does not address the real question of *how* those U.S. bases will be removed: *either* through proletarian socialist revolution *or* revanchist Japanese nationalism. Thus in the future it would be better to raise the demand 'U.S. bases out!' where the context is clear and unambiguous, such as today in Korea, where defense of a deformed workers state is posed, or where the presence of U.S. bases is instrumental to subjugation of colonial and semicolonial countries. Regarding the (strained) collaboration between U.S. imperialism and Japan in the bloody Iraq war, a slogan such as 'Smash the counterrevolutionary alliance between Japan and U.S. imperialism through workers revolution!' would better have expressed our opposition to the use of U.S. bases in Japan.

"Our revolutionary internationalist perspective can best be expressed, where applicable, by joint statements by the relevant ICL sections and the I.S. should seek to coordinate this kind of propagandistic response in the future."

How the slogan "U.S. bases out of Japan" can be used to express social-chauvinist impulses is shown by the "U.S. bases out of Okinawa" movement. Today the Japanese bourgeoisie is publicly united for maintaining U.S. bases in Japan, hence the government's unanimity behind the "forced land lease" law. But Japanese bourgeois support for the American military is merely expedient, based on tactical judgments, balance and timing. The left expresses their opposition to the military alliance by denouncing what they consider Japan's subordination to U.S. imperialism and calling for a stronger, more independent Japan, most graphically stated in Rodoto's leaflet, "Hashimoto Is a Traitor!" At the demonstrations against U.S. bases, these groups rarely espouse any hostility to the Japanese imperialist military or the appetites and designs of their "own" bourgeoisie. Thus can the "anti-militarism" of today easily become the "national defense" of tomorrow when the Japanese bourgeoisie shifts to a policy of greater independence from the American imperialist military machine.

ANPO [the U.S.-Japan security treaty] was and is foremost an anti-Communist alliance, which the left has historically opposed. The left's line on "ANPO military globalization," which masks the growing strains between two of the world's most powerful imperialist forces, is just a present-day version of Karl Kautsky's theory of "ultra-imperialism." Before World War I, Kautsky put forward the position of "a new ultra-imperialist policy, which will introduce the common exploitation of the world by international united finance capital in place of the mutual rivalries of national finance capital." It is important to note Kautsky's trajectory—not only was he a vehement opponent of the 1917 Russian Revolution, but in 1914 he had sided with the German bourgeoisie at the beginning of World War I. The notion of "ultra-imperialism" is a convenient "left"-sounding "theoretical" cover for rejecting the traditional Marxist position on interimperialist conflicts—that is, that the main enemy is the ruling class in one's own country.

Space considerations do not allow us to publish the full text of comrade G. Smith's presentation to the February International Secretarial meeting, which drew on the many written contributions to the discussion and which evoked many crucial historical experiences and debates within the revolutionary vanguard forces of the time. However we are pleased to base our comments below on extracts from Smith's remarks, edited for publication.

* * *

Our starting point on the question of "U.S. bases out of Japan" is to be found in the slogans "The main enemy is at home" and "Not one man, not one penny to the bourgeois military." The U.S. troops question is really a question of state power and one which must be viewed in the light of uneasy capitalist alliances, which in the current post-Soviet period are more and more being vitiated by growing interimperialist rivalries.

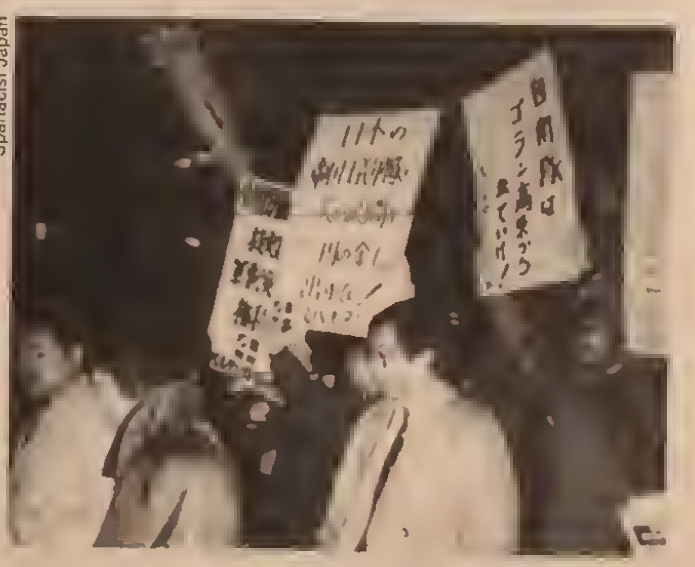
Thus the slogan "U.S. military out of Japan!" cannot be viewed as a demand in the typical sense of the term. Consider, for example, the Bolshevik view on the call to end the war and for a peace without annexations raised during the First World War by various centrists. Lenin made the point that without the proletarian revolution in all countries, peace means only the temporary suspension of overt hostilities—that is to say, there could be no just peace, or peace without annexations, short of victorious civil wars leading to workers revolution. The problem with "U.S. military out of Japan!" is exactly that it begs the question of how the U.S. military will leave Japan—as a consequence of moves of an increasingly assertive Japanese imperialism or through proletarian revolution.

We now operate in a world where the

Economist

Japanese prime minister Hashimoto with U.S. president Clinton. Right: Okinawa protest against U.S. bases, October 1995.

Shizuo Kambayashi



Spartacist Japan

April 1996: Spartacist protesters against counter-revolutionary U.S.-Japan military alliance carry sign reading: "Not One Man, Not One Yen to Imperialist Japanese Military!"

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Soviet Union no longer exists, a world in which we have to think very carefully about our slogans. Previously one could correctly and simply oppose the far-flung presence of U.S. imperialism's military bases on the grounds that they were aimed at the USSR—i.e., it was an integral part of our program of unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism. Now we operate in a very different world, more akin to that of the pre-1914 period.

Leninist Internationalism in World Wars I and II

Wars have victors and vanquished, and imperialist wars inevitably generate revanchism on the part of those who come up on the short end of the stick. The Treaty of Versailles which ended World War I was a "robbers' peace" imposed by one set of imperialists headed by Britain and France (and behind them, the U.S.) upon another set of powers led by Germany. The Bolsheviks rightly condemned the Versailles Treaty from an independent proletarian revolutionary perspective. But to oppose Versailles from any other standpoint would have opened the door very directly to a "red-brown coalition"—to simply siding with the losers in the last round of imperialist fighting.

The policy of the Communists during the French occupation of the German Ruhr in 1923 was confused. Some slogans expressed a correct policy of revolutionists opposing their "own" imperialist rulers, but the "Schlageter line" of Karl Radek led episodically to convergences with right-wing German revanchist forces in the name of a "just defensive war" against an imperialist annexation. This disorientation contributed to the confusion of the German proletariat on the eve of an acutely revolutionary situation.

Consider World War II and the German occupation of France, Belgium and the Netherlands, all imperialist countries, and the bourgeois resistance movements in those countries. The Trotskyists under Nazi occupation in World War II bent the stick one way or the other on the issue of national oppression in the Nazi-occupied countries. In the main, comrades organized in small and weak formations pursued an overly forward policy in the bourgeois-allied, Stalinist-led Resistance movements, which was a sliding in the direction of the "anti-fascist" bourgeoi-

AP

General Douglas MacArthur, U.S. occupation forces head, with Japanese emperor Hirohito, 1945.

sies. This also had tragic consequences for the young Trotskyist cadres at the hands of both the fascists and Stalinists in Europe (see "Genesis of Pabloism," *Spartacist* No. 21, Fall 1972). A parallel sliding toward support of the Allied side was expressed in the "Proletarian Military Policy" (PMP) of the American Socialist Workers Party. The PMP was a reformist call for trade-union control over compulsory military training, implying it is possible for the working class to control the bourgeois army.

We hold up as models the work of the French Trotskyists in Brest who organized cells of revolutionary-minded Ger-

Shigeo Hayashi

Imperialist war atrocities: U.S. atom-bombing of Hiroshima, 1945 (above), Japanese imperial army's rape of Nanjing, China, 1937.

Edgar Snow Collection

man workers in uniform and the Trotskyists who published *Arbeiter und Soldat* (Worker and Soldier), as well as the Dutch Trotskyists of the Committee of Revolutionary Marxists who very concretely foresaw that the introduction of Allied troops in West Europe would be aimed at the incipient workers revolutions that one might expect growing out of the conclusion of the imperialist war (see *Prometheus Research Series* No. 2, "Documents on the 'Proletarian Military Policy'," February 1989).

From Cold War to the "New World Order"

The principal military victors in World War II were American imperialism and the Soviet Union. As the Cold War began in earnest the Americans adopted a policy of reconstructing West Germany as an anti-Communist redoubt and forward post. Likewise in Japan following the victory of Mao in China and the onset of the Korean War, U.S. imperialism forged an anti-Communist alliance with its former wartime enemy. The German and Japanese bourgeois states were rebuilt under the American military shield and shared in a division of labor in the postwar anti-Soviet crusade. The "economic miracles" of Germany and Japan are directly connected with those countries' roles as forward quartermasters for American armies in Europe, Korea and Vietnam.

What has happened is that the military losers in World War II have grown strong again and the Soviet Union is no more. We are well into a situation of renewed imperialist rivalry that is no longer modulated or suppressed by unity against "the spectre of communism"—the threat represented by the 1917 October Revolution.

Germany in fact has more or less realized "troops out," especially Russian troops, through the victorious counterrevolution in East Germany in 1989-90. In the early 1980s, the demand for "Foreign troops out" first arose in East Germany and it was aimed at the Soviet troops—all part of the SPD Social Democrats' "*Ostpolitik*" (Eastern policy). The demand was then picked up in the West and the call was "All foreign troops out of Germany!"—still meaning: Russian troops (the rest we will deal with later). Such was the policy of the Social Democrats and pacifists, really soft-core Fourth Reich/Green nationalism. In those circumstances, we didn't want to touch the "Troops out" slogan with a ten-foot pole. What we advanced as a slogan was "Defend the Soviet Union! Smash NATO through workers revolution!" When we said for example, "Pershings out of Germany!" and defended the presence of the Soviet SS20s, everybody knew exactly what that meant—unconditional military defense of the USSR against imperialism.

We are for the unconditional military defense of the remaining deformed workers states—China, Cuba, Vietnam and North Korea—and for the defeat of imperialist troops in colonial and semi-colonial countries. In situations such as South Korea, Bosnia, Panama, Grenada, Libya or Macedonia, or regarding French troops in Chad or Rwanda, or Belgian troops in Zaire, it is a simple matter of opposition to imperialism: we call for the defeat and withdrawal of the imperialist troops.

In the current situation in Japan, it's not so much social-democratic pacifism with which we have to contend, but the ideology of recrudescing Japanese imperialist revanchism. The pacifists function as soft apologists for their own imperialism. No doubt there is and will be a certain considerable amount of social-democratic pacifism/anti-U.S. militarism lingering in Japan, and in any case that's how the very bourgeoisified Japanese social democrats will play on the U.S. troops issue. But the real drive for U.S. troops out of Japan is beginning to come from the opposite side of the political spectrum.

Japan right now is an anomaly. It has the fourth or fifth largest army in the world and "constitutional prohibitions" against using that army for anything other than "self-defense"—an arrangement which grew out of the victory of the U.S. and the attendant military occupation of the country. But that was then and now is now. This arrangement less and less suits the real interests of the Japanese bourgeoisie. That's one side of the issue.

The other side is the interests of the American bourgeoisie. The *New York Times* recently is filled with articles on Japanese military atrocities in China during World War II. This is meant to have an impact on the Chinese government, which lately has been cultivating strident Chinese nationalism as a cover for its capitalist-restorationist appetites. But above all these articles are intended for domestic consumption, to prepare public opinion for renewed interimperialist rivalry and conflict with Japan. China and Eastern Siberia are the two big prizes up for grabs and the two imperialist powers in a position to do the grabbing are in fact the Americans and the Japanese.

The Main Enemy Is at Home!

Our American section of course carries out a particular obligation to oppose the military machinations of its own imperialism, which owing to its victory in World War II really has been the top-dog imperialism, and the main military threat to the deformed workers states.

It was absolutely correct for the SGJ to call for class-struggle means to cripple the activity of American bases during the recent imperialist foray against Iraq. But the American bases are an expression of an alliance, increasingly uneasy, with the Japanese bourgeoisie.

U.S. imperialism is still the main enemy of the peoples of the world today. But the question is: Who's it going to be in ten years? With the Soviet Union gone we're in a very different situation and we have to hone our slogans to account for the big shifts taking place in international politics. To capture how we intend to carry out our program, we raise the slogans "Drive U.S. imperialism out of the Pacific! For a workers republic in Japan! For workers revolution in the U.S!"

When the Soviet Union existed it was "simple." Any particular American base, no matter where it was, was just another dagger aimed at Russia. From our Soviet-defensist standpoint, we demanded "U.S. bases out!" But increasingly in this post-Soviet world of growing interimperialist rivalries the slogan "The main enemy is at home!" must come to the fore.

In the current world situation, the pressures toward political deformation based on a narrow national viewpoint can be particularly great. Thus the need is particularly strongly felt for the revolutionists to be organized to combat the pressures of their "own" bourgeois societies, through an international party, a reforged Fourth International. ■

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Repression...

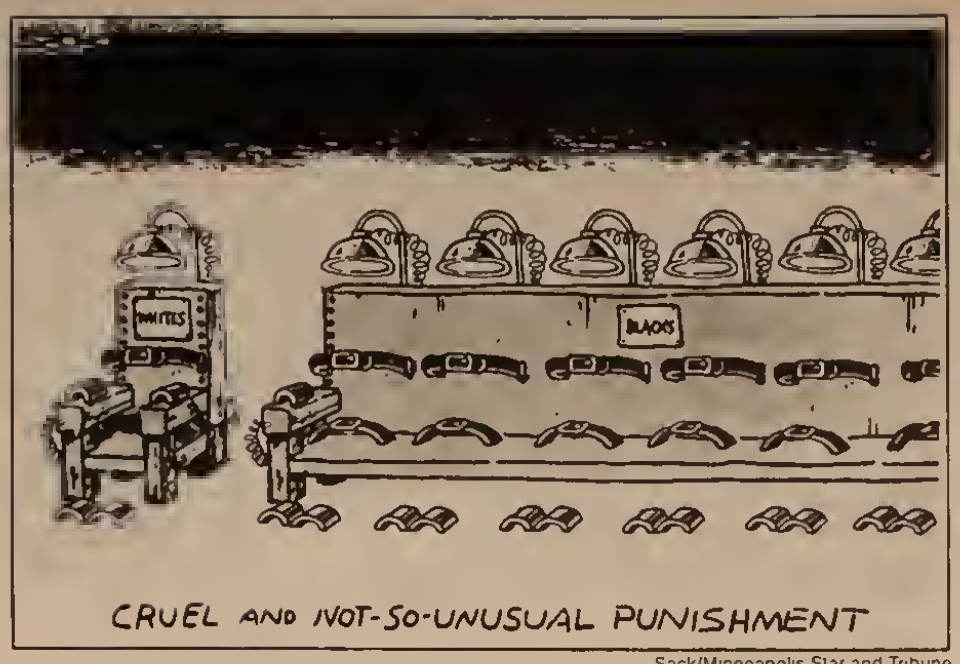
(continued from page 12)

As Partisan Defense Committee counsel Rachel Wolkenstein, one of Mumia Abu-Jamal's defense attorneys, stressed in an April 19 presentation at a Spartacist League East Coast regional educational in New York City, the fight against racist repression must be premised on the perspective of sweeping away the racist capitalist order through socialist revolution in the U.S. and internationally. Above all, this means the forging of a Leninist vanguard party of the proletariat, part of a reborn Fourth International, built in political struggle against the pro-capitalist union tops.

We publish below an edited and abridged transcript of comrade Wolkenstein's talk, which addresses the fight for civil rights in the U.S. and its connection to the class struggle.

* * *

We have today the case of Mumia Abu-Jamal, a man who's on death row, a former Black Panther Party member and MOVE supporter, a journalist who faces execution by the state after many, many years of COINTELPRO action against him. Finally, they framed him up in 1981-82 for the killing of a police officer. And we have the case of militants—Partisan Defense Committee labor coordinator Gene Herson, Refuse & Resist supporter Jeff Lyons and a young black worker named Dennis Glass—who participated in a demonstration in Chicago last June 29 in an attempt to stop the Klan from showing its face there. The protesters disarmed and trounced the Klan, and now these three are being prosecuted. The legal ramifications in these cases are extremely different in their degree of severity. The political questions behind them, in many ways, are virtually identical, albeit in different degrees. Also there's a very interesting intersection between our work in defense of Mumia and our fight to stop the growth of fascism through labor/black mobilizations.



Sack/Minneapolis Star and Tribune

In 1988, the year we began publicizing Mumia's case, we learned that fascist skinheads were going to be mobilizing in Philadelphia that November 5. We began an intensive, month-long campaign to stop the fascists. We thought it would make a very important political point to invite Mumia Abu-Jamal, and he became the first name on our endorsement list. We called out labor, we were able to force the Nazi skinheads to back out, and we had a pretty successful demonstration that day. We had I think the first taped commentary from Mumia, who said:

> "Despite the Klan's hooded image, blacks just hours out of slavery knew well that they were not demons from some sulfuric underworld, just vile, vicious men who hid their identities merely to mask and further the Southern states' political objective to strangle the babe of black political gains of Reconstruction.... In its historical role, the Klan's vicious wave of violence against blacks was driven not so much by hatred as by fear. Fear that black numbers of freedmen in the Black Belt South would dominate political life via the vote. Also a target of Klan terror, the Southern populist movement, where black and white poor in the 1800s attempted to unite against the common foe: the nation's true minority, the ruling class. That is the Klan's primary role and function: to use racial hatred to divide the many peoples who make up this country so that the few, the ruling class, can more easily exploit the many."

In his own terms, Mumia understood the danger of the Klan and how the rulers of this country use it as shock troops and attempt to divide workers and the poor on racial and ethnic grounds.

There's another point in terms of the relationship between Mumia's case and the police, and the interrelationship between the police and the Klan. On June 29 in Chicago, one of the things that led to the arrest of Dennis Glass was the fact that he was probably the most animated protester and was carrying a Spartacist sign against racist cop terror and a Partisan Defense Committee sign defending Mumia. During the protests against the Democratic National Convention in Chicago later that August, the police made note that some carried signs for Mumia. And at a KKK rally in Pittsburgh on April 5, when the Klansmen saw people who supported Mumia's case, the fascists called on the police to join them and chanted, "Hail Frank Rizzo!"—the notorious racist who served as police commissioner and mayor in Philadelphia during the vendetta against the Black Panthers, MOVE and Mumia. The KKK saw the connection. They are race-terrorists, carrying out lynch law, protected by the police, the armed fist of the capitalist state, which engages in racist legal lynching every day.

Democratic Rights Under Capitalism

We're all here because we share some basic understanding that the capitalist system is the source of joblessness, hunger, homelessness and racial oppression.

Harper's Weekly

1868 election rally of freed black slaves in South during Radical Reconstruction. Victory over slavocracy in Civil War led to basic citizenship rights for black people, extension of federal Bill of Rights protections to all citizens.

We also understand that this cannot be eliminated without overturning the capitalist order. As we discussed earlier today, one of the things Karl Marx taught us is that in order to go forward to a classless, egalitarian society internationally, the capitalist state has to be smashed and replaced by a state which defends proletarian interests. The police and army are the armed fist of the state. But no less than that, the whole legal system which exists under capitalism carries out the defense of private property.

We have to go back to the basics here, the question of reform or revolution. One cannot reform the state, one cannot seek an end to the injustices that occur in the legal system by any sort of reform of the court system, or think that the police can be "tempered" in their actions in defense of capital. Bourgeois democracy is *bourgeois*: it's based on defending the property forms that exist under capitalism. The French Revolution gave the right to property to everyone. Recall Anatole France's statement that the rich and poor equally have the right to live under a bridge. Today in America, the poor don't even have the right to live under bridges anymore.

The American Revolution was a bourgeois revolution, but it was not even completed in its bourgeois tasks until the Civil War. Until that time, you had two social systems existing in this country, one based on slave labor, the other based on so-called "free labor," the right of people to buy and sell their labor power. It took the Civil War to end that dual system and establish a single social system—on a capitalist economic basis without slavery. As part and parcel of that, certain legal rights were granted. If you were born in this country, you had the right of citizenship. You also had the right to vote, although that was limited to people who could pay certain taxes, and was not granted to women.

The establishment of a federal system in the aftermath of the Civil War meant that it was no longer the United States "are"—plural—but the United States "is." And that had its reflection in government and in legal concepts. We have grown up with an idea of civil rights, First Amendment rights, but these were not your "rights" as a citizen in any of the states until after the Civil War. Until that time, the Bill of Rights applied only to what an extremely weak federal government could do.

I wanted to make this point because there are so many myths about constitutional rights. When I went to law school in the early 1970s, after the civil rights movement and as the U.S. was being defeated in Vietnam, people were being told of all the supposed "rights" they had. But these rights that many think are a cornerstone of the American legal system were *made* rights that the states had to carry out for a brief period as a result of social struggle—whether it's protections against search and seizure, or the so-called Miranda rights against forced confessions, or your right to a lawyer.

I'm going through this to make another point here regarding the First Amendment. Our ability to sit here in this room and talk about the need to overthrow capital is a reflection of what has been gained from the legal system in the course of social struggle—particularly the struggles to establish unions in this country. In earlier days, any sort of gathering was busted up as a "conspiracy" and people were regularly arrested on the basis of "criminal syndicalism" laws. The formal right to speak, to assemble, under the First Amendment was not accepted for every citizen in every state until the early 1900s—and it remained a pretty empty formality for blacks, immigrants, socialists and labor organizers.

It was in the course of the arrests of Eugene Debs, other members of the Socialist Party and others who opposed America's entry into World War I that the Supreme Court for the first time held that engaging in First Amendment activities—like public speech—was a defense against criminal prosecution, except when such public expression created a "clear and present danger." This in itself had very extreme limitations. Debs was given a ten-year sentence for the following "outrageous" statement about resisting the draft: "You need to know that you are fit for something better than slavery and cannon fodder." The United States Supreme Court upheld his sentence, even while saying that the First Amendment applied. So that's a sense of how you don't have these legal rights at all in practice, absent a social movement and a strong proletariat that can ensure them.

Mumia Abu-Jamal and the Racist Death Penalty

Mumia's case has become—in good part through our efforts—the defining legal case of our decade. Because of the absence of the type of social struggle that went on around Sacco and Vanzetti in the 1920s and the Scottsboro case in the 1930s—and even the Rosenbergs—it may not have the same historical dimensions, but it very well may. It poses fundamental questions of democratic rights and black rights, from understanding that the death penalty is racist legal lynching—which has to do with the history of slavery in this country—to the extreme repression, the "impulse to genocide" we've called it, that this state will use to keep its populace at bay.

Mumia is literally on death row because when he was 16 years old, as a Black Panther Party member, he made a historical analogy about the power of the United States government and used the

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term "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun" and the Black Panther Party slogan "All power to the people!" This, then was used by the prosecution years later to show that he was "rebellious," that he did not have proper respect for authority, and therefore should be sentenced to death because a police officer had been killed. In other words, according to the prosecution, Mumia supposedly intended to kill this cop—whom he didn't kill—for 12 years because at age 16 he'd said, "All power to the people!" That's a First Amendment question.

You have some other very fundamental questions in Mumia's case. We're about to file new papers coming out of the recent "exposé" that the Philadelphia district attorney's office has for decades engaged in getting rid of jurors on the basis of race so they can convict at all costs. It's a 40 percent black city; the vast majority of people going through that court system, and the vast majority of people being sentenced to death, are black and minority. So you keep blacks off the jury, you keep educated blacks especially off the jury, you keep whites who may be sympathetic to blacks off the jury. Yet the right to a trial by a jury of one's peers is considered to be one of those fundamental rights that distinguishes the United States as a supposedly democratic country. The struggle for equal protection under the law included a lengthy battle against "lynch law"—to secure the right of black defendants to jury trial and, equally, the right of black people to serve as jurors.

What we see in Mumia's case over and over again is proof positive that it's a frame-up system. The police lie and are corrupt—framing up the guilty and innocent alike—whether out of arrogance, bonapartism, laziness or because they've politically targeted somebody. There is no way that you're going to get rid of the system of capitalist injustice—the frame-ups, the racial discrimination, the fact that blacks are on death row in a much, much greater proportion than whites—no way that it is going to be remedied, reformed, legislated away by things like a "Racial Justice Act" against bias in death penalty prosecution. The capitalist judicial system is by nature premised on racial discrimination and class bias. And it cannot change without there being a change in the social order that gave it birth and keeps it going. Without a socialist revolution there can be no fundamental change in the justice system, the legal system.

It was only in 1972, around the time of the U.S. defeat in Vietnam, that the death penalty was eliminated in this country. But it took only four years for the Supreme Court to say that if the states passed new laws to institute the death penalty in a way that wouldn't create "too much" disparity, you could have the death penalty again. And that's what happened. Some years later, there was another fairly major challenge to the death penalty in a 1987 case called *McCleskey v. Kemp*. McCleskey was a black man on death row in Georgia. The NAACP and other groups opposed to the death penalty got together statistics showing that if you were black and you killed a white man, you had eleven times the chance of being sentenced to death than if you were white and had killed a black man.

The Supreme Court did not question the legitimacy of the statistics proving that the implementation of the death penalty in this country is racially biased, but found that it was "irrelevant"—in fact, *too* relevant. The court said that they could not overturn the death penalty on these grounds because that would put in question the entirety of the criminal justice system in this country, because that same type of racial bias existed throughout. This is such a telling admission of what we Marxists know and say about the state and the relationship between the race question and the legal system in this country.

Free Mumia! Defend the Anti-Klan Three!

Some left groups call for a new trial or "fair trial" for Mumia. This is fundamentally reformist—even worse in this particular case. Our legal papers have always called for a dismissal of the charges. You get cases where the cops and prosecution lie, or frame up people, or invent confessions, or suppress evidence of innocence, or don't turn evidence over to the defense, or have a racist jury selection. In Mumia's case, you have *all* of these things—and more. Even within bourgeois legal terms, this case is so outrageous that there is plenty of law to support a dismissal outright.

What we have with these groups that nominally consider themselves socialist, like the Workers World Party, is the "politics of the possible," lowest-common-denominator, reformist politics. And these types are calling for a new trial or a "fair trial" for Mumia—in Philadelphia!—when it is politically, theoretically and empirically absolutely clear that there's no way that Mumia ever had a fair trial, did not have a fair post-conviction hearing, and cannot have a fair trial!

WV Photo

NYC protest against verdict acquitting cops who beat black L.A. motorist Rodney King, 1992. To end racist repression requires socialist revolution which sweeps away capitalist state.

We have made it very clear in our many, many writings about this case in *Workers Vanguard* and in the Partisan Defense Committee pamphlet, *The Frame-Up of Mumia Abu-Jamal*, that there cannot be a fair trial for Mumia and he must be freed. Despite all the work of the Partisan Defense Committee in Jamal's legal efforts, we do this having *no* confidence at all that this will produce a favorable resolution of this case. The only way to really save this man's life, let alone get his freedom, is for there to be significant social mobilizations by trade unions, workers organizations together with minority organizations. These and other social struggles must make the ruling class feel that it is just not in their interest to see this man either executed or spend his life in prison.

Lastly, I want to say something about the Anti-Klan Three case. We had 24 hours' notice to organize a demonstration against the Klan. People made extreme efforts in that 24 hours to call on labor support, liberal black Democrats in the city, other organizations to come out with us in Daley Plaza in Chicago to stop this KKK group. And by and large they didn't. The trade-union leadership and the liberal black Democrats were committed to seeing Clinton re-elected. This was a couple of months before the Democratic National Convention, and it was quite clear that they would not support anything that would raise a broader challenge to what was going on in this country, especially in the city where the Democratic convention was going to take place.

This Klan group, Robb's group, actually had us in their cross hairs, unbeknownst to us at that particular moment, and basically went on an attack. We disarmed this group. If we had not done so, it would have been quite significant. We were able to make clear to them that they were not going to ride unchallenged in a major metropolitan city. And they didn't.

For that, the city is prosecuting three people for the "crime" of having stopped the Klan—total frame-up charges that people assaulted the cops. It's quite clear that this is retaliatory. They have assigned a homicide D.A. to this case, which means that the city is taking it very seriously. Our job is to present in this bourgeois court the reality of what happened that day, which is that the Klan is the aggressor. We were out there to defend our rally and to make it clear that we have a political position of stopping the Klan. The police, furious that we defended ourselves, have retaliated against the anti-Klan protesters.

You don't absolutely need a socialist revolution to stop particular injustices. You can defeat particular fascist movements with sufficient mobilization of the working class. But you cannot get rid of the injustice system or the threat of fascism without overturning capitalism. The ultimate defense for all of us is transforming our struggles against oppression and repression into a struggle which overturns the American imperialist order which produces the social decay and the racism. It's only by succeeding in that struggle that we are going to be able to have a society without exploitation, racism and war. ■

Spartacist West Coast Regional Educational

For a Black-Centered Workers Government!

Neo-Apartheid Regime: Enemy of South African Masses

Eyewitness Report: Don Alexander, Spartacist League Central Committee 11 a.m.

Mobilize to Defend the Chicago Anti-Klan 3!
Free Mumia Abu-Jamal—Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!
Free Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt)!

1:30 p.m. *To be followed by organizing workshops on how to build these campaigns*

No to Capitalist Counterrevolution! For Proletarian Political Revolution!

Central Tasks of the Working Class in Cuba, China, Vietnam and North Korea

Speaker: Oliver Stephens, Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste (Canada) Central Committee 4 p.m.

Saturday, May 10
The Women's Building, 3543 18th Street (at Valencia)
Audre Lorde Room (BART stop: 16th and Mission)

For more information and readings, contact the Spartacist League: Los Angeles (213) 380-8239
San Francisco (415) 777-9367 Oakland (510) 839-0851 Vancouver (604) 687-0353
or visit the Bay Area Spartacist Public Office, open Thurs. 5:30 p.m. - 8 p.m. and Sat. 1 p.m. - 5 p.m. at 1634 Telegraph, 3rd Floor (near 17th Street), Oakland

SAN FRANCISCO—Saturday, May 10

Trotskyist League Regional Educational

Sponsored by the Toronto Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste, Chicago Spartacist League and the Spartacus Youth Clubs. For more information and readings, contact:
Chicago (312) 454-4130 Toronto (416) 593-4138

Saturday, May 24 7:30 p.m.

Marxism and the October Revolution

Speaker: Ed Clarkson, Spartacist League/U.S. Central Committee

Saturday session at International Student Centre
33 St. George Street (just north of College) Subway: Queen's Park

Sunday, May 25 1:00 p.m.

Permanent Revolution and Chinese Trotskyism

Speaker: Sean Jacobsen, Vancouver Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste

Sunday, May 25, 3:30 p.m.

No to Capitalist Counterrevolution! For Proletarian Political Revolution!

Central Tasks of the Working Class in Cuba, China, Vietnam and North Korea

Speaker: John Masters, Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste Central Committee

Sunday sessions at Toronto Labor Lyceum, 33 Cecil Street
(next to Steelworkers Hall, one block south of College, between Spadina and Beverley)

TORONTO—Saturday-Sunday, May 24-25

Thomas Robb: Two-Bit Führer of Racist Provocation

For Labor/Black Mobilizations to Stop Fascist Terror!

Last June 29, when members of the Arkansas-based "Knights of the Ku Klux Klan" marched into Chicago's Daley Plaza intending to stage a race-hate provocation, they were met by a militant, integrated anti-Klan protest initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee and Labor Black Struggle League. Wielding bolt-studded shields and flagpoles as weapons, the KKKers assaulted the protesters. But it was the racist thugs who ended up sprawled on the pavement. In retaliation, Chicago police later launched their own assault against the hundred or more anti-Klan demonstrators, arresting nine, three of whom still face one to two years in jail on trumped-up charges (see page 11). The anti-Klan protesters acted not only to defend themselves against a violent attack, but in defense of all the intended victims of KKK terror—blacks, Hispanics, Jews, gays, trade unionists, leftists.

Exactly ten years earlier, in June 1986, this same Klan group, headed by Thomas Robb, staged a vile "white supremacy" rally in the largely white Marquette Park enclave on Chicago's Southwest Side. Several dozen protesters led by the Progressive Labor Party and its International Committee Against Racism tried to stop the Klansmen before they got to the rally site, but were attacked and beaten by cops and other racists. Protected by the police, Rohh and 50 of his thugs, dressed in white sheets and combat uniforms, incited a would-be lynch mob of 3,000 bigots.

The KKK's made-in-America fascism stands for the racist murder of everyone not deemed part of their "Aryan nation." Wherever the Klan carries out its marches and rallies, it leaves bloody terror in its wake. A week after Robb's 1986 foray into Marquette Park, eight people—including four young children—were nearly killed when the home of a black family on the Southwest Side was firebombed, and a black youth was shot dead in a racist assault in the northern suburb of Zion. And when Robb returned to Marquette Park for a 1988 "white pride" rally, hundreds of racists set upon a black man who wandered by.

Right now, fascist groups like Robb's KKK are relatively small. But they cannot be dismissed, as many liberals would argue, as insignificant nuts on the fringes of society. Before Hitler's rise to power in the early 1930s, many discounted the Nazis as irrelevant and marginal. At the time, Leon Trotsky—co-leader with V. I. Lenin of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution—urgently fought for mass united-front action by the German Communist and Social Democratic parties to stop the Nazi threat. The tragic results of the workers leaders' refusal to unite the working class against the fascists were measured in the total destruction of the left and workers organizations, which paved the road to the death and destruction of the Holocaust and World War II.

The fascists must be crushed in the egg! Even today, the Klan and Nazi vermin in the U.S. perpetrate church burnings and bombings in the South and murder blacks, immigrants, leftists, abortion providers, homosexuals and Jews. With genocide as their ultimate aim, the fascists yearn to exacerbate racial and ethnic hatreds to the point of race war. And if the capitalist rulers feel their "right" to exploit and oppress to be threatened, they will unleash the fascist terrorists now held in reserve to drown the integrated labor movement in blood.

What is needed to stop the Klan and Nazis in their tracks is disciplined and determined action based on the power of the trade unions and drawing in wider layers of blacks, Hispanics and other minorities. This is the strategy that the PDC, Spartacist League and the LBSL and other Labor Black Leagues affiliated to the SL fight for and have successfully implemented against threatened fascist incursions in major urban areas: mass, united-front labor/black mobilizations. In Detroit in November 1979, 500 blacks, auto workers and leftists prevented the Klan from "celebrating" the KKK massacre of five leftists in Greensboro, North Carolina days before. In San Francisco the following April, 1,200 protesters stopped the Nazis from rallying on Hitler's birthday. In Chicago in June 1982, 3,000 came out to stop a Nazi provocation against Gay Pride Day. That November, a 5,000-strong labor/black mobilization in Washington, D.C. stopped a Klan march which particularly sought to target immigrants.

Such actions demonstrate in practice the kind of revolutionary leadership needed to mobilize the working class to fight for all the oppressed. To put an end to the fascist danger once and for all, it is necessary to sweep away the decaying capitalist system which fuels the Klan and Nazi filth. The Spartacist League seeks to build a multiracial revolutionary workers party to lead the socialist revolution needed to do that.

WV Photos

Spartacist-initiated labor/black mobllization stopped the Klan in Washington, D.C., November 1982. KKK führer Robb (in suit) and cohorts cowered behind police lines that day.

Racist Terrorist in a Three-Piece Suit

Thomas Robb openly upholds the genocidal "principles" that have "directed the Klan from its inception," and celebrates its founding every year. Founded in 1866 by former Confederate officers following the victory of the Union Army over the Southern slaveholders in the Civil War, the KKK waged a war of bloody terror to reverse the black rights won during the period of Radical Reconstruction. The Klan later became the armed shock troops of Jim Crow segregation in the South, carrying out lynchings and other acts of terror.

The Klan's terror campaigns were directed not only against freed black slaves and their descendants, but also against immigrants. A resurgence of American nativist fascism after World War I found particular resonance in the North, including Chicago where the KKK had up to 50,000 members. In part, this came in the wake of significant immigration—largely Catholic or Jewish—from southern and eastern Europe. The industrial capitalists used these exploited immigrants—who were also targeted by the KKK—to further ethnic divisions among the workers in order to prevent the organization of or to destroy trade unions.

Like his cohort David Duke, who in the 1970s was also a "Grand Wizard" of the Knights, Robb seeks to portray himself as a "fascist in a three-piece suit" to capitalize on the climate of "mainstream" racist reaction fostered by the Republicans and Democrats. However, the Klan's occasional forays into electoral politics and their "media savvy" façades are nothing but a cover for outright *racist terror*. Robb is a "pastor" of the Nazi-like "Christian Identity" movement, which denounces blacks as a "lower form of species than white people" and Jews as "children of Satan." He calls for the "execution of all homosexuals" and praises Hitler as "the great German leader and statesman who was ordained by God to lift Germany from the Jewish depravity."

Robb is also at the center of a network of race-hate action organizations which include some of the most notorious fascist killers in the U.S. today:

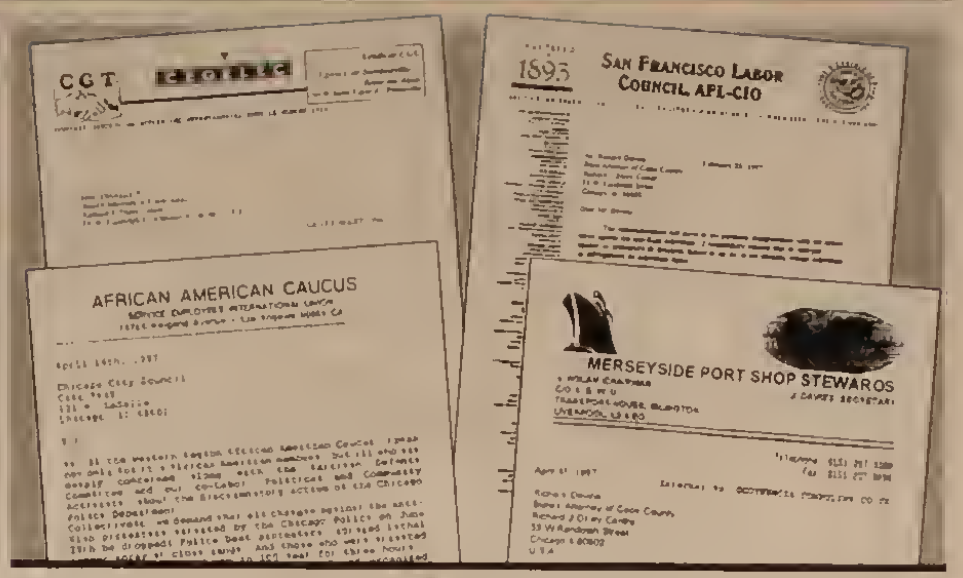
- Aryan Nations founder Richard Butler and another leading fascist, Robert Miles, who was imprisoned for bombing school buses used for integration.
- Byron de la Beckwith, murderer of Mississippi NAACP leader Medgar Evers.
- J.B. Stoner, convicted for the heinous 1958 bombing of the black Bethel Baptist Church in Birmingham, Alabama.
- "The Order," which carried out the infamous 1984 murder of Jewish talk-show host Alan Berg in Denver as well

Marek Goodson

WV Photo

1986 Marquette Park rally by Robb's KKK incited racist firebombing, murder. Ten years later, PDC-initiated protest repulsed deadly Klan attack in Daley Plaza.

Drop All Charges Against the Anti-Klan Three!



Support for Chicago Anti-Klan Three builds in U.S. and international labor movement.

As Partisan Defense Committee labor coordinator Gene Herson, Refuse & Resist supporter Jeff Lyons and Dennis Glass, a young black worker, await their May 5 trial date in Chicago, support continues to build in the U.S. and internationally for the Anti-Klan Three. The three were arrested for participating in a PDC-initiated demonstration on June 29 against the Ku Klux Klan in Chicago, during which a violent Klan assault was thwarted. They now face up to one to two years in prison on bogus charges of assault and battery against police.

A recent protest letter by Lawrence Thibeaux, president of ILWU longshore Local 10 (San Francisco), called for dropping the charges and noted that the attempted prosecution of these activists is designed to have "a chilling effect on political protest." Another by the African American Caucus of the SEIU service workers union (Western Region) wrote: "We believe that Mayor Daley's administration colluded with these fascists to keep this Klan rally a secret, and now seeks vindictive actions against those [who] were courageous enough to protest this deadly menace sweeping our Country!" Among many others, protest letters have also been sent by California Congressman Ronald Dellums and Ohio 7 class-war prisoner Jaan Laaman, who is in Leavenworth on frame-up "conspiracy" charges.

Defenders of the Chicago Anti-Klan Three in the international workers movement range from the Merseyside Port Shop Stewards in Liverpool, England to the South African Communist Party. From Germany, Karl Kielhorn from the Community of Survivors of Dachau Concentration Camp and the Party of Democratic Socialism in Berlin and Dr. Ernst Springer of the League of Antifascists in Leipzig have written letters of protest. Likewise, Serge Klarsfeld of the Association of the Sons and Daughters of Jewish Deportees in Paris has protested against the prosecution of the Anti-Klan Three.

On May 1, the PDC is sponsoring a united-front rally in Chicago in defense of the Anti-Klan Three. A wide range of organizations and individuals in the labor movement—as well as civil rights organizations and activists—support their cause. What's needed now is to turn these messages of solidarity and protest into a mobilization of labor-centered protest. Fill the courtroom May 5!

Send protest statements to: Richard Devine, State's Attorney of Cook County, Richard J. Daley Center, 55 W. Randolph St., Chicago, IL 60602. Send copies and urgently needed donations for legal defense (earmorked "Anti-Klan Protesters") to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canol St. Sta., New York, NY 10013-0099. For more information, contoct the PDC in New York at (212) 406-4252 or in Chicago at: P.O. Box 802867, Chicago, IL 60680-2867, phone (312) 454-4931. ■

I/my organization protest the prosecution of those who face charges stemming from their participation in the demonstration against the Ku Klux Klan on June 29, 1996 at Chicago's Daley Plaza and demand: Drop the Charges Against the Anti-Klan Three!

Partial List of Endorsers as of 29 April 1997

Larry Adams, President, Mailhandlers Local 300,* New York, NY
AFSCME Local 444, Oakland, CA
Amalgamated Transit Union Local 308, Chicago, IL
Autonomous Zone, Chicago, IL
Marcellus Barnes, President, Amalgamated Transit Union Black Caucus,* Chicago, IL
Danny Bishop, Executive Board member, Amalgamated Transit Union Local 241,* Chicago, IL
Jackie B. Breckenridge, International Vice President, Amalgamated Transit Union,* Country Club Hills, IL
Robert C. Clay, Executive Board member, Amalgamated Transit Union Local 241,* Chicago, IL
Leroy Cofller, President, National Association of Letter Carriers, Branch 2200,* Pasadena, CA
Professor Irwin Corey, Communist Party,* New York, NY
Jose B. Cuellar, Professor, San Francisco State University, La Raza Studies,* San Francisco, CA
Charles DuBois, Correspondence Secretary, AFSCME Local 444, Oakland, CA
Michael Eric Dyron, Professor of Communication Studies, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill,* Chapel Hill, NC
Henry L. English, President/CEO, Black United Fund of Illinois,* Chicago, IL
Edgar G. Epps, Professor of Urban Education, University of Chicago,* Chicago, IL
Freedom Socialist Party, Seattle, WA
Henry Louis Gates, Jr., Chairman, Dept. of Afro-American Studies, Harvard University,* Cambridge, MA
Chester Glanton, President, Teamsters Local 743, Chicago, IL
Michael Goldfield, Professor, Wayne State University,* Farmington Hills, MI
Grass Roots Activism Encompassing All Species, Lake Forest, IL
Leon Harris, Secretary-Treasurer, ILWU Local 6, Oakland, CA
Harvard University Democrats, Cambridge, MA
Rickey Hendon, State Senator, Illinois State Legislature,* Chicago, IL
ILWU Local 6, Oakland, CA
Katie Jordan, President, Coalition of Labor Union Women,* Chicago, IL
Rashid Khalidi, Professor, University of Chicago,* Chicago, IL
Peter Kornbluh, Professor, Washington, D.C.
La Raza Student Organization, San Francisco State University,* San Francisco, CA
Labor Black Struggle League, Chicago, IL
League for the Revolutionary Party (LRP), Chicago, IL
Leon London, Executive Board member, Amalgamated Transit Union Local 241,* Chicago, IL
Lumpen Magazine, Chicago, IL
Stephen Lysaght, President, American Postal Workers Union, East Bay Area Local,* Walnut Creek, CA
Mike Mezo, President, USWA Local 1010, East Chicago, IN
Modern Action Club, Chicago, IL
New World Resource Center, Chicago, IL
News and Letters Committees, Chicago, IL
Organization of Latin American Students, Chicago, IL
Partisan Defense Committee
Al Pieper, Business Agent, GSEU Local 73, SEIU,* Springfield, IL
Brenda Rayford, Secretary-Treasurer, Amalgamated Transit Union Local 308, Chicago, IL
Refuse & Resist!, Bay Area, Chicago, New York, Santa Cruz
Mike Rotkin, City Council member and former Mayor, Santa Cruz, CA
Earl Silbar, Vice President, AFSCME Local 3506,* Chicago, IL
Donald Smith, Trustee, National Association of Letter Carriers, Branch 2200,* Pasadena, CA
Social Service Employees Union Local 371, AFSCME DC 37, New York, NY
Spartacist League of the U.S.
Spartacus Youth Club, Chicago, IL
Teamsters Hispanic Caucus, Chicago, IL
Teamsters Local 63, Rialto, CA
Teamsters Local 743, Chicago, IL
Teamsters Local 808, Long Island City, NY
Teamsters Local 70, Oakland, CA
Ron Teninty, International Representative, Teamsters,* Richmond, CA
Delbert L. Tibbs, Chicago, IL
Darby Tillis, Friends of Strangers Ministry,* Chicago, IL
UAW Local 719, Countryside, IL
USWA Local 1010, East Chicago, IN
Eric C. Wat, Asian Pacific Islanders for Immigrant Rights and Empowerment (API-FIRE),* Los Angeles, CA
Cornell West, Professor of Afro-American Studies, Harvard University,* Cambridge, MA
Jerry W. Williams, Sr., President/Business Agent, Amalgamated Transit Union Local 308, Chicago, IL
Standish E. Willis, Chair, Chicago Conference of Black Lawyers,* Chicago, IL
Richard Ziebell, President, UAW Local 477,* Chicago, IL
Ilibari M. Zulu, Provost, Amen-Ra Theological Seminary,* Los Angeles, CA

*Organizational affiliation for identification purposes only

as repeated bombings of gay groups, anti-racists and others.

• Tom Metzger's "White Aryan Resistance," which instigated the brutal skinhead murder of an Ethiopian immigrant in Portland, Oregon in 1988.

After taking control of the "Knights of the KKK" in 1982, Robb launched a series of provocative forays into heavily black Northern cities, seizing on the atmosphere of racist backlash legitimized by former Democratic president Jimmy Carter's call for "ethnic purity" and the reactionary climate fueled by the anti-Soviet war drive of his successor, Republican Ronald Reagan, who was elected in 1980 with Klan support. Robb called a march in Washington, D.C. in November 1982, with the aim of organizing the first KKK rally there since 40,000 hooded Klansmen strutted through the streets of Washington in 1925. The Spartacist League responded to this direct threat against Washington's overwhelmingly black population by initiating a mass united-front "Labor/Black Mobilization to Stop the KKK." While Robb and his two dozen would-be lynchers cowered behind police lines, more than 5,000 blacks, trade unionists and leftists marched down the fascists' intended route, chanting, "We stopped the Klan!"

Robb has also long targeted Chicago, whose hard racial dividing lines and history of organized racist violence have earned it the name "Segregation City." An article at the time of the Marquette Park provocation in the Chicago weekly *Reader* (27 June 1986) documented a conspiracy by Robb and other Klan and Nazi groups to incite racist terror in Chicago, noting: "These new racist ideologues think Chicago is a good place to organize the white revolution.... The racists have been laying the groundwork for over a year."

In January 1994, the PDC initiated a 500-strong united-front mobilization in Springfield, Illinois which brought out a hard core of the integrated Chicago proletariat despite arctic weather to protest a Klan provocation on Martin Luther King Day. Robb's outfit turned out to be behind that KKK action as well.

In short, last June 29 in Chicago was not the first time we had confronted Robb's racist terrorists in our effort to stop fascist provocations. And there is no doubt that Robb specifically had the SL and PDC in his cross hairs when he led his armed thugs into Daley Plaza and ordered them to "get ready to fight." After his humiliating defeat in Washington, D.C. in 1982, Robb's *White Patriot* specifically included the Spartacist League among the various left groups he incited his followers to target as "anti-Klan terrorists."

Labor Bureaucrats: Obstacle to Class Struggle

The struggle against the fascist menace is integrally linked to the fight to stop the racist, anti-labor attacks of the capitalist rulers. Throughout much of Europe, assaults by the bourgeoisie on workers' living standards have provoked working-class struggles against capitalist austerity. At the same time, the fascists have been emboldened by "official" anti-immigrant racism and the right-wing climate engendered by capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet Union and East Europe to launch ever more deadly attacks on minorities, hoping to seize on widespread despair in the face of escalating unemployment and economic insecurity to consolidate a base among the disaffected middle class and backward sections of the working class. In France, Le Pen's fascist National Front has won municipal elections in four southern towns. In Germany, bloody pogroms and arson attacks against immigrants have been on the rise since the capitalist annexation of East Germany in 1990.

But the pro-capitalist trade-union tops, who don't even defend their own members from layoffs and wage cuts, cannot be expected to wage a determined fight against the fascists. There should have been thousands in Daley Plaza last June 29 to stop the Klan, but the labor bureaucrats worked to ensure that didn't happen out of loyalty to their Democratic Party friends, particularly since Chicago was to host Clinton's convention only two months later. In this deeply racist society, mobilizing the integrated trade unions to combat racist attacks is key to any broader struggle in defense of jobs, wages and social programs. And that requires a political struggle to oust the present labor misleadership, break workers and minorities from the Democratic Party and build a revolutionary workers party. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Abolish the Death Penalty!

For a Class-Struggle Fight Against Racist Repression!

For Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

Blue and orange flames a foot long shot up out of the leather mask covering Pedro Medina's face as he was electrocuted by the state of Florida on March 25. In the aftermath of that grisly execution, which filled the death chamber with acrid white smoke and the smell of burnt flesh, Florida attorney general Bob Butterworth gloated, "People who wish to commit murder, they better not do it in the state of Florida because we may have a problem with our electric chair." This was not the first such "problem" with the Florida chair, which is grotesquely called "Old Sparky" by Florida's forces of death, in the 74 years since prisoners themselves were forced to build it. Only seven years ago, Jesse Tafero suffered a fate similar to that of Pedro Medina.

Medina's execution, and the attorney general's gruesome response, epitomize the barbarity of the racist death penalty and of the capitalist "justice" system which promotes it ever more enthusiastically. It matters little to these racist killers that Pedro Medina might not even have committed the murder for which he was condemned to death. The victim's daughter vehemently objected to the execution, and Medina's last words were, "I am still innocent." Shortly after Medina's execution, 35-year-old Ricardo Aldape Guerra, a Mexican immigrant who served 15 years on death row in Texas, was freed after his frame-up conviction was finally reversed.

A black Cuban immigrant, Medina was representative of the more than 3,200 prisoners on death rows around the country, who are preponderantly, and vastly disproportionately, black or Hispanic—as is the skyrocketing prison population as a whole. Medina's execution was the eleventh this year, which began with a triple execution by lethal injection in President Clinton's home state of Arkansas on January 8. As many as 75 executions are projected for 1997, the highest annual total since the Supreme Court reinstated the death penalty in 1976 after a four-year hiatus. Even as the rate of executions escalates, the federal government under Clinton makes ever more crimes punishable by death, while states like New York which long resisted it have now revived the death sentence. In April, Washington, D.C.'s black Democratic mayor, Marion Barry, called for bringing back the death penalty there.

The speedup on death row comes in the midst of an enormous assault on civil liberties across the board. In January, the Supreme Court ruled that judges can stiffen prison terms for convicted defendants by taking into account charges on which they were previously *acquitted*! In their decision, endorsed by Clinton, the justices declared, "It is impossible to know exactly why a jury found a defendant not guilty." This is but the latest in a series of assaults on the jury system, which is supposed to protect citizens against a potentially tyrannical judicial system. Meanwhile, one in seven black men have effectively been stripped of citizenship rights enshrined in the Fourteenth Amendment, denied the vote because of a felony conviction.

WV Photo

Demonstration protesting threatened execution of Jamal, Chicago, August 1995. Mumia's case has become focus of opposition to racist death penalty.

In his four years in office, Democrat Clinton has presided over an onslaught on basic civil rights so far-reaching that even liberals like *New York Times* columnist Anthony Lewis and the *Village Voice*'s Nat Hentoff express alarm "that no president in 60 years has done as much harm to civil liberties as Clinton" (*Village Voice*, 22 April). From extensive FBI wiretapping and Internet censorship to slashing prisoners' access to legal defense, especially gutting the vital *habeas corpus* right of death row prisoners to appeal their convictions in federal court, Clinton has directly targeted many rights supposedly guaranteed by the Constitution. In February, even the conservative American Bar Association came out for a moratorium on the death penalty.

On April 7, some 750 people crowded into New York City's Town Hall to hear Jesse Jackson and *Nation* columnist Christopher Hitchens debate the death penalty with a couple of right-wing bigots. Yet the case of Mumia Abu-Jamal—which has become internationally synonymous with the fight against the racist death penalty—was barely mentioned by the speakers, though both have previously spoken out for Jamal. And Jackson's "alternative" to capital punishment was the living death of life imprisonment without parole.

The attack on democratic rights goes hand in hand with the bipartisan axing of welfare and imposition of union-busting "workfare" schemes, with anti-immigrant terror and the beefing up of police repression. As we wrote some months ago, "The massive reinforcement of the repressive apparatus of the state—centrally the cops and prisons—reflects the need of the U.S. ruling class to contain the explosive contradictions generated by the growing gap between the tiny handful of rich at the top and the mass of the populace" (*WV* No. 655, 8 November 1996). And in this deeply racist society, such repression necessarily targets blacks and other minorities most heavily. This is particularly the case today, when the ruling class deems the ghetto masses which once served as a "reserve army of the unemployed" as a "surplus population" to be dispensed with.

The liberals have no answer because—like the AFL-CIO union tops—they are wedded to the capitalist state and the capitalist profit system. Reveling in what they proclaim to be the "death of communism" with the destruction of the Soviet Union, the capitalist rulers act as though they can slash workers' living standards with abandon and grind the poor without provoking any social protest. And the pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy scarcely pretends even to "demand" a few crumbs for the exploited, acting as enforcers for the bourgeoisie while channeling outrage among workers and minorities into support for Clinton's Democrats. The straitjacketing of the labor movement and the absence of any mass social struggle in turn facilitates the assault on democratic rights.

continued on page 8

Leen/Matrix

All-sided capitalist assault on minorities has meant sharp rise in prison population, now mostly black and Hispanic.

Drop All Charges Against the Anti-Klan Three!

Fill the Courtroom Starting May 5, 9:30 a.m.!

Circuit Court of Cook County, 1340 S. Michigan Avenue, Room 502

For more information: (312) 454-4930

WORKERS VANGUARD

50¢

No. 668

16 May 1997

Indonesia

Leftists Imprisoned on Eve of Sham Elections

For Workers Revolution Against Suharto Dictatorship!

On May 29, the Indonesian regime of General Suharto will stage sham elections for a sham parliament. Cynically billed as a "festival of democracy," the vote has been rigged to guarantee precisely 70.02 percent for the ruling Golkar party. The only other parties allowed to run, the Islamic United Development Party and the Indonesian Democratic Party (PDI), are barred from issuing platforms. This "parliamentary" exercise is a front for a brutal dictatorship ushered in through the mass slaughter—aided by the American CIA—of over half a million Communist Party (PKI) members, workers, peasants and ethnic Chinese in 1965.

This infamously corrupt capitalist regime is today increasingly brittle. Centered on the Suharto family and its cronies, the Indonesian bourgeoisie maintains its power through police-state terror against a population seething with discontent. Suharto & Co. have handsomely profited from imperialist investment, which has helped spur one of the world's fastest growth rates: Indonesia now has the world's tenth-largest economy.

The massive growth of export-oriented manufacturing, particularly light industries like apparel, has created a young, vibrant but miserably exploited proletariat. Some 20 million workers now reside in urban centers such as the "Jabotabek" region (Jakarta-Bogor-Tangerang-Bekasih). The past few years have witnessed a wave of strikes and protests not seen since 1965. At the same time, massive grievances exist among dispossessed peasants and the myriad ethnic and religious minorities of the vast Indonesian archipelago, which holds the fourth-largest population in the world. As well, there is enormous resentment among the urban petty bourgeoisie at the extreme venality of the ruling class.

AFP

As May 29 "election" farce approaches, military regime cracks down on dissidents and trade unionists, deploys troops on streets of Jakarta to suppress any social protest.

The Suharto regime has responded to the recent unrest with typically fierce repression, targeting especially the independent trade unions and the leftist People's Democratic Party (PRD). On April 22, Dita Sari, head of the PRD-affiliated Indonesian Center for Labor Struggles (PPBI), was sentenced to six years in prison for her role in a strike and rally last July of 20,000 women workers in the east Java city of Surabaya. Her co-defendants, Coen Hussein Pontoh and Mohammed Solch, were sentenced to four years each. On May Day, eleven PRD members began a hunger strike to protest the sentencing of PRD leader Budiman Sudjatmiko and eight others to up to 13 years in prison. Meanwhile, Muchtar Pakpahan, leader of the Indonesian Workers for Prosperity Union (SBSI), is facing a death sentence on "subversion" charges. The international labor movement must demand: Free all victims of Suharto's reactionary terror!

The latest prison sentences stem from massive protests which erupted last July over the regime's ouster of Megawati Sukarnoputri, a bourgeois "opposition" figure and daughter of former Indonesian ruler Sukarno, from the PDI leadership. The PRD, which has taken up the call for a boycott of the rigged elections, actively organizes support for Megawati. This is despite Megawati's repeated denials that she has any intention of challenging Suharto's rule. In fact, she has already served twice in Suharto's sham parliament. On purely democratic grounds, we defend Megawati's right to run in the elections. But the boycott campaign is not designed to challenge the dictatorship and its electoral farce; it seeks only

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British Tories Ousted After 18 Years

Blair's "New Labour" Anti-Worker Government

The following article is adapted from the Spartacist League/Britain's Workers Hammer *(No. 156, May/June 1997).*

LONDON—The satirical journal *Private Eye* (2 May) aptly summed up the May 1 election outcome with a cover photo showing outgoing Conservative (Tory) prime minister John Major telling his Labour Party successor, Tony Blair, "I told you the Tories would win." With a huge swing from traditional Tory areas, Blair's "New Labour" swept into government with a massive 179-seat margin in Parliament. The sheer size of Blair's victory is ominous; it will be taken as a mandate to carry out New Labour's vicious anti-working-class programme. Blair's first act in government sent the City of London financial markets into paroxysms of elation, as he granted unprecedented powers to the Bank of England.

Rejecting all pretences to represent the interest of the working class, Blair has pushed to sever Labour's historic links with the trade unions and to recast it as an openly bourgeois party like the U.S. Democrats. Labour's TV campaign broadcast sported the British bulldog —symbol of foaming chauvinist, racist British imperialism—and Blair consciously presented himself as a Bill Clinton clone, insisting, "People don't even question for a single moment that the Democrats are a pro-business party. They should not be asking the question about New Labour." In turn, New Labour's landslide victory has encouraged a further drive toward the right by the French and German social-democratic parties in the face of upcoming parliamentary elections in those countries.

While it was often difficult to tell the Tory and New Labour election manifestos apart, Major's defeat reflected a deep schism within the ruling class about Britain's place in the "New World Order," played out in the internecine warfare within the Tory party over the European Union (EU). For the Conservatives' "Eurosceptic" wing, "European integration" is a threat to

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Massachusetts Day Care Witchhunt

Drop All Charges Against the Amiraults!

BOSTON—Violet Amirault and her daughter Cheryl were sentenced to up to 20 years in prison in 1987 on absurd charges of sexual abuse of children at the Fells Acres day-care center owned and run by Violet Amirault. In a separate trial, her son Gerald was sentenced to 40 years. All three were victims of a political witchhunt targeting day-care workers across the country with grotesque smears of "satanic abuse."

While Gerald Amirault remains in prison to this day, his mother and sister were freed on appeal in 1995. But on March 24, the Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court vindictively reinstated their convictions. We publish below an April 24 letter by the Partisan Defense Committee to Governor William Weld protesting this vile decision.

The two have since asked for a new trial and for bail pending trial. Their motion was granted on May 9 by Judge Isaac Borenstein. But they remain in imminent danger, as the state announced plans to get the Supreme Judicial Court to throw them back in prison.

Dear Governor Weld:

We are writing to protest the outrageous ruling by the Supreme Judicial Court reinstating the convictions of 74-year-old Violet Amirault and her daughter Cheryl Amirault LeFave. More than a decade since the criminal trial, the operators of the Fells Acres Day Care center continue to be persecuted by a hysterical witchhunt aimed at equating day care with "child abuse."

Like the infamous McMartin preschool case in California, the frame-up of Kelly Michaels in New Jersey, and so many others, the Amiraults' 1986 trial was a travesty of justice. The script by which the Amiraults were railroaded to prison is as familiar as a grade-B, made for TV movie. In real, state-sponsored abuse, over a dozen children were traumatized and manipulated into making the most absurd allegations, such as being attacked by a robot, forced to eat a dead frog and being molested by clowns and lobsters. Chief Justice Fried conceded that the charges were "quite improbable," the result of "communicated hysteria" and that the convictions were secured in violation of the Amiraults' Sixth Amendment rights to confront their accusers. But "so what" says the state's highest court as it condemns the Amiraults to a very real prison hell.

Citing the need for "finality" Justice Fried betrayed the state's real fear, complaining that a new trial "will often in effect resolve the dispute in favor of the accused." This same fear of the accused proving their innocence has led both the Democratic and Republican parties to join in eviscerating the centuries old right of habeas corpus and much of the Bill of Rights. Even the *Wall Street Journal*, not exactly known as an advocate of defendants' rights, denounced the abuse of the Amiraults' rights. The Amiraults are no more child molesters than the citizens of Salem were witches. In both cases mass paranoia was engineered to terrorize innocent people. Government and media-fueled hysteria over "child abuse" has little to do with protecting children, and a lot to do with a campaign against day-care centers as somehow dangerous, subversive institutions. Under the guise of fighting child abuse, the various agencies of the capitalist state have destroyed the lives of thousands of people across the country. The Amiraults must not spend another day in prison. We demand all charges be dropped immediately!

Very truly yours,
Paul Cooperstein for the PDC

TROTSKY

LENIN

Only Socialist Revolution Can End Imperialist Barbarism

Even as the capitalist rulers escalate their attacks on workers and all the oppressed, bourgeois ideology seeks to obscure the gaping class contradictions in this society. As the imperialists push the lie of the "death of communism" in the wake of the counter-revolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union, there has been a sinister resurgence of religious obscurantism and anti-scientific prejudice. In a 1939 article titled "The Moralists and Sycophants Against Marxism," written as World War II loomed on the horizon, Russian revolutionary Leon Trotsky reasserted the fundamentals of Marxism against demoralized "socialist" intellectuals who had embraced "classless" bourgeois democracy and the hypocritical "morality" of the bourgeoisie.

Engels once wrote that Marx and himself remained all their lives in the minority and "felt fine" about it. Periods when the movement of the oppressed class rises to the level of the general tasks of the revolution represent the rarest exceptions in history. Far more frequent than victories are the defeats of the oppressed. Following each defeat comes a long period of reaction, which throws the revolutionists back into a state of cruel isolation. Pseudorevolutionists, "knights for an hour," as a Russian poet put it, either openly betray the cause of the oppressed in such periods or scurry about in search of a formula of salvation that would enable them to avoid breaking with any of the camps. It is inconceivable in our time to find a conciliatory formula in the sphere of political economy or sociology; class contradictions have forever overthrown the "harmony" formula of the liberals and democratic reformers. There remains the domain of religion and transcendental morality....

Two classes decide the fate of modern society: the imperialist bourgeoisie and the proletariat. The last resource of the bourgeoisie is fascism, which replaces social and historical criteria with biological and zoological standards so as thus to free itself from any and all restrictions in the struggle for capitalist property. Civilization can be saved only by the socialist revolution. To accomplish the overturn, the proletariat needs all its strength, all its resolution, all its audacity, passion, and ruthlessness. Above all it must be completely free from the fictions of religion, "democracy," and transcendental morality—the spiritual chains forged by the enemy to tame and enslave it. Only that which prepares the complete and final overthrow of imperialist bestiality is moral, and nothing else. The welfare of the revolution—that is the supreme law!

— Leon Trotsky, *Their Morals and Ours* (1969)

Remember MOVE Massacre

Twelve years ago this month the Philadelphia police under Democratic Party mayor Wilson Goode—conspiring with the FBI, the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms and Ronald Reagan's White House—perpetrated an act of racist mass murder. After an hours-long siege by hundreds of cops of the MOVE organization's home in a predominantly black neighborhood, the Philly police dropped a bomb on the home. As the MOVE home was enveloped in flames, a relentless fusillade of cop bullets kept the victims from getting out. Eleven black people, including five young children, were incinerated. The resulting firestorm swept through nine city blocks and left hundreds homeless.

This calculated act of racist mass murder culminated years of harassment, beatings, arrests and massive police assaults on MOVE members in retaliation for MOVE's tenacious defense of their right to exist and practice their beliefs in Philadelphia.

For surviving this atrocity, Ramona Africa was arrested and served every day of an eleven-year sentence. Nine MOVE members languish in prison to this day—convicted on trumped-up charges following an earlier cop assault in 1978 on MOVE's former home in Powelton Village. The 1978 attack brought MOVE to the attention of black journalist Mumia Abu-Jamal, who spoke out in their defense and became a MOVE supporter. In 1982, Mumia was railroaded onto Pennsylvania's death row—falsely convicted for the killing of a policeman—culminating a racist state vendetta dating back to his years as teenage spokesman for the Black Panther Party. The fight to free Mumia is vital to the defense of all the oppressed.

As the MOVE bombing was the signature of the Reagan years, so too the massacre of the integrated Branch Davidian commune outside Waco, Texas in April 1993 symbolizes the deadly repression by the capitalist state under Democrat Clinton. In both cases, the racist rulers' message to the oppressed masses was: step out of line, and face the murderous wrath of the state. The bourgeois media grotesquely whitewash these heinous atrocities by blaming the victims, as the *New York Times* recently did with its outrageous amalgam between the Heaven's Gate mass suicide and the state's slaughter of more than 80 men, women and children at Waco.

As part of our fight for socialist revolution to sweep away the entire apparatus of racist capitalist repression, we are committed to searing the memory of the MOVE massacre into the consciousness of all working people and the oppressed.

Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Free all MOVE prisoners! Abolish the racist death penalty!

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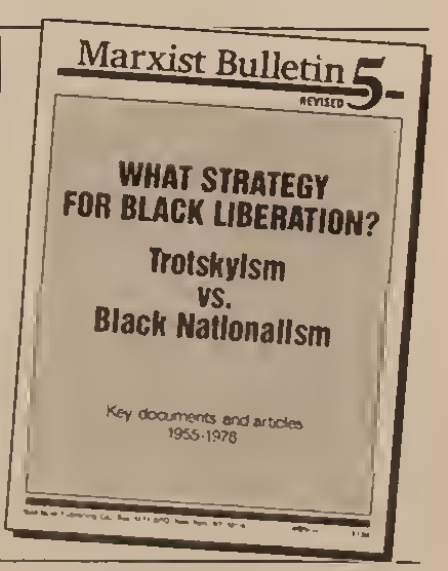

ISO: Flunkies for Carey and the Capitalist State

Union Must Fight Racism at UPS!

OAKLAND—United Parcel Service (UPS) workers across the country are seething at the arrogant racist treatment handed out by the giant package delivery company. From the San Francisco Bay Area to St. Louis, men and women workers—mostly black but also white, Latino and Asian—have angrily protested the racist abuse UPS bosses dish out on top of the backbreaking work, long hours and breakneck pace the company is infamous for. In the latest of a series of legal actions against UPS, on April 30 a group of UPS workers filed a class-action lawsuit against a wide-ranging pattern of company discrimination, from promotion policies to several incidents at San Bernardino in Southern California, where the letters "KKK" were scrawled around UPS facilities.

As we wrote in "Mobilize Teamster Power to Smash Racism at UPS!" (*WV* No. 660, 24 January): "Defending the union means defending minority workers, and vice versa. The enormous potential power of the Teamsters must be brought to bear against the racist UPS bosses in a fight against racist discrimination on the job!" Discrimination against minorities at UPS goes hand in hand with the company's attempts to drive down wages. Earlier this month, UPS pilots, who earn on average 25 percent less than those at other freight carriers, voted nearly unanimously to authorize a strike against the company's insulting offer of slightly more than 2 percent in pay raises after UPS raked in $2 billion in profits last year. Meanwhile, the Teamsters' own contract at UPS expires July 31. United strike action by the Teamsters and Independent Pilots Association could bring the UPS slave drivers to their knees.

Siegel/NY Times

Teamsters president Ron Carey with UPS driver. Feds' man Carey, hailed by ISO, sold out 1994 UPS strike after ten hours.

It is a crime that the bureaucrats of the Teamsters union, which represents 180,000 UPS workers, haven't lifted a finger to fight the racist harassment, victimizations and dangerous working conditions at UPS. Both the "old guard" bureaucrats grouped around James Hoffa Jr. and the government-sponsored crew of Teamsters president Ron Carey and his partners in Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU) are equally hostile to the kind of multiracial class struggle needed to defeat the UPS bosses.

The union misleaders' inaction has led black workers into the arms of the anti-labor, petty-bourgeois NAACP and its dead-end strategy of seeking "justice" in the capitalist courts. While the NAACP-sponsored lawsuit against UPS management is supportable, workers should understand that the courts—an integral part of the system of racist repression—are the last place they will find any justice. Such lawsuits can be, and often are, easily transformed into suits against the unions. In counseling reliance on the bourgeois state, the NAACP liberals, who have historically preached accommodation to the racist rulers, seek to restrain the combativity of black workers at UPS.

ISO "Disappears" Racism at UPS

The Teamsters tops' role in subverting labor struggle and propping up this system of racial oppression is part and parcel of the AFL-CIO bureaucracy's job, which is to police the workers movement on behalf of the bourgeoisie. This is patently clear in the case of Carey, who was installed as Teamsters president by the feds and the trucking companies not to clean up "corruption" in the union but to hamstring this potentially powerful union and place it directly under the thumb of the capitalist government.

Yet numerous reformist "socialists," most prominently the International Socialist Organization (ISO), have acted as slavish press agents for the feds' man Carey. A recently distributed ISO national "UPS Contract Bulletin," dated February 1997, endlessly sings the praises of the Carey bureaucracy and, incredibly, *says not one single word about the systemotic racist ubuse which makes UPS a hellhole for black workers*.

The ISO's gross refusal to even address racism at UPS—which is *the* key concern right now throughout the UPS workforce—harks back to the at best "color-blind" practices which indelibly stained the early American Socialist Party (SP). This ranged from the outright, virulent racism of right-wingers like Victor Berger to the position of Eugene V. Debs, who, while personally free of prejudice, proclaimed that "We have nothing special to offer the Negro, and we cannot make separate appeals to all the races." The early Communist Party sharply broke from this stance of capitulating to the pervasive racism of American capitalist society. Oriented by the Communist International of Lenin and Trotsky, leaders of the 1917 Russian Revolution, the young Communist Party in the U.S. took up the fight for black freedom as an integral part of the struggle for socialist revolution. This is the tradition of the Spartacist League.

For its part, the social-democratic ISO is worse than Debsian: they truly have nothing at all to offer black workers fighting racist oppression on the job. The ISO contract leaflet is filled with the most groveling adulation of "General President Ron Carey," whom they hail for supposedly "fighting to improve pay, pensions and working conditions for UPS workers." The ISO tract praises every empty promise Carey makes, while alibiing his capitulation to UPS's continuing contractual violations, including the 70-pound limit on packages. *Socialist Worker* (22 November 1996) lies that Carey led a "successful" strike against UPS in 1994 which "won" a 70-pound weight limit. In fact, Carey folded the strike after ten hours, with no more protection for workers than when it began.

Hernandez/SF Examiner

Workers involved in class-action lawsuit against UPS for racist discrimination and arrogant abuse.

The so-called "action" program crowning the ISO's "Contract Bulletin" echoes the impotent "corporate campaigns" which are a trademark of Carey and the "new AFL-CIO" tops headed by John Sweeney. The ISO urges UPS workers to engage in a series of empty—not to say idiotic—gimmicks like "wearing the same color clothes on the same day," "sending postcards to UPS management," "entering or leaving work together in a group" and "holding informational pickets." Mobilizing union power through real picket lines—the kind that nobody crosses—to shut down the racist UPS bosses is anathema to the ISO, whose program is determined by what is acceptable to the pro-capitalist trade-union bureaucracy.

Under the pretense of fighting for "union democracy," the ISO backs the TDU and its strategy of bringing the capitalist government into the labor movement. The TDU literally wrote the blueprint for the feds' takeover of the Teamsters under a "consent decree" following the government's 1987 RICO (Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations Act) lawsuit *against the union*. Hoffa Jr. plays the same game of appealing to the bosses' state, most recently by pleading with federal officials to throw out Carey's re-election last year as Teamsters chief.

Bringing the courts and Labor Department into the union movement is the *antithesis* of workers democracy. The capitalist government is not a "neutral" body which can be pressured into acting on behalf of the workers. Rather, as Karl Marx explained in the *Communist Manifesto*, the bourgeois state is nothing other than the executive committee of the capitalist class. The union tops—labor lieutenants of the capitalist class—increasingly serve to directly subordinate the workers organizations to this instrument of the union-busting, racist rulers. The fight for union democracy must be based on a struggle for the independence of the unions from the capitalist state.

Cops, Courts Out of the Unions!

Since being installed as Teamsters president more than five years ago, Carey has amply carried out the mandate of his government sponsors. Under pressure from the Clinton White House, Carey scuttled the 1994 nationwide truck drivers strike, just as the freight bosses were being squeezed. Courageous militants like Jesse Acuna in Southern California, imprisoned for defending union picket lines, were abandoned by Carey and the TDU. In this regard, the TDU was no less willing to serve the interests of the "old guard" bureaucracy which preceded Carey. In the early 1970s, while the Teamsters bureaucracy was collaborating with agribusiness to smash a United Farm Workers organizing campaign in the grape fields, the TDU was notorious for refusing to raise the defense of the UFW inside the Teamsters union.

The strategy pursued by the ISO—and its earlier incarnation as the International Socialists—of bringing in the capitalist state to "clean up" the Teamsters betrays these reformists' fundamental lack of confidence in the capacity of the working class to wage its own class battles. This is of a piece with the ISO's position

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WV Photo

Pickets at Port Newark, New Jersey during national Teamsters strike, April 1994. Carey rammed through giveback contract, refused to lift a finger for victimized and imprisoned strikers.

Young Spartacus

Student Art Censored

Banned in Manhattan, Slammed in San Leandro

Minutes before an art exhibit opens, several public officials suddenly arrive, pronounce four pieces "obscene" and forbid them to be shown. The Gestapo censoring "degenerate" art in Hitler's Third Reich? No, this was the Fiorello H. La Guardia High School of Music and Art on Manhattan's West Side, and the "Big Brother" types banning works in a senior class art exhibit there in April were the school principal and other New York City school officials. The exhibit, titled "Look at the Size of That Thing!", consisted of the works of seven students dealing—often in a very humorous way—with those age-old subjects, sex and religion. Supposedly worried that the exhibit might offend the tender sensibilities of New York City youth, the administrators ordered the works taken down.

A month later, in the San Francisco Bay Area, the drama club at San Leandro High School was forced to move its upcoming play, *Raising Heck*, off campus to avoid being shut down by the district school board. Two days earlier, on May 6, the school board censors had ruled that "expression shall be prohibited which is profane, obscene, libelous, or slanderous." The policy codified school board censorship which forced students to remove "profanities" from last year's production of *The Breakfast Club*.

That high-school students living in New York City and the San Francisco Bay Area—of all places—cannot handle so-called "profanity" and satirical treatment of sex and religion is patently absurd and insulting. In fact, one of the pieces deemed most "offensive" in the NYC exhibit was an advertisement for a phone-sex line of Catholic schoolgirls called *1 (900) PLAID-SKIRT*—a spoof of the phone-sex ads found all over the city. We oppose all censorship and demand that students have the right to free expression supposedly guaranteed by the Constitution for everyone.

The school board censors are not simply interested in banning a few dirty words or sexual images, but in stifling creativity and free thought among students, including political dissent. Reporting on the San Leandro ruling, the *Oakland Tribune* (30 April) wrote that the school board wanted to ban "material that would...disrupt the orderly operation of the school."

Cameron/Oakland Tribune

San Leandro drama students protest school board decision to censor "profanity" in high-school productions.

Young Spartacus

One of the student works at New York's La Guardia High School of Music and Art banned by puritanical school officials.

It's hard enough for high-school students to be able to exercise any creativity. When they do, it is often irreverent and almost always outside the established curriculum, frequently dealing with such intense concerns of the young as sex and religion, often in combination. Yet it is precisely any real discussion of these questions which the rulers of this society—the guardians of bourgeois "morality" who encourage religious obscurantism in order to uphold reactionary "family values"—see as dangerous.

In protest against the San Leandro decision, 20 students demonstrated in front of the May 6 school board meeting with tape across their mouths bearing the word "censored." One student said, "We're not doing profanity, we're doing ideas." But the school board is not interested in ideas—instead, it wants to impose its censorship.

With capitalism in more and more decay, and even the rudiments of a decent life out of reach of most people, the rulers of this country seek to regiment the population with ever-escalating repression and ever more rigid ideological straitjacketing. This is how the bourgeoisie seeks to bolster its rule—by suppressing any dissent and attacking basic democratic rights. The Spartacus Youth Clubs seek to win student youth to the fight for proletarian revolution to establish an egalitarian socialist society which will encourage a genuine flowering of creative thought and culture.

The intensifying repression against youth hits minority, poor and working-class youth extra hard. With no jobs available, the bourgeoisie sees no reason to provide quality public education. Unable and unwilling to offer youth, especially minority youth, a decent future under capitalism, the ruling class views them with hostility and seeks to control them. So instead of educating students, inner-city schools are more like prisons—complete with armed guards, metal detectors and bars on the windows. Recently, it was announced that several schools in Brooklyn regularly forward copies of school yearbooks to the police for mugshots!

As Marxists, we oppose these attempts by the bourgeois state to regulate every aspect of people's lives. We say: No to censorship! Government out of the bedrooms! As we wrote in "Forbidden Art: Culture, Class and Censorship" (*Women and Revolution* No. 38, Winter 1990-91):

> "Government censorship is going to continue as long as this capitalist government goes on. The heart of it is that this system of government is not neutral. It was created to uphold capitalism, the system of private ownership of the means of production. Pared down to its essentials, the state is an executive committee of the capitalists as a whole, for keeping the ruling class on top through state coercion of those at the bottom, mainly through the selective use of cops and prisons and murder. State subsidies for health care, education and the like are given reluctantly, as part of the necessary overhead to keep the population minimally content and at least a section of it competent to work. Subsidies for artists are extra frills, given or taken away depending on how the political winds are blowing. It's especially so in this country, where the Puritan legacy still hangs heavy with its dour suspicion of the arts, especially live theater, as agencies of sin and the devil." ■

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Trotskyists at UCLA Labor Seminar

For Class Struggle— Not Begging the Bosses

In conjunction with the annual meeting of the AFL-CIO Executive Council, on February 19 thousands of trade unionists and students marched in Los Angeles in solidarity with largely Latino workers trying to organize a union at the New Otani Hotel. Over the next two days, the AFL-CIO sponsored a "Teach-in With the New Labor Movement" at UCLA. Supporters of the Spartacus Youth Club participated in both the rally and the UCLA seminar, seeking to win pro-working-class student youth to a revolutionary program.

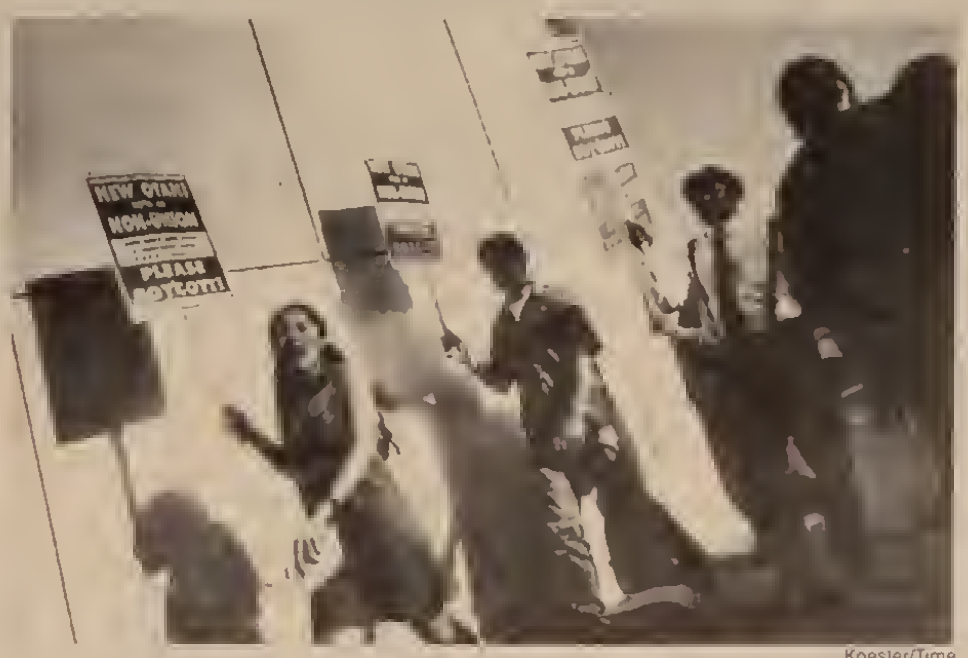
One supposedly militant, even "socialist" group, the International Socialist Organization (ISO), played the Greek chorus to the union bureaucrats' dead-end strategy at the New Otani of consumer boycotts and "corporate campaigns," based on "moral" appeals to atomized consumers with diverse interests or, worse yet, to the "conscience" of the greedy corporations and their shareholders. While intoning that "there is a serious question about corporate campaigns or boycotts," an ISOer at the UCLA seminar nonetheless pleaded with the bureaucrats that this same boycott "really needs to be connected to rank-and-file organizing." In contrast, supporters of the Spartacist League and SYC called for "Mass militant pickets to shut down the New Otani!" It is necessary to unleash the workers' social power, including appeals for class-struggle solidarity by other trade unionists who understand that a victory against the anti-union hotel management would benefit all workers.

Described as the "labor lieutenants of the capitalist class" by the American socialist Daniel De Leon, the union bureaucracy maintains its privileged position in the bourgeois order by preventing or derailing any labor struggles which threaten the sacrosanct private property of the factory, mine and bank owners. These labor *traitors* tie the workers to the class enemy, chiefly through their political support to the capitalist Democratic Party.

The economic basis for the labor bureaucracy is generated by *imperialism*, the system in which a handful of very rich and powerful competing capitalist states plunder the rest of the world. This system creates such enormous profits that the capitalists are able to bribe the labor misleaders in a thousand different ways, directly and indirectly, overtly and covertly. As V. I. Lenin, leader of the 1917 Russian workers revolution, said in his 1916 book, *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*: "This stratum of workers-turned-bourgeois, or the labour aristocracy, who are quite philistine in their mode of life, in the size of their earnings and in their entire outlook, is...the principal *social* (not military) ***prop of the bourgeoisie***."

And it is this pro-imperialist labor bureaucracy which the ISO tails. *Socialist Worker* (28 February) complained that "Sweeney hasn't lived up to his promise of a 'new labor movement'." In fact, Sweeney's "new" AFL-CIO leadership has done what it set out to do, which is to tie the unions even more tightly to Clinton's Democratic Party. The AFL-CIO threw tens of millions of dollars of workers' dues last year into the Democratic campaign, even as Clinton waged war on blacks and immigrants and gutted welfare, condemning millions to starvation. Giving a left cover to the pro-capitalist union misleaders, the ISO has put out a pamphlet titled, *Bill Clinton: A Record of Broken Promises*. But Clinton *kept* his promises to "end welfare as we know it," to put more cops on the streets of the ghettos and barrios and to speed up the rate of legal lynching. Poor, jilted ISO!

One of the trademarks of the reactionary trade-union bureaucracy is its indifference, if not outright hostility, toward fighting racial oppression. From their formation in the 19th century, craft unions organized to keep blacks and immigrants out of well-paying, skilled-trades jobs—first explicitly and then through racist job-trusting. While Sweeney makes the occasional nod toward "multiculturalism," the union bureaucracy still refuses to mobilize the unions in struggle against racism, while continuing to push anti-immigrant and protectionist chauvinism. But the ISO claims that the "new" AFL-CIO leadership is a step in the right direction.



Koester/Time

Youth in 1996 Union Summer program support union organizing drive at New Otani Hotel in Los Angeles. AFL-CIO tops used idealistic young activists to mobilize votes for the bosses' Democratic Party.

The ISO always prattles about vague "rank-and-file action," but these "Justice Department socialists" hailed the recent re-election of Teamsters president Ron Carey without even mentioning that the elections were run by the capitalist government (see article, page 3). This is the same Ron Carey who has organized racist rallies against Mexican truckers in the Southwest. The labor movement must fight for immigrant and black rights: we will all move forward together or fall back separately. At the UCLA conference, only the SYC raised the call for full citizenship rights for all immigrants. A fight for this elementary demand would help break down the poisonous division between native-born and immigrant workers.

An example of the ISO's role as waterboys for the pro-capitalist union tops which is of direct relevance to radical student youth is its attitude toward last year's AFL-CIO Union Summer program. At the UCLA gathering, an ISO member called for a "bigger and longer" Union Summer this year, and *Socialist Worker* (17 January) complains that Union Summer "lasted just a few weeks —inadequate for any serious organizing drive." But Union Summer was never meant to enlist youth in a serious union organizing campaign.

Many students took the "organizing" pretensions of the "new" AFL-CIO as good coin, with applications to the Union Summer program far exceeding the bureaucracy's expectations. But far from mobilizing an effective union organizing drive—which would require strikes, mass picket lines, factory occupations and real solidarity actions—the AFL-CIO misleaders seek to enhance their own social position by securing a larger voice within the Democratic Party. As an SYC supporter at the conference pointed out, in the San Francisco Bay Area, Union Summer interns were even cynically used by the union tops as scab-herders at the picket lines of striking SEIU janitors.

SYC members could not have joined the Union Summer program, even if they could have been assigned to a unit that was not *explicitly* canvassing for the Democrats, because the entire program was conceived and operated in the service of a particularly nasty election campaign by yuppie racist Clinton's Democratic Party. Indeed, many Union Summer participants were keenly disappointed when they found themselves mainly doing telephone canvassing for the Democrats. They were drawn to a program that appeared to aid the struggles of the most oppressed and exploited workers; the actual work they did made them (in many cases unwitting) cogs in the Democratic Party electoral machine. It was this contradiction that the SYC sought to intersect in seeking out Union Summer participants across the country last summer with our communist propaganda (see "Students and the Labor Movement," *WV* No. 651, 13 September 1996).

Union Summer was of a piece with Sweeney's "new unionism," a new bottle for an old, vinegary wine. The AFL-CIO tops have presided over a sharp decline in the strength and size of the trade unions over the last two decades. Union Summer was an attempt to improve the bureaucrats' bargaining position with a wing of the ruling class by holding out a promise to deliver the votes of a segment of the petty-bourgeois youth and the most downtrodden workers to Clinton's Democrats.

The enthusiastic response by thousands of students to the AFL-CIO's Union Summer program was real evidence of a whole layer of socially idealistic youth who identify with the struggles of the workers. This indicated a political shift on the campuses, something of a break with the climate of apathy of the previous decade. At the same time, many of the students attracted to Union Summer do not see workers as a distinct class with unique social power deriving from their role in production and with historic interests *counterposed* to those of the capitalist exploiters. Rather, with their direct experience limited to a union movement which has been decimated by decades of bureaucratic sellouts and givebacks, these youth tend to see the working class simply as one of the victimized sections of the population and not as the key agency for revolutionary social change.

The task of Marxists is to fight within the working class and among all layers of the oppressed to build the multiracial revolutionary workers party necessary to revitalize the labor movement and lead its future struggles to victory. Youth who want to become partisans of the working class must join the fight to build such a party which correspondingly undertakes the necessary education in the history of the communist movement. Revolutionary student youth can play an important role on the campuses by organizing Spartacus Youth Clubs, which seek to be the student/youth auxiliary to a class-struggle opposition within the labor movement. ■

UPS...

(continued from page 3)

that the racist, strikebreaking police and prison guards should be part of the labor movement. In this they also serve "General President Ron Carey" and the Teamsters bureaucracy, which has ever more aggressively "organized" state troopers, cops and prison guards. Cops are not workers. They are the armed fist of the capitalist state whose job is to brutally repress workers' struggles and to terrorize the ghettos and barrios.

Given the ISO's inability to recognize that the capitalist state is the enemy of the working class and oppressed, it is not surprising that when they do mention racism at UPS, they back the NAACP strategy of reliance on the courts, declaring that "these legal actions can put pressure on UPS." The same article advises UPS workers to "demand that their leaders defend the rights of Black and Latino workers who face discrimination" (*Socialist Worker*, 14 March). But to mobilize the union in struggle against racism at UPS requires a political fight against the very "leaders" the ISO supports. Beholden to and sharing the fundamental outlook of the capitalist rulers, the union *mis*leaders tie workers to their class enemy, primarily through support to Clinton's Democratic Party, which is today overseeing the assault on blacks, immigrants and all working people.

The Spartacist League opposes all intervention into the labor movement by the bosses' government. As we wrote in our earlier article on racism at UPS:

> "Any effective fight against racial discrimination must begin by mobilizing the power of the unions independently of the capitalist state, unifying all workers and oppressed in struggle at the expense of the ruling class...
>
> "There needs to be a political struggle to oust the pro-capitalist union misleaders and to break labor and blacks from the partner parties of racist capitalism, Democrats and Republicans. To mobilize the integrated labor movement to *win* requires forging a multiracial revolutionary workers party that fights for a workers government." ■

Lynching Survivor James Cameron: "They Should Get a Medal"

Chicago Rally Protests Frame-Up of Anti-Klan Three

On May Day, four days before the opening of the trial which ended in a resounding legal victory against the Chicago police and prosecution, a hundred people attended a united-front rally to demand: "Drop the Charges Against the Anti-Klan Three!" Called by the Partisan Defense Committee, the rally was held at Chicago's Blackstone Hotel and featured a wide range of speakers. In addition to the three defendants—PDC labor coordinator Gene Herson, Refuse & Resist supporter Jeff Lyons and Dennis Glass, a young black worker—the rally was addressed by James Cameron, who narrowly survived a KKK lynching in Marion, Indiana in 1930 and is director of the Black Holocaust Museum in Milwaukee as well as author of *A Time of Terror* (Black Classic Press, 1994).

We publish below excerpts from his remarks, as well as from those by "Chicago Five" defendant Rob MacDonald, Jeff Lyons and Stan Willis, chairman of the Chicago Conference of Black Lawyers and attorney for Fernanda Royal, a black woman shot by a cop during a March 4 police invasion of the Cabrini-Green housing project. We conclude with the speech by Spartacist League spokesman Jane Kerrigan. The rally was emceed by PDC representative Mark Kelly. Other speakers included Ira Cohen, a representative of Congressman Danny Davis and Mark Daniels from the Labor Black Struggle League, which together with the PDC initiated the June 29 anti-Klan protest last year. Len Weinglass, lead counsel for Mumia Abu-Jamal and attorney for the Chicago Five, also attended to lend his support.

WV Photo

May Day rally at Chicago's Blackstone Hotel demands "Drop the Charges Against the Anti-Klan Three!"

MacDonald and Weinglass had just come from the opening session of the trial of the "Chicago Five," who face frame-up felony charges for engaging in protests around the Democratic National Convention (DNC) last August. Like the cop attack on the June 29 anti-Klan protest, the arrest of these five was part of the attempt by Democratic mayor Daley's administration to stifle any social protest in the city before and during last summer's Democratic convention. Weinglass, who also represented the "Chicago Seven" anti-Vietnam War protesters arrested during a police riot at the 1968 Democratic convention, described the lengths to which Chicago cops and prosecutors went to fabricate "evidence" against MacDonald and the rest of the Chicago Five:

> "The ingenuity of the Chicago police never fails to amaze me. When they have to make up stories about what people on demonstrations do, it really is quite remarkable and even comical. Today they had the demonstrators chanting, on the way to the United Convention Center: 'Let's interfere with the free flow of traffic'!"

Addressing the rampant police attacks particularly targeting black youth, Dennis Glass movingly described his own experience: "I've been in this world 20 years, only 20 years—I'm not even grown yet—and the police have harassed me more times than my age. So something is definitely wrong there." LBSL spokesman Mark Daniels, pointing to the near-deadly attack in March on black teenager Lenard Clark in the white racist enclave of Bridgeport, said:

> "The Labor Black Struggle League put out a call for a disciplined and militant mobilization of black, white, Hispanic and Asian trade unionists, marching through Bridgeport in a citywide day of protest centered on the integrated labor movement. Union members and minorities throughout Chicago enthusiastically greeted this proposal, but it met with a stone wall of inaction from union leaders."

Against the criminal passivity of the union bureaucrats and dead-end appeals by liberals to the racist capitalist state to "ban the Klan"—which when implemented end up being used against workers and the left—we fight for mass labor/black mobilizations to stop the race-terrorists. Explaining why the potentially powerful, integrated trade unions in transit, steel, auto and other Chicago-area industries had not turned out on June 29, Gene Herson remarked: "Because the leadership of the trade unions is devoted to the bosses' profit system. We must build a new leadership of the trade unions which understands that the economic and social needs of workers cannot be met without a *political struggle against the entire capitalist system!* We need to forge a workers party to struggle for *all* working people and the oppressed."

James Cameron

I am living proof of the murderous campaigns still being permitted to take place in American life. Have you ever watched one man die and then another, knowing that your turn was next? Have you ever looked into 10,000 angry faces whose open mouths cried for your blood? I had the opportunity—which was a distasteful opportunity—of being in that position. It was a mob of homegrown hoodlums composed of the Ku Klux Klan. All of these things and more happened to me several years ago. This I acknowledge not boastfully but humbly, for the fact that I am alive to tell this story is due to a power far greater than myself or any person.

A lamentable cry is bellyached all over our land that nothing can be done to stop the hateful crusades of America's premier hate organization, to bring to an abrupt halt and outlaw the aim of the Klan. It is said they are protected by the First Amendment to our national Constitution. If we have free speech and free assembly, why were these three anti-Klan demonstrators arrested as if they were common criminals and thrown in jail when they showed a detestation of the presence of the Klan in their city? Why aren't members of the Klan arrested for having the nerve to show up in a city to preach their racial hatred?

The Ku Klux Klan as we know it was born just after the end of hostilities in our Civil War over the issue of slavery inside our borders. A Confederate general named Nathan Forrest is believed to have organized the first Klan organization in Pulaski, Tennessee. The organization was primarily created to protest the Reconstruction policies of Congressional Reconstruction as opposed to the leniency and clemency of the Andrew Johnson administration. That policy of Congressional Reconstruction was that the freed people, the blacks especially, who had been liberated by the adoption of the 13th Amendment, would be as free as the white man by the provisions of the 14th Amendment, given the right to vote in all elections alongside the white man.

In the spring of 1866 a civil rights bill was passed. From that time until February 1867, 375 murders of freed blacks had been committed in the rebel states, and 556 outrages; these murders and outrages were officially reported, and the victims of the Memphis Riot and the New Orleans Massacre were not included. Let it be remembered that these are but a small part of the crimes committed.

So, I say to the lawful constituted authorities in the state of Illinois to release all anti-Klan demonstrators from prison and jail confinement, congratulate them for their courage and give them some sort of medal.

Rob MacDonald

[The audience chants: "Drop the charges against the DNC Five!"] That's great to hear after sitting in court for about ten hours today listening to the horrendous "riot" that occurred on August 27. We had the "audacity" to dare walk into the Henry Horner Homes and call them to join the march because their struggle is our struggle—against police brutality and the death penalty and racism in the justice system and political imprisonment. And that's one of the biggest charges—the prosecutors go on and on—because, you know, once the poor black people out of the Henry Horner Homes joined the march, *then* it was a "problem."

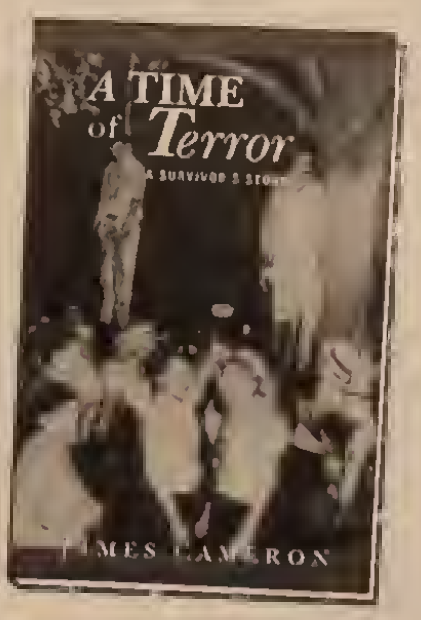
Realize that the police who are alleging all these things are from the 9th District tactical squad, located in Bridgeport. So the Bridgeport Police Department was the tactical unit used on all protests, and with recent news we kind of know their glint on social justice and the way things should be run.

E ANTI-KLAN THREE!

Partisan Defense Committee

WV Photo

James Cameron (second from left) at rally, flanked by Anti-Klan Three—Gene Herson, Dennis Glass, Jeff Lyons. In *A Time of Terror*, Cameron recounts how he survived 1930 Klan lynch mob.



One of the biggest things we came here to do in Chicago during the DNC wasn't just to have a nostalgia trip around dissent in the name of 1968's anti-Vietnam War protest. We're here to honor those spirits that rose up against injustice then, but my main focus is on the drug war and drug policy in America. I believe that it is through this façade of "good health" that they promote blatant racism today in society—through the drug war.

We'll get off the charges, and we'll be there to support you to get off your charges and then to make sure that this city doesn't continue to harass its activists again.

Jeff Lyons

The three of us will be in court on Monday because we have to be, we got arrested. We have no choice. The courts are not a pleasant place to battle. If you think the odds are stacked against you in the streets, imagine how they are in the courts. And we're really lucky to have lawyers who volunteered to be in the courtroom to defend us. We all know that these battles will be ultimately won in the street, but without a strong battle in the courts then we're fighting with one hand.

When you look at these political trials that are taking place in Chicago right now, it's easy to see why Refuse & Resist, for better than ten years, has been saying it's all one attack. I'm also a defendant in another important trial that is going on. I was arrested at a reception honoring abortion providers [see box page 8]. These cases are all taking place at a time where we see an increasing climate and culture of reaction. One of the most serious attacks, an all-out assault on political dissidence right now, is the government's attempt to execute Mumia Abu-Jamal.

And all these reactionary attacks, this reactionary agenda, this climate of hate, these are the things that embolden the Klan to rally, that emboldened the racists in Bridgeport to attack, that embolden and enable the police to feel they can murder with impunity. So what we need to take this on is a climate of resistance. And winning these cases would be an important step in creating and building that climate of resistance.

Stan Willis

It's a pleasure to be in the midst of people who are fighting, freedom fighters. We must learn to protect the militant, revolutionary wing of our movement. We cannot afford to allow the revolutionaries, the freedom fighters, to be isolated. I believe that the people who run this country are convinced that if they can isolate them, if they can scare them off, then they will defeat the revolutionary movement in this country.

It is clear to me that this country historically has used very predictable ways to defeat movements. One is they try to buy you off. And if you're wondering what happened to the labor movement, and the leadership of the labor movement, there it is. If they can't buy you off then they try to scare you off. If you wonder what happened to the leadership in the labor movement, again—there it is. If they can't scare you off, then they try to, in their words, "neutralize" you. Neutralize you. And they neutralize you by trumped-up charges, putting you in prison, and if that doesn't work, they will kill you.

We haven't forgotten the Fred Hamptons. We haven't forgotten the Mark Clarks. We haven't forgotten Malcolm. We haven't forgotten all those legions of revolutionary militant brothers and sisters—the Fannie Lou Hamers—who set the examples that ignite the masses.

Jane Kerrigan

This rally for three militants who are being persecuted by the capitalist courts and cops for the "crime" of protesting against racist Klan terror takes place on May Day—an international workers holiday that was born in the streets of Chicago more than a century ago in the massive proletarian struggles for the eight-hour day. It is a day when we commemorate those early heroes of the workers movement, the Haymarket martyrs who were lynched by the capitalist state. The prosecutor argued that they should be put to death: "They were leaders." They were leaders who were imbued with the understanding that for labor to be truly victorious it must direct its blows against an entire system based on the exploitation of the many by the few. They were leaders—most notably Albert Parsons and his wife Lucy—who fought to infuse the Chicago labor movement with racial egalitarianism.

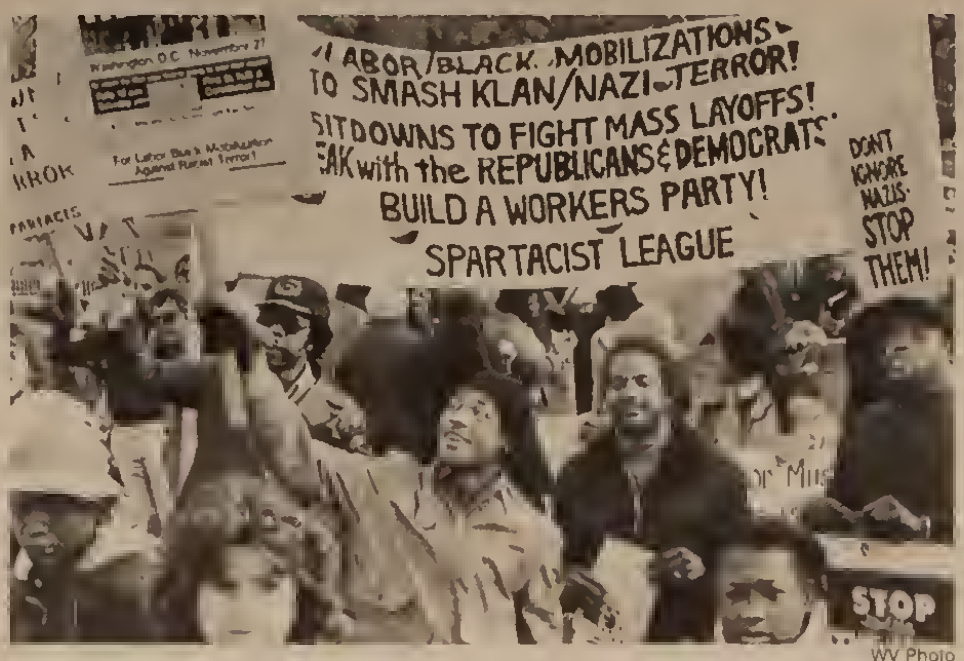
The power of this combination, of an aroused and struggling labor movement which is fighting not only in its own interests but against the vicious racial oppression of blacks—which has long been wielded by the rulers of this country to divide and conquer the working class—was not lost on the capitalist rulers at the time. The prosecutor urged the jury at the trial: "Convict these men, make examples of them and you save our institutions, our society."

We honor the Haymarket martyrs. In their memory and the memory of countless others who gave their lives to the struggle against exploitation and oppression, we struggle to build a revolutionary workers party that will infuse the proletariat with the consciousness and understanding of its historic interests and social power to eradicate this profit system; that will be imbued with the understanding, as expressed by Karl Marx at the time of the American Civil War, that "Labor in the white skin cannot be emancipated where in the black it is branded"; that will emblazon on its banner the struggle for black freedom through socialist revolution; that will champion the rights of the desperate immigrant and demand full citizenship rights for everyone who made it to this country.

On the other side of the class divide, the cops—the armed thugs of the capitalist master class—they too remember Haymarket. They commemorate the cops who gunned down striking workers, shooting several in the back as they tried to flee the rampaging police and Pinkertons, murdering six in cold blood. In the police training academy in Chicago there is a monument to the cops who died in a police riot which came in the wake of a provocateur throwing a bomb into the workers rally at Haymarket Square. This is a monument to the terror, the violence, the murder perpetrated by the cops then and now against the working people, against blacks, against immigrants—in the service of the handful at the top whose property, profits and interests the cops "serve and protect."

More than 100 years ago, Albert Parsons wrote: "The poor are increasingly deprived the opportunities of advancement, the rich grow richer through increasing robbery.... This system is unjust, insane and murderous." Unjust, insane and murderous: this is even more the reality today. The gulf between the rich and poor grows even wider with the savage attacks on the living standards of the working people and on the very ability of the poor and helpless to live, the slashing of health care at all levels, schools that don't teach, the McJobs and empty futures of youth, the rampant racist attacks and massive incarceration of blacks, the speedup on death row.

These assaults on the very ability of most people to live in anything but misery—or simply to live—require repression. Constitutional rights, from the right to freedom of speech and assembly to the right to bear arms, are continuously eroded and abrogated. The "city fathers" in Chicago are out to resurrect the notorious Chicago Red Squad. The purpose is to squelch even a spark of social protest, which the rulers well understand could ignite a conflagration of discontent and social struggle. And, with their vindictive prosecution of the Anti-Klan Three, the cops and the courts are taking aim at the right to protest that most violent expression of the racist reaction that emanates from the highest corridors of power—from the Clinton White House to the state legislatures—the hooded-and-robed lynch mob murderers of the Ku Klux Klan.



WV Photo

Powerful labor/black mobilization initiated by Spartacist League stopped Thomas Robb's Arkansas-based KKK in Washington, D.C., November 1982.

Harper's Weekly

Four anarchists and workers' leaders framed up and hanged in Chicago, 1887, lynched by the capitalist state for leading struggle for eight-hour day.

On June 29 in Chicago's Daley Plaza, the Arkansas-based Ku Klux Klan headed by their führer Thomas Robb came to incite race hatred, to mobilize for the fascist program of genocide and destruction of the labor movement. Ten years earlier, it was Robb's Klan that incited racist mobs in Marquette Park in Chicago. On November 27, 1982 it was Robb's Klan that planned to march hooded and robed through Washington, D.C. But they didn't march that day; they didn't even put on their robes. Instead they stood cowering in the face of a 5,000-strong anti-Klan mobilization. It was the anti-Klan protesters who marched the route the Klan said they were going to take, chanting victoriously, "We stopped the Klan!"

That labor/black mobilization—which brought to bear the power of organized labor, together with militant blacks, youth and other opponents of fascist terror—was initiated by the Spartacist League. It gave a palpable taste of the power of labor mobilized in its own defense, in defense of blacks and immigrants, not only to stop the Klan but to prevail against a system which breeds

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SPARTACIST LEAGUE/U.S. LOCAL DIRECTORY

National Office
Box 1377 GPO
New York, NY 10116
(212) 732-7860

Boston
Box 390840, Central Sta.
Cambridge, MA 02139
(617) 666-9453

Chicago
Box 6441, Main PO
Chicago, IL 60680
(312) 454-4930

Los Angeles
Box 29574
Los Feliz Sta.
Los Angeles, CA 90029
(213) 380-8239

New York
Box 3381,
Church St. Sta.
New York, NY 10008
(212) 267-1025

Oakland
Box 29497
Oakland, CA 94604
(510) 839-0851

San Francisco
Box 77494
San Francisco, CA 94107
(415) 777-9367

Washington, D.C.
Box 75073
Washington, D.C. 20013
(202) 872-8240

TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA/LIGUE TROTSKYSTE DU CANADA

Toronto
Box 7198, Station A
Toronto, ON M5W 1X8
(416) 593-4138

Montréal
C.P. Les Atriums
B.P. 32066
Montréal, QC H2L 4V5

Vancouver
Box 2717, Main P.O.
Vancouver, BC V6B 3X2
(604) 687-0353

Anti-Klan 3...

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of policeman Dennsey Cole, the cop who arrested and charged Glass. In his four years on the Chicago police force, Cole has had 13 complaints filed against him, including:

- accosting a group of white teenagers and smashing a music CD they were listening to while he screamed it was "n----r music";
- pulling over a car driven by a young black woman and reviling her as a "black bitch";
- physically abusing a 50-year-old black grandmother in her home after she had called the police for assistance;
- stopping a black motorist, repeatedly calling him a "n----r" and throwing his car keys to some onlookers.

A Defense of the Very Right to Protest

As Jonathan Piper, the attorney for Dennis Glass, said to the jury in his closing statement at the trial:

> "Dennis Glass, a young black McDonald's worker, working for $5 an hour, thought he had the right to join an anti-Klan demonstration. He thought he had the right to chant against the Klan. He thought he had the right to wave a sign. He thought he had the right to chant 'Cops and Klan go hand in hand' and say what he feels, what he has experienced, what he has seen in 20 years growing up on the West Side of Chicago in the Austin District.... And when the police charged the demonstration to break it up, and they attacked particularly the black demonstrators, they went particularly after that young black McDonald's worker. He thought he had rights, but the police were going to show him different. Ladies and gentlemen, this man is not guilty. These charges are false, a lie."

Jeff Lyons was charged by McNulty for obstructing an arrest. Lyons had come over to protest the police harassment of an integrated group of Union Summer volunteers; he was hit in the chest by a cop, knocked to the ground, then spread-eagled on a car and arrested. McNulty testified under oath that Lyons had grabbed his arm while he was in the midst of arresting a black Union Summer activist who had taken McNulty's photograph. Eyewitnesses testified that Lyons was nowhere near McNulty at the time and that McNulty wasn't even involved in the arrest of the photographer.

In her summation to the jury, Lyons' attorney, PDC co-counsel Valerie West, argued:

> "When the cops victimized and brutalized these youth, they were angry at being punished for being somewhere they believed that they had a right to be and frightened by the bullying and brutality. They thought they had the right to get the commander's badge number and take his picture so they could file a complaint. And they did have that right....
>
> "Out there on Daley Plaza, Commander McNulty had power and he took out his frustrations on the counterdemonstrators. And the bullying and the lies go hand in hand. Commander McNulty filed a false complaint against Jeffrey Lyons, he followed that with more lies in this courtroom.
>
> "But now he is before you, ladies and gentlemen, and you have the power to correct some of the injustice that was done that day. You have the power to send a message to the commander that you do not condone his attack on the counterprotesters and his brutish behavior. You have the power to return a resounding 'not guilty' in answer to the commander's false charges."

And that is exactly what the jury did when they acquitted Dennis Glass and Jeff Lyons.

A Victory for All Opponents of Racist Terror!

The night following the verdict, more than 90 people came out for a victory rally. Among those in attendance were two members of the jury, several defense witnesses, the defense legal team of David Thomas, Rachel Wolkenstein, Jonathan Piper and Valerie West, as well as trade unionists—from Katie Jordan of the Coalition of Labor Union Women to transit workers—who had been in court in solidarity with the Anti-Klan Three. Speaking to the crowd, Dennis Glass declared: "This is not only a victory for the three defendants, it's for everyone that stood up to the Ku Klux Klan to stop them from preaching their racial hatred. I'd especially like to thank the members of the jury for not listening to the lies of the cops against a young black man."

Glass introduced Jeff Lyons, who pointed out that "from beginning to end"—from those who came to protest the Klan last June 29, to the lawyers who fought the lying charges of the cops in court, to the witnesses and the jury—"everybody did the right thing." Gene Herson made special mention of the case of Cassandra Seay, who was there to join in celebrating the victory of the Anti-Klan Three. In 1987, Seay and her mother were brutally beaten and arrested by Chicago cops and then charged with attacking the cops who had victimized them. Herson pointed out that the police frame-up of Cassandra Seay was beaten back through the mobilization of the social power of the integrated Chicago transit unions, and indicted the AFL-CIO union misleaders who did nothing to mobilize their ranks against the KKK provocation last June.

Addressing the victory rally, Spartacist League spokesman Ed Clarkson concluded:

> "I think there is something interesting and symptomatic here. One juror said it very nicely, finally 'justice.' The fall of the Soviet Union has set the stage where all people are miserable. And unfortunately they suffer this now in passivity. So it is interesting when people get a rare chance to express their outrage against an injustice, albeit in a very strange form—because the norm for juries is that they abide by the system of the capitalist state. It is to be noted that this is not the only jury in the country which has been unfavorably disposed to the state. That expresses something, that there are reservoirs of outrage in this society that we need to tap, by mobilizing labor under a communist leadership for a socialist revolution. We need to celebrate our heroes, to savor this sweet moment and we need to go forward!" ■

Arrested for Defending Abortion Rights

Defend Jeff Lyons!

Even after acquittal on bogus charges stemming from his participation in last June's anti-Klan protest in Chicago's Daley Plaza, Refuse & Resist supporter Jeff Lyons continues to be the target of a legal vendetta by Chicago cops and prosecutors. Lyons is now scheduled to stand trial on May 19 on frame-up charges of "criminal damage to property," for which he faces up to a year in prison and a $1,000 fine. Lyons was singled out for arrest by an anti-abortion bigot who was part of a violent "protest" at Chicago's Heartland Cafe, where Jeff and others were celebrating National Day of Appreciation for Abortion Providers. In his speech to the May 1 rally in defense of the Anti-Klan Three, Lyons recounted:

> "Police entered the Heartland Cafe where the reception was being held. They handcuffed me and arrested me, based on the claims of an anti-woman, anti-abortion thug who was part of a picket that was protesting this reception, who claimed that I was responsible for the damage to his huge, hideous, fictitious, fetus poster."

In a sinister move, the same anti-abortion thug then showed up in the courtroom on the second day of the trial of the Anti-Klan Three. This only served to underscore the direct and well-documented connection between the racist terror of the KKK and Nazis and the deadly assaults on women's rights by "right to life" reactionaries who perpetrate or hail the murders of abortion providers and the bombing of clinics.

The same Chicago Police Department that attacked and arrested anti-Klan protesters last June 29 gave free rein to the anti-abortion fanatics who blocked the sidewalk outside the Heartland Cafe and harassed people entering the reception. From Clinton on down, the capitalist rulers' attacks on workers, women and minorities have given a green light to racist and anti-abortion terrorists. For militant, class-struggle defense of the clinics! Drop the charges against Jeff Lyons!

Rally...

(continued from page 7)

fascist terror. To mobilize that kind of power required the intervention of a Bolshevik leadership, a leadership committed to the fight for proletarian state power, to the understanding that those who labor must rule.

In contrast, those who call themselves the "leaders" of labor in this country tie workers to the rule of their exploiters, particularly in its Democratic Party face. So strong are the bureaucrats' ties to the capitalist order that they have renounced the very class-struggle means by which the unions in this country were founded—mass picket lines, factory occupations. The products of this class collaboration can be seen in the broken strikes and broken unions; in the despair, the poverty, the disease which grip the inner cities of this country; in the relentless war against the "outsider"—the immigrant.

That false prophet of the "American Dream," Jesse Jackson, preaches the sermon that the ghetto poor must pull themselves up by their own—nonexistent—bootstraps and that "salvation" lies through the good offices of the Democratic Party. Louis Farrakhan seeks to turn the anger of the ghetto against the Jewish, the Arab, the Korean shopkeeper in order to advance the interests of "black business"—while the Nation of Islam serves as cops, policing the ghetto tenement hellholes.

In an article titled "The Red Month of November," James P. Cannon—who was the founding leader of American Trotskyism and the founder of the International Labor Defense, whose heritage the Partisan Defense Committee looks to—commemorated the Haymarket martyrs: "They were the heroes of an early day. They were the pioneers of the eight-hour day movement and their crime was so heinous in the eyes of the master class that nothing but their blood would satisfy the vampires whose profits and power they menaced." As Cannon noted, 30 years after the hanging of the Haymarket martyrs the month of November was marked not by the red blood of workers' leaders, but by the red victory over their capitalist oppressors by the Russian working class, under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky's Bolshevik Party.

That victory was betrayed by the Stalinists who strangled the Russian workers state and paved the way for the destruction of the Soviet Union by imperialism. The wave of counterrevolution that has swept the former Soviet Union has unleashed a tide of anti-labor, anti-immigrant, anti-black reaction not only in this country but worldwide. Unlike every other left group which in one way or another supported the forces of counterrevolution, we of the Spartacist League and the International Communist League fought against it. Ours is the fight for new October Revolutions which will realize the proletarian internationalist program of the Bolshevik Party: the organization of the working class across all boundaries—national, racial and ethnic—in the struggle for world socialism.

We are here tonight to defend three militant fighters against Klan terror. Their defense is crucial to defending the rights of all of us to protest injustice and oppression. But genuine freedom from injustice and oppression will only come with a revolutionary transformation of this society, the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of an egalitarian socialist society. There is only one social force capable of undertaking such a revolution, the multiracial working class who built all the wealth of this country. The Spartacist League, the American section of the International Communist League, is dedicated to building that leadership—a revolutionary workers party—which can bring that social power consciously to bear in struggle to eradicate a system that can only produce racism, Klan and cop terror, and social decay. ■

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Britain...

(continued from page 1)

the sovereignty of the "United Kingdom." This necessarily conflicts with the ruling class' simultaneous desire to keep step with the EU, where most British trade now goes, and to maintain London as a major centre for European finance. With their biggest electoral defeat in 91 years—completely routed from Scotland and Wales, widely despised almost everywhere, rent over Europe—the Tories are not at this point a particularly effective instrument for bourgeois rule.

Saddled with four million unemployed and among the lowest per capita incomes in West Europe, much of the population was clearly fed up after 18 years of Tory rule. But there was no basis for even the most critical support to Labour in these elections. In a 21 April election statement—headlined "For a Revolutionary Workers Party! For a Federation of Workers Republics in the British Isles!"—which was distributed by the thousands in London, Glasgow, Wales and the north of England, the Spartacist League/Britain unequivocally declared:

> "No vote to New Labour in the general election! New Labour is pledged to maintaining the sickening reality of life under capitalism—keeping the unions in shackles, slashing welfare programmes, waging war on workers, racial minorities and immigrants, women and youth—everybody who is consigned to the bottom of the heap by ruling British capitalism. Blair's 'contract with Britain' is a pact with the bloated City of London, where vast wealth is generated from profits extracted through exploitation of workers around the world."

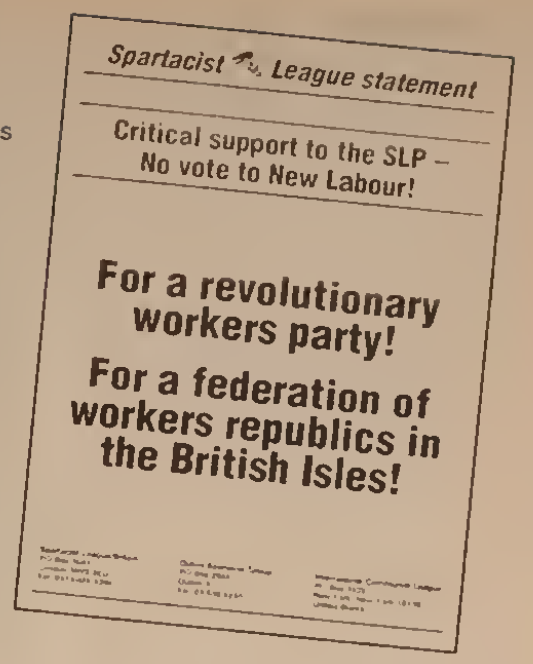
While myriad fake-left outfits backed Blair and/or the smaller "alternative" parties in the Labour camp, we gave critical support to the Socialist Labour Party (SLP) headed by National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) leader Arthur Scargill, "recognising that in standing against New Labour the SLP are in breach of the 'eleventh commandment' of the British left, that 'thou shalt vote Labour,' come hell or high water." We actively campaigned to get out the vote for Scargill in the South Wales constituency of Newport East and for other SLP candidates in two London constituencies. (In London's East Ham constituency, our offer to campaign was turned down by the SLP election agent there, Carolyn Sikorski.)

The SLP was formed by Scargill, who headed the militant 1984-85 coal strike, after Labour repudiated even its fig-leaf call for nationalisation of industry ("Clause IV"). We stressed the significance of this split at the time, writing: "For the first time in decades, the British Labour Party's political stranglehold over the workers movement is being challenged by an important split from within" (*WV* No. 638, 2 February 1996). However, the "old" Labour Party to which Scargill harks back was also thoroughly pro-capitalist, demonstrated not least by its open strikebreaking in league with the Conservative Thatcher government against the NUM. While raising a number of supportable demands—including nationalisation of industry—the SLP tacitly accepts the framework of capitalist parliamentarism, reflected in its praise for the Italian Rifondazione Comunista, which serves as a key prop in holding up the anti-worker, anti-immigrant Prodi government. In extending critical support to the SLP, we counterposed to its national reformism a programme for international socialist revolution as the only road forward for the working class. As the SL/B statement noted:

> "Marxists understand that the cause of all exploitation and oppression is the capitalist system. Therefore fundamental change in the interest of the working class, minorities and the oppressed cannot come through parliamentary elections, but only through revolutionary internationalist class struggle which, pursued to the end, must shatter the framework of capitalism worldwide....
>
> "We demand: Abolish the survivals of feudalism—the monarchy, House of Lords and established churches! In opposition to all manifestations of English chauvinism we uphold the right of self-determination for the Scottish and Welsh nations; at the same time we oppose all forms of nationalism, which are poisonous to working-class unity, and we fight for a *voluntary* federation of workers republics."

Penny/AFP

Centrist Workers Power enthusiastically supported Tony Blair's racist, anti-worker "New Labour." Spartacist League/Britain fights to win workers from Labourite reformism to program for socialist revolution.



Blair Pushes Racist "Law and Order"

In opposition, the Labour Party complied with every racist move of the Tory government on the question of immigration. New Labour seized the mantle of "law and order," from support to every bill aimed at stripping away civil liberties to its own planned curfews for youth and, on these questions, placed themselves to the right of the Liberal Democrats, a bourgeois party. Strengthening of police powers means more blacks and Asians killed in police custody. On election day the London *Independent* revealed that the Home Office used the recess of Parliament during the elections to speed up the process of mass deportations of asylum seekers.

Nowhere was New Labour's utter contempt for the working class more clear than in the choice of Tory defector Alan Howarth to stand in the Newport East constituency in South Wales. "It's an insult to our intelligence," one voter told a Spartacist comrade leafleting for Scargill. Newport East, like the former pit villages of Yorkshire, is a traditional Labour area devastated by the killing off of heavy industry. Howarth, the perfect Thatcherite Tory, backed the destruction of the steel and coal industries. But as our statement stressed, the Tories were aided and abetted in this by the reformist misleaders in the "old" Labour Party and the Trades Union Congress (TUC).

At one SLP campaign rally in Wales, Newport West Labour MP Paul Flynn launched a vitriolic attack on Scargill for not acceding to Tory demands for a "ballot" in the 1984-85 miners strike, after the strike had already spread through mass picketing. The call for a strikebreaking ballot was also the line of then Labour leader Neil Kinnock and the TUC tops, as well as self-styled "left" critics of Scargill like Workers Power and the group which now calls itself the Communist Party of Great Britain (CPGB), publishers of *Weekly Worker*.

UPI

Miners leader Arthur Scargill arrested during 1984-85 coal strike. Scargill refused to break with Labour misleaders as they betrayed heroic miners' struggle.

Workers Power also stood to the right of Scargill on the question of the European Union and its Maastricht Treaty. Where Scargill opposes the German-dominated EU from the standpoint of "little England" protectionism, WP does not oppose it at all, arguing that Maastricht can be "a basis for extending rights and gains" for the working class throughout Europe. While noting that a unified capitalist Europe is a utopian fantasy, we oppose Maastricht and the EU as "an imperialist trade bloc, a vehicle for capitalist co-operation against the working class of Europe" which originated as an economic adjunct to the anti-Soviet NATO military alliance. Against Scargill's "little Englandism," we counterposed "the Leninist understanding that ***the main enemy is at home***. The fight for a Socialist United States of Europe cannot be achieved in the absence of a break with all forms of reformism and social chauvinism."

Forge a Revolutionary Workers Party!

It is a measure of how deeply embedded the self-styled revolutionary left is in Labour's orbit that most of them openly supported Blair's warmed-over Tory candidacy. In contrast, we declared:

> "Labourism has been the main obstacle to revolutionary struggle of the proletariat in Britain and thus a strategic perspective for revolutionaries has been to split the working-class base from the pro-capitalist leadership. When a mass reformist workers party stands independently of bourgeois parties, and ostensibly in the interest of working people, revolutionaries can consider extending critical support, in order to exploit the contradiction between their pro-working-class posture and their pro-capitalist programme, to destroy any illusions workers may have in their misleaders. But there is no such contradiction in regard to New Labour in this election."

For all its talk of a "revolutionary platform" inside the SLP, WP not only blared the call to "Vote Labour" from the front page of its newspaper but insisted on nothing less than a "Labour landslide." At an SLP election rally in Vauxhall, London, a WP speaker from the floor honked on about their "revolutionary" programme until a Spartacist in the crowd heckled, "Show us your front page!"—causing not a few guffaws in the room.

While the Socialist Party (formerly Militant Labour) and the Militant-dominated Scottish Socialist Alliance (SSA) ran their own candidates, they too gave backhanded support to a Blair government, and therefore warranted no support from Marxists. Indeed, with its call to "maximise the anti-Tory vote," the SSA left the door open for a vote to openly bourgeois parties like the Scottish National Party. Militant is also notorious for refusing to call for British troops out of Northern Ireland and for their vile support to anti-Catholic Loyalist killers like Billy Hutchinson. We Spartacists fight for the immediate, unconditional withdrawal of British troops from Northern Ireland while opposing forcible reunification and warning "that there can be no equitable solution to the national oppression in Ireland within the framework of capitalism.... We fight for an Irish workers republic in a socialist federation of the British Isles."

We also categorically opposed a vote to the Northite "Socialist Equality Party" (SEP), descended from Gerry Healy's Workers Revolutionary Party (WRP). The SEP still stands by the WRP's witchhunting attack on Scargill on the eve of the miners strike—when it instigated an anti-Communist crusade against the militant miners union for Scargill's rightful denunciation of counterrevolutionary Polish Solidarność as "anti-socialist"—and is today openly hostile to the trade unions. The legacy of the WRP's wilful and repetitive crossing of the class line was also seen in the support by actress Vanessa Redgrave—a member of another WRP splinter, the Marxist Party, and once Gerry Healy's most prominent protégé—to the bourgeois Liberal Democrats ("Why I Will Vote for the Lib Dems," *Independent*, 23 April).

Imperialist triumphalism over the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union, undermined from within by decades of Stalinist misrule, has impacted widely on the organisations of the working class, manifested in New Labour's drive to break its organic ties to the trade unions and in the rightward motion of much of the left. Our campaign of critical support to the SLP afforded us a wider audience among those who have rejected New Labour and want to fight for socialism. We exposed in practice how the SLP's programme places it firmly in the mould of Labourite parliamentarism. When Spartacist speakers at SLP election meetings argued for the communism of Lenin and Trotsky, Scargill dismissed the October Revolution of 1917 and upheld instead the traditions of Labourite "socialism"—a "tradition" that has always defended the interests of British capitalism. As the SL/B statement concluded:

> "The ruling class which today talks about the 'end of history' agree on one thing: there must never again be a repeat of the Russian Revolution. But a new October Revolution is precisely what's needed, and for that we require a party modelled on the Bolsheviks of Lenin and Trotsky. Building that party to provide revolutionary leadership is the task of the Spartacist League as part of the fight to reforge the Fourth International." ■

Indonesia...

(continued from page 1)

to reverse Megawati's exclusion.

With the grave of the aged Suharto beckoning, there are many signs of a social explosion brewing. This has Indonesia's imperialist overlords—centrally Japan and the U.S.—increasingly worried. Thus a *New York Times* (4 May) editorial pointed to "the absence of political outlets for protest" as a cause for the social turmoil last summer, concluding: "The events of the last year are the first signs of a movement that may one day bring democracy to Indonesia." What this imperialist mouthpiece means by "democracy" is placing a more adept figurehead at the top of the system of savage exploitation. But for Indonesia's tens of millions of toilers, social emancipation requires nothing short of a socialist revolution to sweep away the entire murderous apparatus of neocolonial rule.

Jewett/Portland Oregonian

Workers at Nike production plant slave for pennies an hour. Struggle for women's emancipation is key to Indonesian revolution.

Indonesia and Permanent Revolution

Megawati personifies the inability of any wing of the Indonesian bourgeoisie to carry out the tasks associated with the bourgeois-democratic revolution—from political democracy to national liberation to agrarian revolution. After centuries of brutal Dutch colonial rule, fractured by the brief occupation of Indonesia by Japan during World War II, the country won its independence in 1949 under Sukarno's nationalists. But the Java-centered bourgeoisie remains tied to imperialism by a thousand threads and lords it over a dispossessed peasantry and diverse, deeply oppressed minorities.

The experience of the 1917 Russian Revolution is profoundly applicable to present-day Indonesia. Tsarist Russia was a classic case of uneven and combined development. A prison house of peoples, the Russian empire was populated largely by a backward peasantry weighed down by the remnants of feudalism. At the same time, modern industry developed in the cities, financed by French, German and other imperialists. This placed the young proletariat in a strategic position to lead all of the oppressed in a struggle to overthrow the tsarist autocracy. The Russian Mensheviks put forward the notion—later retailed by the Stalinists regarding all backward countries—that the revolution would have to proceed in "stages": in the first stage, the proletariat must limit itself to the goal of a democratic capitalist regime, to be followed later (i.e., never) by a fight for socialism.

Leon Trotsky counterposed to this the theory of permanent revolution. Trotsky's perspective was vindicated in the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution, which he led together with V. I. Lenin. As Trotsky explained in *The Permanent Revolution* (1930):

> "With regard to countries with a belated bourgeois development, especially the colonial and semi-colonial countries, the theory of the permanent revolution signifies that the complete and genuine solution of their tasks of achieving ***democracy and national emancipation*** is conceivable only through the dictatorship of the proletariat as the leader of the subjugated nation, above all of its peasant masses.... "The dictatorship of the proletariat which has risen to power as the leader of the democratic revolution is inevitably and very quickly confronted with tasks, the fulfillment of which is bound up with deep inroads into the rights of bourgeois property. The democratic revolution grows over directly into the socialist revolution and thereby becomes a ***permanent*** revolution."

Economist

Suharto unleashed draconian repression against mass protests which rocked Indonesia last summer.

In October 1917, the numerically small Russian proletariat, led by the Bolsheviks, was able to mobilize behind it the mass of the peasantry, oppressed nationalities, women and youth in a proletarian revolution which broke the power of the capitalists and landlords.

The Bolsheviks understood that it was necessary for socialist revolution to spread beyond the borders of backward Russia to the advanced capitalist powers, notably Germany. However, the young Soviet workers state remained economically impoverished and besieged by hostile imperialist powers. In this context, a conservative bureaucratic stratum led by Stalin was able to consolidate its rule through a political counterrevolution in 1923-24. Decades of Stalinist betrayal under the reactionary nationalist dogma of "socialism in one country" led to the final undoing of the October Revolution, as capitalist counterrevolution swept the USSR and East Europe in 1989-92.

Despite this ultimate betrayal by the Stalinists, the lessons of the Russian October retain their full validity. It is the historic mission of the burgeoning Indonesian proletariat—leading the land-hungry toiling masses of the countryside, women, restive youth, ethnic minorities—to sweep away the legacy of colonial rule, economic backwardness and military despotism through socialist revolution. What is missing in the social powder keg of Indonesia is a proletarian, revolutionary Marxist party based on the experience of the class struggles of the past, particularly that of the 1917 Russian Revolution.

Reuters

Leftists imprisoned in government crackdown include PRD leader Budiman Sudjatmiko (second from right). Free all victims of Suharto's right-wing repression!

No More Popular Front Betrayals!

It is a measure of the combativeness of the Indonesian proletariat that the bloody military repression has failed to check labor struggles. Last month, even as the regime was clamping down on any threat of protests over the elections, 10,000 workers in Nike's slave-labor shoe factory in Tangerang staged a militant strike which won a pay raise. The PRD militants who have led many of the recent strikes and protests have shown enormous courage in the face of Suharto's repression. However, the PRD's political support to bourgeois forces such as Megawati can only lead these struggles down the road of defeat by subordinating the proletariat to a supposedly "liberal" wing of the capitalist exploiters.

During Sukarno's reign, it was the PKI's strategy of the popular front—a class-collaborationist alliance between working-class organizations and the bourgeoisie—which paved the way for the 1965 disaster. The mass party of the working class and the largest Communist party in the capitalist world, the PKI followed the treacherous Stalinist schema of "two-stage" revolution. As we wrote in "Indonesia Powder Keg" (*WV* No. 654, 25 October 1996):

> "With the full backing of their Stalinist mentors in Moscow and especially in Beijing, the PKI implemented the policy of *gotong royong*—'national unity'—with the 'progressive' bourgeoisie and its military. The PKI gained a number of cabinet posts in Sukarno's government, embracing his strategy of 'Nasakom'—an alliance of bourgeois nationalists, Islamic groups and 'Communists.'...
>
> "Again and again, the PKI banned strikes, suppressed militant peasant movements and courted imperialist investment, preaching confidence in Sukarno and his generals. The PKI even denounced an uprising it had led at Madiun in 1948 and elevated the general who suppressed it to its pantheon of 'Heroes of the Working Class.' Raising the slogan 'For the Maintenance of Public Order. Help the Police,' and pledging to enforce 'the co-operation between the people and the Armed Forces, in particular the Police Force,' the PKI served to strengthen the very repressive apparatus which was later to come down on it."

In the face of the right-wing military coup in October 1965, the PKI was disarmed politically by its support of Sukarno. The result was a horrific slaughter perpetrated by the military and Islamic mobs. An entire generation of leftists was wiped out and the organizations of the proletariat crushed. Anyone considered educated or presumed to be a leftist—atheists, schoolteachers, writers—was rounded up and shot on the spot or imprisoned in the regime's concentration camps, where few survived.

In Indonesia today, any program of parliamentarism, labor reformism or popular-frontism is simply suicidal. A revolutionary-internationalist party, acting as a tribune of the people, would fight to link struggles for democratic rights to the class struggle of the proletariat.

The deep-seated divisions among the various peoples of Indonesia are the heritage of Dutch colonialism and have in turn been stoked by the Suharto regime to poison any attempt at multi-ethnic *class* struggle. Time and again, the predominantly Christian Sino-Indonesian minority has been set up as scapegoats for the miseries suffered by the masses of toilers. Although constituting only

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Down With Colonial Repression in French Guiana!

We publish below an edited translation of a protest statement issued on May 6 by our comrades of the Ligue Trotskyste de France.

Five months after the youth revolt provoked by brutal police repression of high-school student demonstrations in November 1996, colonial repression has again been unleashed on French Guiana in South America. Several independence fighters were arrested in early April, including several leaders of the PNPG (French Guiana National Peoples Party) and the UTG (Union of French Guiana Workers) trade union, along with dozens of youth. Accused of participating in setting fire to a magistrate's home last November, they were sent to Martinique in chains aboard a military ship—a degrading treatment that immediately evoked for all Guianese the deportations of black slaves "*anman kal bato*" (in the bottom of the ship's hold) and of enemies of French colonialism from Haitian revolutionary Toussaint L'Ouverture to 19th-century Dahomeyan king Behanzin.

While it sends riot police reinforcements to Guiana, French imperialism is rushing troops to central Africa to try to preserve its neocolonial domination, which is threatened by the collapse of the Mobutu regime, as well as to Albania to disarm the population and re-establish imperialist "order." French troops out of Africa, the Balkans and the "Overseas Departments and Territories"!

This deliberate colonialist provocation touched off a new upsurge of revolt, which was savagely put down by riot cops whose armored cars patrol the streets of the Guiana capital of Cayenne as arrests, roundups and deportations of independence fighters mount. During the night of April 23, riot cops seriously wounded young Rémy Danglade as he went outside to lock his car, shooting him pointblank in the face with a tear gas grenade. These are the same racist thugs of capital who, in France, club striking Renault workers and terrorize youth of immigrant descent in the ghettos.

On April 29, the UTG called a general strike and a demonstration, which brought 5,000 people into the streets of Cayenne to demand that the fighters deported to Martinique be freed and returned. In the face of this colonial repression, the workers and all the people of Guiana must receive the active solidarity of the French workers movement. We demand immediate freedom for all victims of colonial repression—including the youth who were imprisoned following last November's revolt—the dropping of all charges and the withdrawal of the repressive forces of French imperialism from Guiana and from the other remnants of its colonial empire. ***Independence for all French colonies! Down with the colonial repression in French Guiana!***

WV Photo

Protest against Indonesia military crackdown, New York City, October 1996. Indonesian proletariat needs Trotskyist vanguard party based on program of permanent revolution.

some 3 percent of the population, ethnic Chinese are prominent in the commercial middle class and in the big bourgeoisie, controlling an estimated three-quarters of private capital. Following the 1965 coup, Chinese writing was banned. Most recently, the military regime has conspicuously allowed communalist riots targeting Sino-Indonesian merchants to run their course, while Suharto simultaneously sought to use them as a pretext for a further crackdown on political dissent.

As communists, we oppose all discrimination against national, linguistic and other minorities. As part of our championing of the right of self-determination for all nations, we call for the independence of East Timor. Formerly a Portuguese colony, East Timor was brutally annexed by Indonesia in 1975, triggering a bitter war for national independence. The death toll after two decades of colonial repression and forced resettlement schemes—exacerbated by famine and disease—has exceeded 200,000, fully *one-third* of the East Timorese population. One measure of the PRD's acceptance of the bourgeois order is its failure to raise the demand for East Timorese independence.

The struggle for women's emancipation is a burning question in Indonesia, as throughout the semicolonial world. Women form a majority of the workforce in many of the prison-like manufacturing plants, and women militants have played a key role as labor organizers. Integrally connected to the struggle for women's equality is the demand for separation of church and state. This is particularly important in Indonesia given the role of Islamic reactionaries backed by Suharto and the CIA in the 1965 bloodbath, and in light of the corporatist Islamicist movement designed and used by Suharto for his own purposes today. PRD idol Megawati also has close ties to the head of the country's largest Muslim organization.

Closely intertwined with the struggles of minorities is the fight for land. The Dutch left in their wake massive plantations, which are now worked by millions of landless laborers and small tenant farmers. With the accelerated flow of imperialist investment, countless peasant families have been thrown off the land in favor of mining, manufacturing and other corporations. To even begin to address the plight of the rural masses requires the expropriation of the landed estates, which can only be accomplished through the expropriation of the bourgeois-landlord ruling class under a workers and peasants government.

We oppose the dictatorship's ban on political parties and raise the call for a constituent assembly to address the democratic aspirations of the Indonesian masses. In raising this slogan for China following the bloody suppression of the 1925-27 Revolution by the bourgeois-nationalist Guomindang (Kuomintang), Trotsky explained how the fight for a constituent assembly must be linked to a perspective for proletarian power:

> *"The Communist Party can and should formulate the slogan of the constituent assembly with full powers, elected by universal, equal, direct, and secret suffrage.* In the process of agitation for this slogan, it will obviously be necessary to explain to the masses that it is doubtful if such an assembly will be convened, and even if it were, it would be powerless so long as the material power remains in the hands of the Kuomintang generals. From this flows the possibility of broaching in a new manner the slogan of the arming of the workers and the peasants....
>
> "The slogan of the national (or constituent) assembly is thus intimately linked up with those of the eight-hour day, the confiscation of the land, and the complete national independence of China."
>
> — "The Chinese Question After the Sixth Congress" (October 1928)

Following the 1917 February Revolution which overthrew the Russian tsar, the Bolshevik Party called for the immediate convening of a constituent assembly while the Provisional Government of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois "democratic" parties refused. At the same time, the Bolsheviks called for a government based on the workers, peasants and soldiers soviets (councils). The Constituent Assembly was finally convened only after the proletariat took power in the October Revolution. But when the demand for "all power to the Constituent Assembly" became the rallying cry for "democratic" counterrevolution, the revolutionary regime simply swept it aside.

For a Trotskyist Party in Indonesia!

The fate of Indonesia is, and has been, key to the whole of southern Asia. Following the devastation of the Indonesian proletariat in 1965, Washington felt emboldened to massively escalate its ground invasion of South Vietnam. At the same time, the consolidation of Indonesia as a bastion of "free world" anti-Communism created the conditions for the later development of a defeatist wing of the American bourgeoisie, which felt that the U.S. could safely withdraw from what had become a *losing* war in Vietnam without jeopardizing its strategic interests in the region.

Today Indonesia is the central player in ASEAN, the anti-China bloc which now encompasses virtually every nation to China's south and east. Vast amounts of military equipment have been provided by the U.S. to prop up Suharto's generals. With an eye not only to the Chinese bureaucratically deformed workers state but also to instability within Indonesia and interimperialist rivalries with Japan, the U.S. and Australia have agreed to joint military exercises. At the same time, Japanese imperialism has appetites to include Indonesia in a new "Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere."

A workers revolution in Indonesia would provide an immense impulse to revolutionary struggle throughout the region, including the fight for a proletarian political revolution in China to sweep away the Beijing bureaucracy and stop the threat of capitalist restoration. But a proletarian regime in Indonesia would immediately have to fight to extend socialist revolution to the imperialist centers—particularly Japan—whose rulers are reaping tremendous profits from superexploited Indonesian labor and would seek to drown an Indonesian workers state in blood. Above all, what is necessary is the forging of a Leninist-Trotskyist party in Indonesia, as part of a world party of socialist revolution, a reforged Fourth International. For an Indonesian workers republic, part of a socialist federation of Asia! ■

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Speaker: Ed Clarkson, Spartacist League/U.S. Central Committee

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Chicago Jury Repudiates Cop Frame-Up

Victory for Anti-Klan Three!

WV Photo

Lawyers and defendants celebrate victory outside Cook County Circuit Court, May 8. Attorney David Thomas holds trial exhibit showing Gene Herson after potentially lethal pepper-spray attack by cops at anti-Klan protest.

CHICAGO—"Justice!" With this one word, a black juror in the case of the Chicago Anti-Klan Three summed up the resounding "not guilty" verdict the 12 members of the jury reached after little more than an hour's deliberation. As supporters of the anti-Klan militants, who had filled the courtroom every day of the trial, gathered in the corridors of the Cook County Circuit Courthouse to cheer this victory for all opponents of racist terror, many jurors came up to shake the hands of the defendants. Describing how they reached their decision after the four-day trial which opened May 5, another juror said: "We argued that this case was much bigger than what happened at the Klan rally. Every day, people in this country are having their civil liberties cut back."

Gene Herson, Labor Coordinator of the Partisan Defense Committee, Jeff Lyons of Refuse & Resist, and Dennis Glass, a young black worker, faced from one to two years in jail on frame-up charges brought by the Chicago police last June 29. The charges stemmed from a successful demonstration—initiated by the PDC and the Labor Black Struggle League—which turned back a potentially lethal assault by Klan terrorists in Chicago's Daley Plaza that day. Eyewitness testimony and other evidence at the trial vividly depicted the thugs from the Arkansas-based "Knights of the Ku Klux Klan"—armed with bolt-studded shields and heavy flagpoles—who had marched provocatively against the anti-fascist protesters.

This Klan group, headed by führer Thomas Robb, is not unknown in Chicago. Ten years earlier, in 1986, Robb and 50 of his murderous nightriders, dressed in white sheets and combat uniforms, incited a would-be lynch mob of 3,000 racist bigots in Chicago's Marquette Park. Two years later, in 1988 Robb's KKK returned to Marquette Park for a "white pride" rally where hundreds of racists set upon a black man who had wandered by. Outrageously, Daniel Levitas, an expert witness on Robb's KKK, who had been brought from Atlanta by the defense to testify in the trial, was excluded by the judge.

At the trial, a young black man, Mark Daniels, described how the Klansmen had lowered their flagpoles to use them as lances against the anti-Klan protesters on June 29. Daniels—who had been taunted by Klansmen saying, "Come and get it, boy"—told how he narrowly averted being bashed on the skull by one of these poles. The Klansman was tackled, thrown to the ground and disarmed by another anti-fascist protester.

After the protesters had effectively defended themselves and stopped these lynch-rope terrorists, the Chicago police intervened to return the KKKers' weapons to them. The cops then turned to exact revenge against the anti-Klan protesters. Gene Herson, one of the organizers of the anti-Klan demonstration, was one of the first to be singled out by the cops. In a completely unprovoked attack, police commander Patrick McNulty—the top cop on the scene—pepper-sprayed Herson directly in the face. While Herson was being treated for the potentially deadly effects of the pepper gas, which covered him from head to waist, McNulty had him handcuffed and arrested on charges of battery (causing bodily harm) against a police officer!

With no evidence that Herson had injured McNulty and failing in their effort to try to amend the complaint, the Cook County State's Attorney was forced to drop the bogus charges against Herson on the opening day of the trial. Obviously, the prosecution also knew that to continue with their case against Herson would have provided even more compelling evidence of the police rampage, led by McNulty, against the anti-Klan protesters. Still seeking vengeance, the cops and courts continued to pursue their legal vendetta against Jeff Lyons and Dennis Glass.

CLTV

TV video footage showed cops wading into anti-Klan protesters last June 29 in Daley Plaza. Some 100 anti-racists, including Anti-Klan Three defendant Dennis Glass (at center, right), had turned out to protest deadly KKK provocation.

WV Photo

Cops and Klan Go Hand in Hand!

In their opening statement to the jury, the State's Attorneys argued that the cops had simply been doing their "job" to "serve and protect" on June 29 in Daley Plaza. They tried to "prove" that anti-fascist protesters had attacked the police by endlessly repeating the demonstrators' chant, "Cops and Klan go hand in hand!" Desperate to succeed in their frame-up of the anti-Klan defendants, the cops and the prosecution invented a ludicrous "chant" they claimed was being screamed by the anti-fascist protesters: "We're going to make blue uniforms run red with blood"!

The only witnesses for the prosecution were the three arresting police officers, whose testimony was a tissue of self-contradicting lies. In contrast, witnesses for the defense, including black youths who were volunteers in the AFL-CIO's "Union Summer" program when they participated in the anti-Klan protest, gave powerful testimony that "cops and Klan go hand in hand" fit to a tee what they had seen on June 29 in Daley Plaza. The cops protected the Klan while going on a rampage against the anti-Klan protesters—***including after the Klan had been escorted from the plaza!*** The KKK provocation and the cop assault on the anti-racist protesters were captured in photos and stills of television video footage taken at the demonstration, which were presented by the defense at the trial.

Defense witnesses described how a phalanx of cops waded into the anti-Klan protest swinging nightsticks. Daniels told the court of having been pushed to the ground, then hit in the head with a police club and pepper-sprayed. The Union Summer volunteers described how a young black woman who was with them at the demonstration had to go to the hospital after being hit in the chest with a police nightstick. Another told of trying to save a friend from being trampled and then having her own foot stomped on by McNulty.

A 16-year-old black co-worker of Dennis Glass at McDonald's recounted how she had been standing beside him at the protest when he was snatched, handcuffed and led away by a squad of cops for no reason. Glass lives in Chicago's Austin District, where an unfolding cop corruption scandal has forced the courts to throw out 85 drug convictions, mainly against black youth. On June 29, he found himself a victim of the cops' frame-up machine, charged with battery and assault with a deadly weapon. The supposed "deadly weapon" in the assault that never occurred was a cardboard tube used to hold a placard!

What the judge refused to allow into evidence was the testimony of victims of racist harassment and abuse at the hands

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 669

30 May 1997

From Axing Welfare to Slashing Pensions

Feds Loot Social Security

For those who have sunk their life savings in real estate in the Florida swamps, the bourgeoisie's plans for Social Security should have a familiar whiff. Riding a well-funded scare campaign depicting the imminent collapse of the 60-year-old Social Security system, the greedy capitalists are planning to take our retirement benefits and sink them into the crap shoot of Wall Street.

Benefits have already been cut three times in the past 20 years, and in his first year in the White House Democrat Clinton effectively slashed them by $17.5 billion by increasing taxes on benefits. Yet until recently, none but the boldest reactionary has been willing to burn their fingers by proposing a direct assault on this "third rail" of American politics. Following the federal axing of welfare, slashing of food stamps and cutbacks in a host of other social services, the capitalists are now poised to gut pensions for the elderly. The "balanced budget" proposal now being pushed by Clinton and Congress already projects cutting $115 billion from Medicare. Greater cuts in Social Security benefits across the board are certain to follow, including through arbitrarily lowering the "consumer price index" through which pensions are adjusted to keep abreast with inflation.

Leen/Matrix

Hamburg/NY Daily News

Hosefros/NY Times

Above: Protest outside White House against Clinton's signing of anti-welfare law last August. Now racist capitalist rulers have targeted benefits for the elderly as part of drive to slash all social welfare programs.

The devastation of welfare has been accompanied by a racist propaganda offensive aimed at convincing white working people that their tax dollars go to providing for teenage black welfare mothers and their kids. The pro-capitalist trade-union tops have not only turned a blind eye to this assault but have enlisted as overseers of the government's slave-labor "workfare" schemes. As always, the racist rulers single out the most vulnerable sectors of the population in order to prepare attacks on the working class as a whole. As we warned two years ago in "Lurching Toward Economic Crash?" (*WV* No. 619, 24 March 1995), "The attack on welfare is a prelude to slashing Social Security and Medicare." We explained:

> "There is now a consensus among the U.S. ruling class that something radical must be done to cut government expenditure. American imperialism needs a strong military to police the world and, of course, interest on the debt is sacrosanct. So what's left? By West European standards, the so-called 'welfare state' in the U.S. is a paltry affair. The ***economically significant*** programs are Social Security pensions and Medicare benefits for the elderly, which together make up about a third of federal government expenditure."

On January 6, the Presidential Commission on Social Security announced its long-awaited recommendations. The various alternative proposals—whether from "defenders" of the current system, including three AFL-CIO officials, or from die-hard Reaganites—agreed to cut benefits, increase payroll taxes, raise the retirement age and place a substantial portion of the Social Security Trust Fund into the stock market. The only significant difference was over ***how much*** Wall Street would get. The most generous variant called for maintaining a guaranteed benefit of $410 a month (compared to today's monthly average of $747), with most of the balance invested in individual accounts set up with Wall Street firms. America's rulers are acting as though they're in tiny, impoverished Albania, where high-flying con artists managed to bilk a quarter of the population of what little savings they had through pyramid investment scams.

Revolutionary leaders Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels noted as far back as 1847 that the capitalist state is basically an executive committee for managing the common affairs of the ruling class. The push by the White House and Congress to seize Social Security funds and invest them in the stock market is simply a reflection at the national level of what every capitalist tries to do to his "own" workers—rip up health, retirement and

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French Trotskyists: For a Socialist United States of Europe!

Austerity Elections in France

MAY 26—French voters went to the polls yesterday in the first round of parliamentary elections called by right-wing president Jacques Chirac, who is trying to position himself for renewed assaults on national health insurance, retirement pensions and other social services. As throughout Europe, the French bourgeoisie's attacks on the working class have been carried out under the banner of the 1992 Maastricht Treaty, which calls for slashing budget deficits as a requirement for member states of the European Union (EU) joining a projected common European currency in 1999. The draconian austerity program introduced by Chirac's prime minister, Alain Juppé, has provoked a series of hard-fought strikes, most notably the massive strike wave by public sector employees in December 1995. With his governing conservative coalition swamped in yesterday's voting by the electoral alliance of Lionel Jospin's Socialist Party (PS) and Robert Hue's Communist Party (PCF), Juppé has already announced he will step down after the June 1 second round.

But the PS/PCF bloc, tailed by a myriad of "far left" groups, offers nothing more than an updated version of the class-collaborationist Union of the Left governments of former PS president François Mitterrand, which carried out anti-working-class attacks and anti-immigrant terror during the 1980s. The Juppé government's deportations and other racist attacks on immigrants have been met with repeated protest demonstrations, often including sizable contingents of workers. Yet the bankruptcy of the reformist parties has allowed a sinister growth of Jean-Marie Le Pen's fascist National Front (FN), whose stock-in-trade is racist terror against immigrant workers as scapegoats for massive unemployment and economic stagnation. The FN won an ominous 15 percent.

We publish below an abridged translation of a 15 May leaflet by our comrades of the Ligue Trotskyste de France.

President Jacques Chirac's aim in these elections is clearly to get a "popular mandate" for the new wave of anti-working-class austerity, layoffs, anti-union attacks and anti-immigrant repression which will be necessary in the coming months in order to satisfy the "convergence criteria" of the Maastricht Treaty. The alternative proposed by Jospin and Hue is a new class-collaborationist alliance uniting the PS and the PCF with bourgeois

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Indonesia: Free Dita Sari and All Victims of Suharto's Repression!

MAY 26—The number of people killed at the hands of Indonesian dictator Suharto's troops and cops has steadily mounted in the weeks leading up to the sham May 29 parliamentary elections. This weekend, over 140 charred bodies were pulled from a shopping mall in a provincial capital after riot police trapped hundreds of supposed "looters" in buildings which were set aflame. For a month, there have been repeated clashes in the capital of Jakarta between government forces and supporters of the two tame "opposition" parties permitted to contest the elections, which are rigged to give the regime's Golkar party an overwhelming majority.

The main target of Suharto's repression is the leftist People's Democratic Party (PRD) and leaders of newly emerged independent trade unions, many of whom are supporters of the PRD. We reprint below a 14 May protest letter by the Partisan Defence Committee in Australia to the Indonesian embassy there, denouncing the heavy sentences recently handed down to Dita Sari and other labor and leftist militants.

Despite the courage of its militants in fighting against the police-state regime, the PRD's strategy is based on political support to bourgeois "opposition" figure Megawati Sukarnoputri, a suicidal perspective which would bind the left and labor movement to a "liberal" wing of the bloodsoaked Indonesian bourgeoisie. The struggle to mobilize the combative proletariat at the head of all the oppressed in the Indonesian prison house of peoples requires a fight for the political independence of the proletariat from all wings of the bourgeoisie. For a Trotskyist party! For workers revolution to sweep away the Suharto dictatorship!

* * *

On 22 April in Surabaya, Dita Indah Sari, president of the Indonesian Center for Labour Struggles (PPBI), was sentenced to six years jail for "sowing hatred against the government," and Sari's co-defendants Coen Hussein Pontoh and Mohammed Soleh were both sentenced to four years jail.

On 28 April in the Central Java District Court, Budiman Sudjatmiko, chairman of the Partai Rakyat Demokratik (PRD), was sentenced to 13 years jail for "undermining the state ideology and inciting students and workers to demonstrate against the government." Sudjatmiko's co-defendants also were sentenced to long jail terms: Suroso (seven years), Ignatius Damianus Pranowo (nine years), Yakobus Eko Kurniawan (eight years) and Garda Sembiring (12 years). Five supporters of the defendants, protesting outside the court, were arrested on 28 April.

In the South Jakarta District Court on 28 April Petrus Hari Hariyanto (PRD secretary general) was sentenced to six years jail alongside his co-defendants Ken Budha Kusumandaru (four years), Victor da Costa (18 months) and Ign. Putut Arinoko (18 months). Wilson Bin Nurtias and I Gusti Agung Anom Astika are still being tried in South Jakarta.

We demand that these brave militants as well as Muchtar Pakpahan (leader of the banned SBSI trade-union federation) and all victims of right-wing repression be released immediately and the charges and sentences against them be dropped!

These militants were arrested after, and made scapegoats for last year's 27 July anti-government demonstrations protesting the military's brutal eviction of supporters of Megawati Sukarnoputri from the headquarters of the opposition Indonesian Democratic Party. But the size and determination of the 27 July protests, where thousands battled troops and armed riot police who were ordered to "shoot on sight," speak to a deep-going opposition to the repressive Suharto dictatorship.

The regime's tirades against a supposed "Communist threat" evoked—as was intended—the spectre of the horrendous anti-Communist bloodbath of workers and peasants carried out by the Suharto-led military and by anti-communist mobs in 1965. Australian and U.S. imperialism aided and abetted this massacre in order to keep the region safe for capitalist exploitation. The message is as clear as it is brutal: All who oppose Suharto's "New Order" government will be slaughtered in the same manner as were more than one million supporters of the Indonesian Communist Party and other militants in 1965 and the workers and peasants of East Timor who have been fighting for their independence for over 20 years.

Dita Sari's "crime" was to lead more than 10,000 workers from ten factories in the Tandes industrial district of Surabaya on strike against starvation wages on 7 and 8 July last year. The very existence of the 1962 anti-subversion laws (which carry sanctions up to and including death) and the draconian sentence meted out to Dita Sari and the fact that Muchtar Pakpahan is still being dragged through the courts despite his serious ill-health, all bear testimony to the regime's mortal fear of the spectre of the huge and combative Indonesian working class organised in struggle.

The crimes of the Suharto regime have not escaped the attention of the organised working class internationally, witness the Maritime Union of Australia's recent bans on Indonesian shipping in defence of their imprisoned Indonesian brothers and sisters.

Those murdered, disappeared and imprisoned by the Suharto dictatorship will not disappear from the memory of the international working class! The Partisan Defence Committee demands that all detained leftist militants and workers leaders be released and all charges be dropped! ■

TROTSKY

LENIN

Gracchus Babeuf, Egalitarian Communist

This month 200 years since the trial and execution of Gracchus Babeuf. Babeuf was the principal leader of the Conspiracy of Equals, the first attempt in history to establish communism through the insurrectionary overthrow of the bourgeois state by the working class. Shaped by a society which was still pre-industrial, at a time when the working class was largely artisan in character and not an industrial proletariat, the communism of Babeuf was not the communism of Marx and Engels, nor could it be. It was a communism based on equality of distribution rather than one based on collectivized production utilizing the most advanced scientific and technological methods. Yet despite its historical limitations, the Babeuvist movement, occurring in the final phases of the French Revolution, inspired future generations of communists. On trial for his life in May 1797, Babeuf courageously defended his principles.

The masses can no longer find a way to go on living; they see that they possess nothing and that they suffer under the harsh and flinty oppression of a greedy ruling class. The hour strikes for great and memorable revolutionary events, already foreseen in the writings of the times, when a general overthrow of the system of private property is inevitable, when the revolt of the poor against the rich becomes a necessity that can no longer be postponed....

Nature has placed everyone under an obligation to work. None may exempt himself from work without committing an antisocial action. Work and its fruits should be common to all. Oppression exists when one man is ground down by toil and lacks the barest necessaries of life, while another revels in luxury and idleness. It is impossible for anyone, without committing a crime, to appropriate for his own exclusive use the fruits of the earth or of manufacture.

In a truly just social order there are neither rich nor poor. The rich, who refuse to give up their superfluous wealth for the benefit of the poor, are enemies of the people.

None may be permitted to monopolize the cultural resources of society and hence to deprive others of the education essential for their wellbeing. Education is a universal human right.

The purpose of the Revolution is to abolish inequality and to restore the common welfare. The Revolution is not yet at an end, since the wealthy have diverted its fruits, including political power, to their own exclusive use, while the poor in their toil and misery lead a life of actual slavery and count for nothing in the State.

—Gracchus Babeuf, *The Defense of Gracchus Babeuf Before the High Court of Vendôme* (Schocken Books, 1972)

Santana/NY Times

Suharto dictatorship deploys murderous riot police on Jakarta streets to suppress protests in run-up to sham elections.

WORKERS VANGUARD

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EDITOR Len Meyers

EDITOR, YOUNG SPARTACUS PAGES Joe Sol

PRODUCTION MANAGER Susan Fuller

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No. 669 **30 May 1997**

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series

NEW YORK CITY

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Administration Stirs Cauldron of Ethnic Strife

S.F. State University: Bosnia by the Bay

To enforce Proposition 209, which is aimed at eliminating what minimal access to a college education exists for blacks and other minorities, the administrators of California's public universities are viciously squelching student protest against this racist purge. In April, campus cops at the University of California (UC) at Berkeley rioted against students who had occupied an administration office in protest against Prop. 209. Protesters were beaten with clubs and repeatedly gassed in the face with potentially lethal pepper spray.

On the other side of the Bay at the heavily plebeian San Francisco State University, the campus administration threatened black, Latino and leftist students with loss of student group status or expulsion for organizing an "unauthorized" campus demonstration against Prop. 209. At the same time, the administration, through its lackeys on the editorial board of the student newspaper, the *Golden Gater*, has initiated criminal charges against members of the black nationalist Pan Afrikan Student Union (PASU).

Some years ago, San Francisco journalist Herb Caen facetiously nicknamed the city "Baghdad by the Bay." Today, SF State could well be characterized as "Bosnia by the Bay," as the administration stirs up a boiling cauldron of racial and ethnic hostilities. Far from opposing this, the various purveyors of nationalist and reformist student politics are playing straight into the administration's hands.

PASU hails former Farrakhan aide Khallid Muhammad as a "revolutionary," inviting this black nationalist demagogue who alibis the Nazi Holocaust to spew his anti-Semitic filth on campus. The Zionists of Hillel House equate anti-Semitism with opposition to the murderous, racist Zionist rulers of Israel. On the other hand, the General Union of Palestinian Students reinforces the lie that anti-Zionism is anti-Semitism by identifying liberal Zionist students with the war criminals at the head of the Israeli state. Not to be outdone, the Muslim Student Association raves that "Zionists" financed the last two world wars and the Bolshevik Revolution. Then, when Khallid Muhammad did appear on campus on May 21 under PASU's auspices, he was met by members of the fascistic Jewish Defense League, who reportedly chanted, "Sieg Heil!"

The "alternative" offered by some so-called "leftists" who have rallied under the auspices of the "Coalition to Defy Prop 209," including the International Socialist Organization, the Revolutionary Workers League and the Committees of Correspondence, is to grovel before the administration. The central demand of their "unauthorized" May 7 demonstration was to call on university president Robert Corrigan to "defy Proposition 209 and show solidarity with UC Berkeley students." When Corrigan responded by threatening them with expulsion, the Coalition held a rally on May 14 appealing to the good graces of the administration to "publicly apologize for their threats"!

At the May 14 rally, a Spartacus Youth Club spokesman put forward a class-struggle perspective. In counterposition to a Coalition leaflet pleading with the university administration to "protect freedom of speech and the right to assemble," our speaker declared:

> "We say: No way! This administration runs a capitalist system of education which has no interest in educating blacks, minorities or working-class youth. This is the administration which put police snipers on the rooftops at the '94 graduation, which just a few months ago tried to drive a young woman off campus for defending herself. We call for open admissions and free, quality education for all! Abolish the administration! Cops off campus! For student/teacher/worker control of the university! But to get that we need, as students—black, white, Asian, Latino and Jewish—to mobilize with the multiracial working class in integrated class struggle against capitalism."

Anti-Semites, Zionists and Agents of the Administration

When PASU put up a banner in the university plaza on April 23 which featured a swastika superimposed on an Israeli flag and the slogan "One Settler, One Bullet," it provoked an uproar. The Hillel Zionists demanded that the banner be removed. They were backed by Corrigan, who issued a memo denouncing "ugly, divisive and ultimately hateful behavior of this kind" and calling for "repudiation of the hate messengers." What rank hypocrisy! In 1975, the SF State administration mobilized its cops to defend the "right" of Bay Area Nazis to spew their racist filth on campus. Ten years later, they did the same in defense of Israeli fascist führer Meir Kahane.

PASU argued that its banner was not anti-Semitic but anti-Zionist. Indeed, to draw attention to the fact that pogroms against the Palestinian people by the Zionist state and fascistic settlers have very much in common with the genocidal policies of Adolf Hitler is hardly anti-Semitic. But PASU's professed anti-Zionism serves primarily as a thin cover for pushing virulent anti-Semitism. In April, PASU sponsored Khallid Muhammad as a keynote speaker at a conference of the African/Black Statewide Student Association. This was followed by inviting him to campus on May 21 to address a meeting "In Honor of Malcolm X's Birthday."

Muhammad's grotesque anti-Semitism and his calls to "kill the white man" were seized on by the *Golden Gater* to provide ammunition for the racist administration to go after PASU. The *Gater* found a golden opportunity to do so when thousands of copies of an issue of its paper labeling PASU a "hate group" went missing. Although PASU leaders denied taking the papers, *Golden Gater* editors are pressing ***felony grand theft*** charges, carrying a sentence of one to two years in jail, against PASU. Whoever dumped the papers should be condemned

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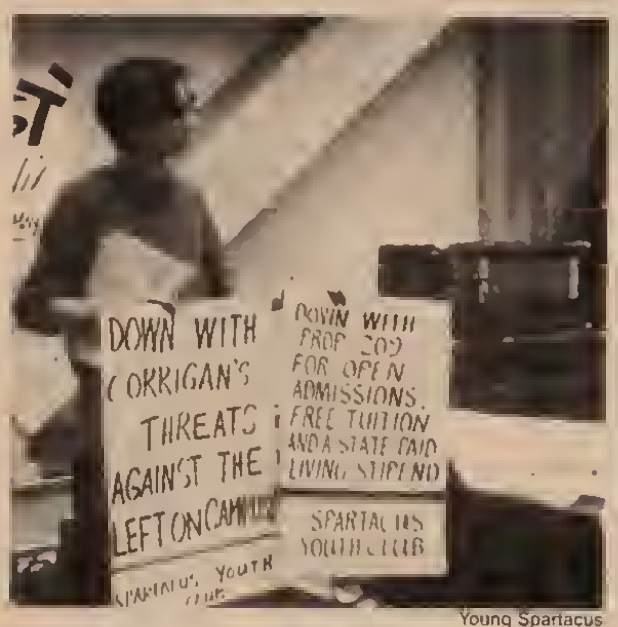


Young Spartacus

Larsen/SF Examiner

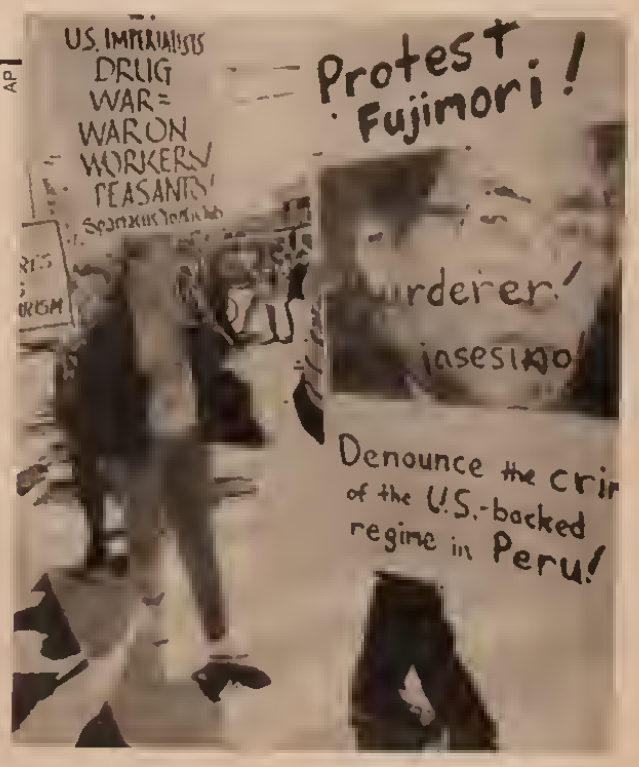
SYC joins SF State protest in May against racist Prop. 209. Right: In 1994, campus administration called in riot cops against students who opposed removing mural of Malcolm X.

Boston University Protest

"¡Fujimori Asesino!"

Chanting "Fujimori, asesino, we will not forget!" some 40 people protested outside the Boston University commencement ceremony on May 18 against the Peruvian dictator who last month ordered the slaughter of 14 Túpac Amaru (MRTA) leftists in Lima. At the same time, the parents of Lori Berenson and several others held a press conference across the street to demand the release of their daughter, imprisoned by the Fujimori regime on charges of assisting the Túpac Amaru rebels.

The protest was called by LACASA, Workers World Party and the July 26 Movement upon learning that Peruvian president Alberto Fujimori would be attending his daughter's graduation at Boston University. A 16-strong Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth Club contingent carried signs reading "Free Imprisoned Túpac Amaru Supporters and All Victims of Fujimori's Terror!" and "Workers/Peasants: Sweep Away Bloody Fujimori Dictatorship!" While much of the left has been prostrate in the face of Fujimori's U.S.-backed bloodbath, the SL/SYC seeks to sear this into the memory of the international working class. As our chant put it, "Washington, Lima, Tokyo—The whole damn system has got to go!" ■



AP

Social Security...

(continued from page 1)

other benefits while driving down wages and speeding up production. This is inherent in the workings of the capitalist system. Driven by the lash of competition, the bourgeoisie is obliged to force the working class into ever-deeper immiseration in the drive to maximize profits.

Pinochet's Chile: Wall Street's Model

For the past two years bourgeois economists, right-wing think tanks and Wall Street brokers have flooded the media with projections of the imminent collapse of the Social Security system. The fear campaign is based on the fact that by the middle of the next century, there will be a vast increase in the number of those receiving Social Security retirement benefits relative to the number of workers whose payroll taxes fund those benefits.

There is good reason to fear for the future availability of Social Security benefits, but it has nothing to do with demographics. The government is pretty much already doing what the bankers desire for themselves, looting the Social Security Trust Fund to the tune of $35 billion a year. Washington takes our cash from the fund, spends it on missiles, bombers and submarines, and leaves low-yield government bonds in its place. The ledgers say there are hundreds of billions of dollars in the trust fund—in reality there are government bonds which Washington may not have the money to cover when the debt comes due.

Oon Wright

Promoters of privatization paint rosy pictures of how investing the same funds in the market will make everyone millionaires. Of late, Wall Street has been trumpeting Chile's private pension scheme as a model for replacing Social Security. The Chile plan, drafted by U.S. economists known as the "Chicago Boys," was imposed in the aftermath of the bloody 1973 CIA-backed military coup led by General Pinochet, which left tens of thousands of workers and leftists dead. While many working people live in dire poverty, foreign and domestic investors have benefited from a huge bonanza.

At its best, Wall Street's privatization schemes will leave millions of individual retirees penniless as a result of investments gone sour. More generally, the whole system may go bust. Today's bullish stock market recalls the speculative boom of the 1920s, which was immediately followed by the 1929 stock market crash and Great Depression of the '30s. Only a few years ago, Japan was being touted for its supposedly inexorable capitalist expansion. Since the start of the decade, a sharp slide on the Tokyo exchange has wiped out fully *50 percent* of the value of Japanese stocks.

The repeated financial crises and economic depressions which have marked the history of industrial capitalism since its rise two centuries ago are an expression of the inherent chaos of the capitalist market. And the vagaries and instabilities of capitalist competition have only been amplified manyfold by the imperialist system, in which giant monopolies and financial empires, backed up by the military might of powerful nation-states, compete on a world scale for markets, foreign investments and sources of raw materials. As Leon Trotsky noted in the 1920s, "The international capitalist system has already spent itself and is no longer capable of progress *as a whole*."

The moves to privatize Social Security are part of a broad offensive by the American capitalist class, facing increasing interimperialist rivalry, to ratchet up the rate of exploitation. The same project is being pursued by the ruling classes of West Europe, where attempts to gut government pensions and other programs associated with the "welfare state" have provoked huge working-class protests and strikes, particularly in Italy and France.

By slashing Social Security, the U.S. rulers aim to cut the living standards of American working people at two levels. First and most obviously, by reducing the incomes of older people no longer working or, in many cases, able to work. Many retirees are already forced to rely on soup kitchens or to work at minimum-wage jobs to survive. As far as Wall Street is concerned, if more of them die sooner for the sake of the Dow-Jones average, so be it. Secondly, the gutting of Social Security is intended to force younger workers to cut their own consumption level in the hope of having something to live on when they're too old to work.

The bourgeoisie is also trying to force through an increase in the rate of savings in order to expand the funds available for investment at home and abroad. A large part of the country's economic surplus is absorbed by military expenditures to facilitate U.S. imperialism's self-appointed role as "policeman of the world." Yet borrowing from abroad threatens to undermine Wall Street's control of the country's productive wealth. For American capitalism, this constitutes a serious problem. The U.S. has the lowest level of personal savings of any major industrial capitalist country. As real wages have fallen by 20 percent over the past generation, working people have gone massively into debt through mortgages, bank loans, credit cards, etc. In 1995, American families saved only 4.5 percent of their after-tax income, compared to 13.5 percent for Japanese families. But a major factor behind Japan's high personal savings rate is the low level of state-funded retirement benefits. In fact, Japan cut state pension benefits by 20 percent in the late 1980s.

Reformists' New Deal Myth

The fight against the wholesale attacks on working people, minorities, the poor and immigrants must be linked to the struggle to overthrow the capitalist system and replace it with a socialist planned economy. But such a perspective runs right up against the pro-capitalist trade-union bureaucracy, the lieutenants of capitalism in the workers movement. With the bourgeoisie today no longer even offering the workers crumbs from its banquet table, the bureaucracy's role is increasingly to act as open enforcers for capitalist takebacks and layoffs while preaching a one-sided class "peace." The fight to forge a revolutionary workers party is intimately linked to a political struggle to oust the pro-capitalist union tops.

Avakian/Woodfin Camp

Gutting of welfare will consign millions of poor and minority women and children to hunger, homelessness.

Tailing the pro-capitalist union bureaucracy, the reformist left sees no possibility of class struggle. Typical is *Workers World* (30 January), which pleads with the union tops to "make the rich pay" for Social Security and to demand a "tax on stock transfers." The utopian call to "tax the rich" has long been a hobbyhorse not only of reformist "socialists," but of petty-bourgeois populists of both left and right coloration. Even capitalist press reports make clear that, whatever the tax structure, the rich and their high-priced accountants and tax lawyers will always find myriad "loopholes" to allow them to pay little if any taxes. At any rate, this slogan is premised on the fantasy that the capitalist rulers can be made to reorganize *their* finances in order to benefit the working class.

At bottom, the perspective of the labor tops and their reformist hangers-on is reduced to pressuring liberal Democrats to act as "friends of labor," in particular through futile attempts to revive the New Deal coalition of the 1930s. The New Deal was in fact aimed at suppressing class struggle by offering some palliative reforms in order to tie the workers organizations to the capitalist Democrats—an unholy alliance including not only labor's liberal class enemies in the North but also the Southern Dixiecrats who employed police terror against blacks, unions and reds. And what reforms were granted to the workers were secured primarily as a result of class struggle in what was the world's richest imperialist power. Exposing illusions in New Deal reformism pushed by the Stalinists of the Communist Party and others, Leon Trotsky wrote in the 1930s:

> "The policy of the New Deal, which tries to save the imperialist democracy by way of sops to the labour and farmer aristocracy, is in its broad compass accessible only to the very wealthy nations, and so in that sense it is American policy *par excellence*. The government has attempted to shift a part of the costs of that policy to the shoulders of the monopolists, exhorting them to raise wages and shorten the labour day and thus increase the purchasing power of the population and extend production.... The New Deal policy with its fictitious achievements and its very real increase in the national debt, leads unavoidably to ferocious capitalist reaction and a devastating explosion of imperialism."
>
> — Leon Trotsky, "Marxism in Our Time" (1939)

Indeed, liberal and reformist myth to the contrary, it was not Franklin D. Roosevelt's Keynesian economic policies which pulled the country out of the Great Depression, but rather U.S. imperialism's preparation for and entry into World War II.

Until the mass radicalization of the Great Depression, the only social insurance program the U.S. capitalists would concede was Workers Compensation, a means to shield industrial employers from costly lawsuits resulting from industrial accidents. Not only was the U.S. the last of the industrial nations to institute a system of pension benefits—over 50 years after Chancellor Bismarck decreed a social security program in Germany—but the American system was also the worst, requiring workers to contribute part of their wages. Social Security was and remains a steeply regressive payroll tax, with lower-income workers paying a larger percentage in taxes and incomes over $64,000 exempted entirely.

The American bourgeoisie has never been keen on the idea of Social Security. How the American capitalist class prefers to treat those too old or disabled to produce profits for it was exemplified in the army assault on a 1932 pensioners' march, the "Bonus Army." Twenty-five thousand World War I veterans from around the country marched to Washington, D.C., many on crutches or in wheelchairs, to demand payment of overdue pensions, only to be viciously attacked by

La Repubblica

Italian trade unions demonstrate against government plans to cut old-age pensions, 1994.

troops led by future World War II "hero" Douglas MacArthur. MacArthur's aide was Dwight Eisenhower, another WW II military icon and future president.

After a decade in which union membership dropped from five million to two million, the Great Depression of the 1930s radicalized the working class. A slight revival of industry in 1933 ushered in an explosion of strike activity. By August, an average of over 2.3 million work days per month were being lost to strikes. The mass industrial unions of the CIO were born out of the three citywide general strikes in 1934 (Minneapolis, San Francisco and Toledo)—all led by "reds"—and were built through militant class-struggle tactics like the sit-down strike. Contrary to the union misleaders and their reformist tails, the right to organize wasn't won in Washington, but through pitched battles with scabs, cops and government troops. The vaunted Section 7A of the National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA) and the subsequent Wagner Act were designed to derail militant labor struggle and confine it in the straitjacket of capitalist legality.

Mass dissatisfaction with the greedy capitalists also led to the rise of electoral movements to the left of the Democratic Party—the Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party, novelist Upton Sinclair's End Poverty in California plan—and right-wing demagogues like Huey Long. Mass support for some form of retirement benefits was reflected in the vast popularity of the Townsend plan to provide $200 per month pensions to the elderly. With an eye toward the 1936 elections, and seeing an increasingly restive working class, FDR & Co. offered Social Security as a sop to the workers.

The 1935 Social Security Act was one of the crumbs thrown to the working class in the hope of dousing the fires of class struggle and stemming mounting dissatisfaction with the New Deal. Encompassing several different programs, it provided benefits to workers over the age of 65 (which was greater than the average life expectancy at the time), as well as federal grants for the disabled. Unemployment insurance was also initiated

National Archives

AFL-CIO

Left: Troops brutally disperse 1932 Washington, D.C. "Bonus Army" march for unpaid pensions. Rulers granted Social Security in response to upsurge of class struggle. Right: CIO organizing drive in steel industry in late 1930s.

under the Act, to be administered separately by state governments. Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC), another of the provisions, was eliminated in Clinton's welfare "reform" last year.

Even the few reforms that were secured under the New Deal were by and large designed to exclude black people, not surprising given that the Southern Dixiecrats were a substantial part of Roosevelt's coalition. FDR's works programs never provided jobs for more than 25 percent of the jobless, with the greatest burden falling on black workers. While Works Project Administration (WPA) workers in the North were paid barely livable wages as low as $40 a month, in the South the pay was less than half that. And Southern industries whose workers were mostly black were exempted from even the lower Southern minimum wage. Those most in need of Social Security coverage—predominantly black farm and domestic workers—were excluded. Today, a significant portion of the black population is still not covered by Social Security.

Break with the Democrats!

The men who rule this country want to return to the "free market" capitalism of the 1920s, which they now idealize as a golden age—no unions, no welfare, no Social Security, little or no government control over financial speculation. The American (and also West European) bourgeoisies have convinced themselves that nothing like the Great Depression can ever happen again, that the business cycle is a thing of the past. Wall Street bankers and CEOs of Fortune 500 corporations seem to believe that the stock market can and will go ever higher as long as money keeps pumping into it. There is no acknowledgement that the market value of a capitalist enterprise is ultimately based on its actual earning capacity.

The current political, economic and financial climate increasingly resembles that of the late 1920s when U.S. president Calvin Coolidge triumphantly proclaimed "the highest record of years of prosperity"—on the eve of the 1929 crash. Echoing Coolidge today is Sylvester Schreiber, a member of the Presidential Commission on Social Security, who enthuses about "this economic miracle that we call America." Today, however, the entire complex of New Deal-derived reforms is being scrapped or dismantled at the very moment when conditions are more than ripe for a major financial/economic crash.

It is, of course, necessary for the working class to defend gains of past struggles like Social Security. But it is just as necessary to reject and oppose a reformist framework which accepts the capitalist economic system as eternal and immutable. This is all the more true in this epoch of imperialist decay when, as Trotsky noted in the 1938 Transitional Program:

> "...in general, there can be no discussion of systematic social reforms and the raising of the masses' living standards; when the bourgeoisie always takes away with the right hand twice what it grants with the left (taxes, tariffs, inflation, 'deflation,' high prices, unemployment, police supervision of strikes); when every serious demand of the proletariat and even every serious demand of the petty bourgeoisie, inevitably reaches beyond the limits of capitalist property relations and of the bourgeois state.
>
> "The strategic task of the Fourth International lies not in reforming capitalism but in its overthrow. Its political aim is the conquest of power by the proletariat for the purpose of expropriating the bourgeoisie."

There can and will be no genuine social security, no end to poverty and unemployment, to homelessness and racist oppression except through a planned, collectivized economy governed in the interests of the working people. To achieve this goal requires the construction and victory of a multiracial workers party dedicated to leading all the exploited and oppressed in struggle against the capitalist bosses and their state. ■

S.F. State...

(continued from page 3)

for political censorship. But the *Gater*'s sinister escalation of its anti-PASU campaign, calling on the racist capitalist state to persecute black students, is an outrage. We demand that all charges against PASU be dropped now!

Echoing the *Gater*'s diatribes, Corrigan issued a letter denouncing PASU as a threat to "the tenets of freedom of the press and free speech that we hold very dear." This comes from the man who, in 1994, ordered in a cop riot squad to brutally disperse a multiracial group of students who were trying to defend a mural of Malcolm X against administration attempts to remove it from the wall of the student plaza. At that year's graduation ceremonies, Corrigan had police snipers stationed on campus rooftops, scanning the crowd of parents and students through their rifle sights for "trouble."

The Malcolm X mural—which obscenely incorporated overtly anti-Semitic symbols—was commissioned by PASU. While opposing the Gestapo-style intervention of the administration, the SYC also denounced PASU for besmirching the legacy of Malcolm X, a courageous fighter for black freedom. Addressing a meeting of the Student Union Governing Board called to debate the question of the mural, an SYC spokesman said:

> "Malcolm X was the enemy of the kind of nationalist demagogy and bigotry, the vile anti-Semitism that is preached by people like Louis Farrakhan and the Nation of Islam. Farrakhan, the man who said Malcolm X was 'worthy of death,' wants to *divert* the justified outrage of black youth against this racist society into poisonous bigotry, into *accepting* racial segregation. Anti-Semitism is sucker bait and it lets the racist rulers of this country—who hold the real wealth and power—off the hook. It is capitalism which keeps black people forcibly segregated at the bottom of this viciously racist society of exploitation and oppression. Setting blacks against Jews only fans the flames of racist reaction, whose first targets will be black people."

Down With Nationalist Bigotry!

While PASU postures as oh-so "radical" and even "revolutionary," in fact their outlook reflects that of a despairing black middle class—what W.E.B. Du Bois called the "talented tenth"—who see the doors to advancement in this racist society increasingly slammed shut in their faces. Thus the appeals by Farrakhan and Muhammad to advance the utopian cause of "black capitalism" find resonance with PASU members, who see this as their ticket to success. The anti-Semitic, anti-Arab, anti-Asian bigotry of the black nationalists is aimed at clearing the road for them to become the exploiters of their "own" people.

In a leaflet titled "Zionism Exposed!" members of Hillel ridiculed the anti-Semitism of PASU and other student groups by satirically describing how "Zionists" control "the administration, the student government, the area code, your hair style, the weather." The idea that Jews control the levers of power in this country is a reactionary fantasy (shared by the fascists) which serves to divert anger away from the real enemy, the overwhelmingly white Anglo-Saxon Protestant ruling class.

Yet while Hillel denounces *black* anti-Semites of Khallid Muhammad's ilk, it has been deployed in the service of some of the most vicious enemies of Jews and other minorities. In 1993, Hillel members at SF State were implicated in a massive spying operation perpetrated by the rabid Zionists of the Anti-Defamation League, who used the information to finger leftists, Palestinians and anti-apartheid activists to the FBI, the CIA, the Israeli Mossad and the South African apartheid secret police. These days, Hillel members at SF State have much more of a liberal posture, including sometimes proclaiming their own opposition to the genocidal policies of the Israeli government. Yet with their ardent defense of Zionist ideology, which can only mean ethnic cleansing against the Palestinian people, Hillel is incapable of fighting bigotry in any form.

The hostilities that seethe on the SF State campus are a microcosm of the racial and ethnic hatreds that are whipped up by the racist rulers of America for the purpose of furthering the exploitation and oppression of the working people and the poor. The way out lies through building a multiracial revolutionary workers party that can forge an alliance of blacks, immigrants, Jews and all minorities behind the social power of the integrated working class. The forging of such a party—which aims to shatter the power of America's racist capitalist rulers through victorious socialist revolution—is the task to which the Spartacus Youth Clubs and the Spartacist League are dedicated. ■

SPARTACIST LEAGUE/U.S. LOCAL DIRECTORY

National Office
Box 1377 GPO
New York, NY 10116
(212) 732-7860

Boston
Box 390840, Central Sta.
Cambridge, MA 02139
(617) 666-9453

Chicago
Box 6441, Main PO
Chicago, IL 60680
(312) 454-4930

Los Angeles
Box 29574
Los Feliz Sta.
Los Angeles, CA 90029
(213) 380-8239

New York
Box 3381
Church St. Sta.
New York, NY 10008
(212) 267-1025

Oakland
Box 29497
Oakland, CA 94604
(510) 839-0851

San Francisco
Box 77494
San Francisco, CA 94107
(415) 777-9367

Washington, D.C.
Box 75073
Washington, D.C. 20013
(202) 872-8240

TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA/LIGUE TROTSKYSTE DU CANADA

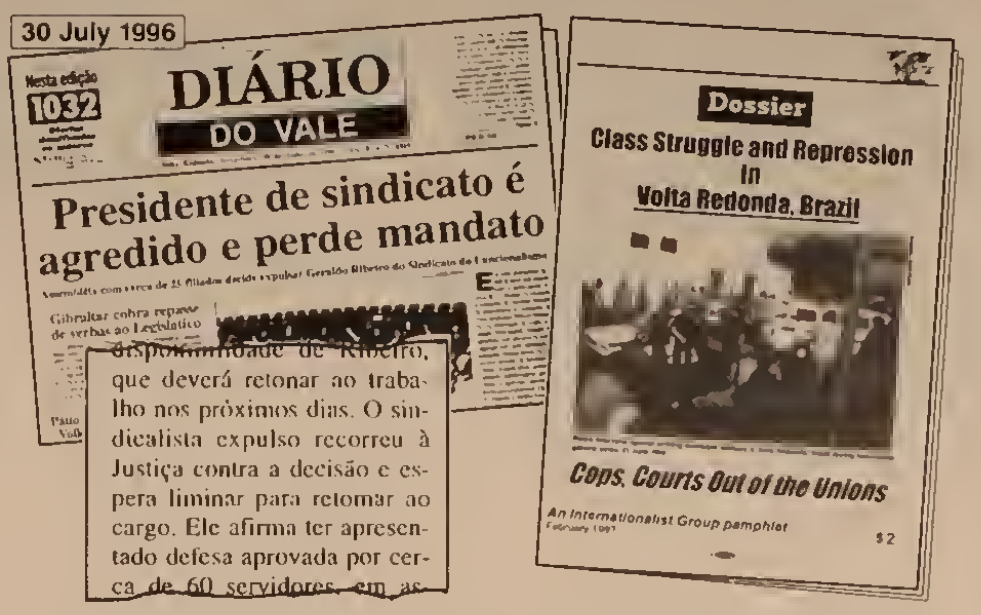
Toronto
Box 7198, Station A
Toronto, ON M5W 1X8
(416) 593-4138

Montréal
C.P. Les Atriums
B.P. 32066
Montréal, QC H2L 4V5

Vancouver
Box 2717, Main P.O.
Vancouver, BC V6B 3X2
(604) 687-0353

Lies, Damned Lies and Anti-Union Lawsuits

IG's Brazil Fraud Exposed



IG proclaims class-struggle victory by LM/LQB opposing cops, courts in Volta Redonda municipal workers union. But Volta Redonda newspaper headlines that LM/LQB supporter was ousted as union president and reports: "The expelled unionist appealed to the courts against the decision and awaits a court order to regain the post." So much for IG's lying "Dossier."

When the four members of the "Internationalist Group" (IG) precipitated their expulsions from the Spartacist League/U.S. last spring, they immediately formed an anti-Spartacist bloc with the small Brazilian Luta Metalúrgica/Liga Quarta-Internacionalista do Brasil (LM/LQB). Even while they were in the SL, IG leaders Norden and Negrete had for two years been covering for and/or braintrusting the LM/LQB, with which the International Communist League had maintained fraternal relations until last June. Together, the IG and the LQB have attempted to shift the terrain of our differences away from the fight to build a Trotskyist party in Brazil to the fiction that the ICL "fled the class struggle," in particular a supposed final conflict to expel the cops from the SFPMVR municipal workers union—in which LM exercised some influence—in the city of Volta Redonda.

Readers interested in the truth are encouraged to study *International Bulletin* No. 41, "The Fight for a Trotskyist Party in Brazil," a trilingual (English, Spanish and Portuguese) bulletin published by the International Secretariat of the ICL. This bulletin comprises the documentary record of correspondence between the ICL and the LM/LQB from January 1996—when this work was reclaimed from the exclusive control of Norden and Negrete—to our break in fraternal relations with the LM/LQB on 17 June 1996. Following a sufficiently long testing period, including with ICL representatives on site, we broke relations because it became abundantly clear that for LM, opportunist maneuvers to maintain control of a union took precedence over the crucial task of forging a revolutionary party. Moreover, in the union involved, in which LM held only an unelected position, a tenth of the membership is murderous cops.

Amid the IG's vituperative accusations against the ICL, we have doggedly pursued our work of introducing genuine Trotskyism to the labor movement, the left and intelligentsia in Latin America and everywhere we can reach around the globe. Thus, on a recent trip to Brazil, a team of ICL representatives sold new issues of our Mexican journal *Espartaco*, the new Spanish-language edition of *Spartacist* devoted to writings on the fight for a Leninist party by James P. Cannon, the founder of American Trotskyism, and the ICL's new Brazil bulletin. What our comrades discovered firsthand was evidence of the *class betrayal* carried out by the LQB in Volta Redonda, a betrayal which has been covered up through an international game of smoke, mirrors and outright lies by the IG.

This evidence exposes as a fraud the IG's February 1997 pamphlet titled "Dossier: Class Struggle and Repression in Volta Redonda, Brazil—Cops, Courts Out of the Unions," where it crows about a tremendous and principled fight and victory by the LM/LQB against the bourgeois cops and courts in the labor movement. Brazil is a country literally soaked in the bloodshed of unbridled, murderous police terror. So many people are killed by the police that real records aren't kept and the police almost always go unpunished. An article titled "Mean Streets of Salvador" in the *London Review of Books* (22 August 1996) gave a conservative estimate that one street child is murdered approximately every four hours in Brazil. Recently, a videotape of the kind of police terror that happens every day in Brazil was played on international television and riveted public attention in Brazil.

Had the victory against the cops that the IG has trumpeted occurred, one would expect that the LQB would have broadcast this far and wide throughout the Brazilian left and labor movement. But the ICL team which recently visited Brazil—and contacted the CUT trade-union federation which covers the Volta Redonda region—found that *nobody* knew of this alleged victory against the cops in Volta Redonda, *because it never happened*. Indeed, at a May Day rally of some 20,000 workers in the "ABC" industrial belt surrounding São Paulo, in which our comrades participated and sold our literature to unions and left groups, the most common question asked by people attracted by our new Brazil bulletin was, "But who is the LQB?" In the country's major political and industrial center, we encountered nobody who knew that the LM/LQB even continued to exist after the ICL broke fraternal relations!

Contrary to the IG's grandiose claims, the truth of the matter is:

1) *The murderous municipal police* (guardas) *have not separated from the union, as claimed by the IG, but are still union members.* In regard to the IG's claim that the police had formed a separate association, in a face-to-face discussion in Volta Redonda on May 3, LQB leader Cerezo told ICL representatives: "You can't say that the cops have exactly separated from the union. The head of the association was killed by a municipal *guarda* so that really slowed the process down. Things really came to a standstill in the separation."

2) *LQB member and former union president Geraldo Ribeiro was driven out of the leadership along with his unelected "adviser" Cerezo, and the union is now controlled by the pro-cop faction led by Artur Fernandes.* In our May 3 discussion with Cerezo, he acknowledged, "Artur controls the union." When our representative pointed out, "That's not what the IG 'dossier' says," Cerezo confirmed, "It's true, Artur controls the union."

3) *LQB member Geraldo Ribeiro filed at least two lawsuits against the union in the bourgeois courts to try to maintain his position as president of the SFPMVR, i.e., he appealed to the capitalist state to decide who should lead the municipal union!* These lawsuits are a matter of public record in the First Civil Court (*1a. Vara Cível*) in Volta Redonda (*Autor: Geraldo Ribeiro, Réu: Sindicato dos Funcionários Públicos do Município de Volta Redonda*); case numbers 30,833/96 and 30,831/96.

In addition to the evidence obtained from the courts and through direct discussions with the LQB, there is supporting evidence, reproduced here, from the Volta Redonda newspaper *Diário do Vale*.

• On 30 July 1996, under the headline "Assembly Expels Municipal Workers Union President," *Diário do Vale* reports: "The expelled unionist [Ribeiro] appealed to the courts against the decision and awaits a court order to regain the post."

• On 31 July 1996, under the headline "Unionist Claims Not to Have Lost Mandate," *Diário do Vale* reports: "The elected president for the Municipal Workers Union, Geraldo Ribeiro, said yesterday that he did not recognize the decision of the evening meeting on the day before yesterday, when close to 25 municipal workers approved his expulsion. He asserted that the organization is still subjected to intervention and that the decision regarding the presidency should be made by the courts."

• On 2 August 1996, under the headline "Courts Will Decide About Union's Leadership Next Week," *Diário do Vale* quotes Geraldo Ribeiro as saying: "We know the courts are sluggish and it is worthless for us to wait for a decision while the union does not have representation." The paper goes on to note Ribeiro's "avoiding any comment, however, on what is being done to assure his regaining the presidency."

• On 12 August 1996, under the headline "Municipal Workers Union Will Defend the Null Vote," *Diário do Vale* reports: "The financial situation of the union is aggravated even more by the blocking of the organization's bank account with close to R$2,000, which will only be released after the conclusion of the legal action pushed by Ribeiro in his attempt to regain the presidency."

Diário do Vale is a bourgeois newspaper in a company town and we have no reason to doubt that its editorial posture would be hostile to any leftist opposition in the local unions. Yet this one local paper of record carried no fewer than five articles in less than a month, all of which assert that union leader and LQB member Ribeiro dragged the bourgeois state into internal union affairs through lawsuits. *If this were not so, where then is the necessary refutation by the LQB or the IG?* The LQB has published not a single issue of their press since the first one—which was largely written and financed by the ICL prior to the break in fraternal relations, and then published as the IG's anti-ICL Brazilian adornment nearly a full year ago. Meanwhile, the IG itself has published a bulletin, two journals, a "dossier," numerous leaflets, and has a Web page on the Internet—yet they have maintained a deafening and guilty silence about these disturbing reports in the Brazilian press!

Globo-ZNZ

Workers defy troops during militant 1988 Volta Redonda steel strike. Capitalist state's cops, courts and army are enemies of working masses.

IG "Dossier"—International Eyewash and Cover-Up for Betrayal

We know that the IG has had access to *Diário do Vale* because when it ran an article with a false statement which served the IG's purpose, they criminally reprinted it without comment, much less correction. If the lie suits them, they flaunt it. Thus on page 20 of the IG "Dossier" we find a long quote from *Diário do Vale* (17 May 1996) which states: "Luta Metalúrgica made its support to the election campaign of Geraldo Ribeiro's slate—which ended up winning the election for the leadership of the Volta Redonda Municipal Workers Union—conditional on carrying out a program drawn up by the organization 'Municipários

em Luta' [MEL—Municipal Workers in Struggle] which precludes municipal *guardas* being part of the union."

That statement is a lie. The election program of the MEL slate ***made no mention of the presence of cops in this union.*** Indeed, the issue of the cops was so deeply buried by the LM/LQB in the election campaign that ***a majority of the cops in the union voted for Geraldo Ribeiro***, himself a former cop! The MEL slate was an unprincipled bloc that included the pro-cop agent Artur Fernandes! These significant facts are also "blank spaces" in the lying history presented in the IG's "Dossier." Meanwhile, the IG sputters in rage when the ICL points to a "deal" between the LM/LQB and the cops. But there was a deal: in order to cement unity with Artur to create the MEL slate, the LM/LQB did not campaign to expel the cops from the union, but only to keep cops off the MEL slate! This was openly admitted by all the LM/LQB comrades at the time.

In our first letter (29 January 1996) to LM after discussions at a January 1996 ICL International Executive Committee meeting in London attended by Cerezo, we wrote:

> "Informal discussions at the recent IEC gathering brought to light the critical fact that police (*guardas*) are members of the municipal workers union, the union in which the LM-supported slate won the election. Having won the union election and now serving as officers of the union, LM has responsibility to act on the key programmatic point raised only in general terms in the campaign propaganda, to expel the police from the union. This task, and making the workers conscious of it, is rendered more difficult because the campaign propaganda did not specifically address the presence of police in this union where you campaigned.
>
> "Another matter we seek to discuss more fully is the principle that labor should clean its own house and not resort to the bourgeois courts or government to adjudicate disputes in the labor movement. This question came up concretely in discussions over LM's public statement of intent to sue the candidate of the yellow company union, Força Sindical, in the bourgeois courts.
>
> "The two issues cited above indicate a blurring of the dividing line between the workers movement and the bourgeois state, their cops and their courts. In contrast to the popular-frontist formations which deliberately foster illusions in the bourgeois state, we insist on the political independence of the working class, which has been the underlying political principle of the Marxist movement since the First International. This requires seeing the state and its many tentacles in a very clear way. Otherwise what you present, at best, is an incomplete separation from the popular front, i.e., some variant of centrism."

It is also telling that on pages 22-23 of the IG's "Dossier," there is a splashy spread of solidarity statements with the LM/LQB, presumably to show their far-reaching support. But sometimes what you don't see is more important than what you do: there is ***not one*** statement of support from an individual, organization or trade union ***in Brazil***. They have not managed to add even one statement of support from within Brazil to those secured as a result of the solidarity campaign with the Volta Redonda municipal workers union organized in the spring of 1996 ***by the ICL and Partisan Defense Committee***. In our campaign, we presented ***hard evidence*** to the international workers movement of dangerous encroachments by the state in the labor movement in Volta Redonda. In contrast, the IG ran with a fraud that could only be consumed at great international distance and without close inspection. In so doing they have recklessly and willfully damaged the tradition of internationalist, non-sectarian class-struggle defense established by Cannon's International Labor Defense in the 1920s and since painstakingly resurrected by the Partisan Defense Committee, which is associated with the ICL.

Even after the break in fraternal relations, the ICL repeatedly offered to assist the LM/LQB. For example, on 21 October 1996 we wrote to the LQB:

> "After the March 13 Municipal Workers Union (SFPMVR) meeting in Volta Redonda was invaded by military police, the PDC initiated and coordinated an international campaign of solidarity demanding that the cops and courts keep their hands off the Municipal Workers Union, and raised the demand for the separation of the police from the union. In order to credibly bring this case to the attention of trade union leaders from South Africa to Tokyo, we assembled and translated into many languages the necessary evidence which documented the police assault. We provided the workers leaders with evidence such as press clippings, signed affidavits from union officials and eyewitnesses to the attack, and a direct written appeal from the LQB itself.
>
> "Currently we seek further information on the question of the continuing police presence in the union, the status of old charges and investigations (e.g., into the alleged shooting of Artur in May) as well as evidence of any new charges against leaders of the Municipal Workers Union or the LQB. We look forward to hearing from you and we request that you send us the necessary ***evidence*** required to bring cases in the interest of the working people to the attention of the workers of the world."

In response to this request for necessary information, we received nothing but blasts of rage fulminating that we had the audacity to ask for proof.

Indeed, the IG and LQB have yet to even agree on ***when*** the cops allegedly were thrown out of the union. (One can appreciate the difficulty in ascertaining when something that didn't happen, happened.) Page 12 of the IG's "Dossier" asserts that a union *seminário* voted overwhelmingly to disaffiliate the *guardas* on ***June 13***. Page 25 claims that it was "the ***19 June*** 1996 union meeting that was to disaffiliate the *guardas*." At a 1 August 1996 SL forum in New York where the Norden group made its public debut, their floor speakers said ***not one word*** about the alleged victory in Brazil.

Only at a 13 September 1996 New York SL forum did IG spokesman Negrete take advantage of his time in our democratic discussion period to bluster that the ICL "broke fraternal relations in June, one day before those comrades went into a union meeting to throw the police, who in Brazil murder black street children every day, out of the union.... These comrades fought and ***they have thrown the police out of the union***!" Norden, who was also present at the forum, was somewhat tongue-tied and noticeably green around the gills when questioned by other comrades about these alleged developments. Two weeks later, on September 26, an IG spokesman calling himself "Avram" was interviewed live on New York's WBAI *Building Bridges* radio program with Geraldo Ribeiro on the phone line. Avram said: "The union members on July 25th, despite enormous repression against them, voted in an assembly to disaffiliate municipal police from their union." June 13? June 19? July 25? In any case, whatever the date, the cops are still in the union! As the Scottish poet Sir Walter Scott wrote, "Oh, what a tangled web we weave, when first we practice to deceive."

Six street children in Rio de Janeiro suburb massacred by Brazilian police death squad, 1991. Murderous cops have no place in trade unions.

The Struggle for a Trotskyist Party

The ICL urged that LM/LQB leader Cerezo step down from his unelected post in a union with a sizable cop membership and in which the LM/LQB had no members at the time in order to ***carry out a political struggle for communist politics at the base of the union and other necessary tasks to build a party.*** We warned that to continue on their course, coveting their unelected positions as a higher conquest than the struggle for revolutionary consciousness and its necessary instrument, a revolutionary party, would likely lead the workers and the union to a bad defeat. Calling the courts into the union after a long campaign for "cops and courts out of the union" can only breed cynicism in any subjectively revolutionary elements in and around the LM/LQB and other municipal union members, and drag the banner of communism through the mud. It is extremely unfortunate that literally ***every*** danger we warned of came to pass—with more than a little help from the IG.

It appears that as soon as Norden & Co. engineered their expulsions from the ICL, they launched a pathetic little caricature of Stalin's 1927 "Canton Soviet" adventure, designed to cover over his betrayal of the Shanghai insurrection earlier that year. To justify controlling a union in which the LQB had no members, immediately after the break in fraternal relations Geraldo Ribeiro and a few other SFPMVR unionists were hastily taken into LQB membership. Then the LM/LQB tried to slip in the separation of the police at the end of a long meeting centered on an economist wage campaign. Pushed from above, and with insufficient support at the base, this power struggle with the pro-cop Artur faction had predictably sorry results. We recall what Trotsky wrote of Stalin's adventure: "We discovered, after it was all over, that the Canton Soviet resembled an ancient Chinese dragon simply drawn on paper. The policy of pulling rotten strings and paper dragons is not our policy."

Norden and Negrete's fantasy operation in Brazil has done real damage, not only to the cause of building a revolutionary party but in weakening and undermining the municipal workers union. This has not been lost on the rotten centrists of the Brazilian Liga Bolchevique Internacionalista (LBI), who have long braintrusted the machinations of the pro-cop Artur faction in the SFPMVR. In a polemic in its *Luta Operária* (March 1997), the LBI sneers: "The LQB shows its real face: it seeks the State's intervention to lead it back to the Union's leadership." That takes some chutzpah, coming from the people who braintrusted the pro-cop faction. Now, this cynical centrist outfit tries to gain credence by hypocritically pointing to the IG/LQB's own unprincipled maneuvers.

Those inclined to learn a lesson about trade-union opportunism from the Volta Redonda fiasco would do well to consider these words from a 1924 speech to a conference of U.S. coal miners by James P. Cannon on "Our Aims and Tactics in the Trade Unions" (reprinted in *James P. Cannon and the Early Years of American Communism* [Prometheus Research Library, 1992]):

> "In the discussions which took place here today, we heard the remark made by one of the comrades that our struggle in the unions is a struggle for strategic positions. This is a one-sided view and if we allow it to stand alone, we will fall into a serious error. We must adopt the point of view that our struggle is a struggle to develop the class consciousness of the rank and file workers and to win them over to the principle of the revolutionary struggle against capitalism under the leadership of our party.
>
> "If we will connect the fight for strategic positions with this broad political aim and subordinate it to this aim, we will be on safe ground. Otherwise, we will be confronted with the spectacle of party members regarding the fight for office as an end in itself; of evading or putting aside questions of principle with which the masses are not familiar; of scheming and calculating too closely in order to get into office. Of course the comrades will justify all this on the ground that once they get into office they will be able to do big things for the party. But quite often we will be apt to find the very comrades who adopt this method of getting into

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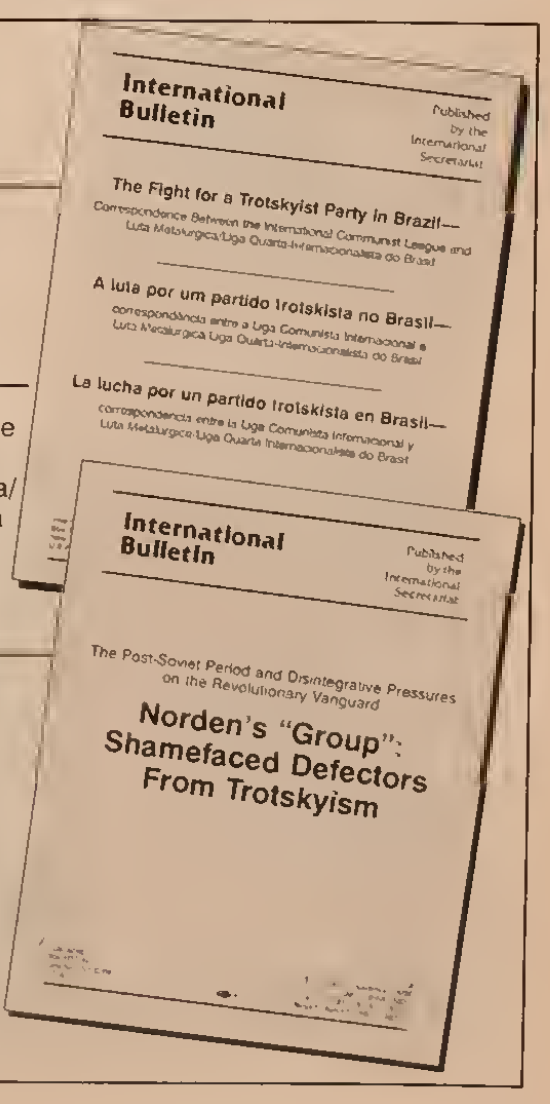

France...

(continued from page 1)

formations (Radicals, Greens and the ultra-chauvinist Jean-Pierre Chevènement). As good defenders of capitalism, they present nothing but a "left" cover for austerity and racism and promise to uphold the capitalist system with a "human face." And the various "far left" groups also accept the capitalist framework.

Workers and immigrants in Italy are today faced with this same type of coalition, as Prime Minister Romano Prodi, with the support of Rifondazione Comunista among others, imposes the austerity measures and anti-immigrant laws that Italian capitalism demands. In these coalitions, which Trotskyists call popular fronts, between bourgeois parties and bourgeois workers parties, like the PCF and the PS, the contradiction between the interests of the workers that the leaders of these reformist parties claim to defend and what they really stand for—the defense of capitalism—is suppressed with the ready-made excuse that "we can't do anything because our partners won't accept it." The reformist workers parties thus become representatives of a *bourgeois* coalition. Under these conditions, a vote for the parties in these coalitions is a vote for the class enemy. It is a break with the principle of class independence. ***No vote for the workers parties in popular fronts! No to class collaboration!***

The spokesmen of the right are proposing to do away with the minimum wage in order to give the bosses the right to hire youth at starvation wages. The power of the working class must be mobilized to impose a sliding scale of wages and hours with no loss in pay in order to spread the work among all the workers and to maintain the workers' standard of living. The attempt to eliminate the minimum wage is also aimed at using youth and immigrants to attack the trade unions. Now more than ever, the unions must fight to organize all non-unionized workers and the unemployed. And against the division of the trade unions along political lines, as is presently the case, industrial trade unions including all workers in the same industry are necessary. One industry, one union! All workers must be organized into the unions!

AP photos

Drive by capitalist governments throughout West Europe to push through drastic austerity cuts and layoffs has sparked mass protests: German miners march against mine closures, March 1997 (left); public workers in Paris, October 1996, protest threatened cutbacks.

The crisis of capitalism will be resolved not by the ballot box but by class struggle, going beyond the immediate economic needs of workers and youth confronted by plant closings and rising unemployment. A conscious political fight is necessary, taking up the interests of *all* the oppressed and first of all the African and North African component of the private-sector workforce, which is strategically placed in heavy industry, and the "*sans-papiers*" (undocumented workers). The oppressed must be organized on the side of the proletariat by a Leninist party, which is a tribune of the people—a party of revolutionary action, not of parliamentary traitors—and which fights for the conquest of power by the proletariat through socialist revolution. For a revolutionary multi-ethnic workers party!

In the post-Cold War world, the collapse of Stalinism and the victory of capitalist counterrevolution in East Europe and the USSR have brutally unleashed rivalries among the various imperialists which were previously put on the back burner in the face of their common Soviet enemy. The French bourgeoisie, like all the bourgeoisies, must sharply increase the rate of exploitation of "its" working class in order to raise its economic productivity. This means waves of layoffs, massive unemployment among the youth, temporary employment, attacks on women's rights, stagnating or reduced wages, speedup, destruction of social benefits, deportation of workers from the "Third World" who are now deemed "superfluous," etc. The Maastricht Treaty, with its "convergence criteria," simply creates an additional pressure to launch these reactionary attacks within the timetable for establishing the common currency. And let's not forget that it was the PS, through former president François Mitterrand and former EU head Jacques Delors, who authored Maastricht! They set it up in the hope of allowing the French bourgeoisie to exert a modicum of control over the economic policy of its powerful "partner" across the Rhine, since Germany has emerged in post-Soviet Europe as the dominant social and economic power.

The working class and all the oppressed must oppose the imposition of this anti-working-class treaty. Thus, in 1992 we called for a "No" vote on the Maastricht referendum. Lutte Ouvrière (LO) and Pouvoir Ouvrier (PO), on the contrary, called for abstention on the pretext of not wanting to mix their votes with the right-wing opponents of Maastricht (thus bailing Mitterrand out). These organizations, each to the extent of their forces, share part of the responsibility for the draconian austerity which has accompanied the setting up of this treaty. If tomorrow "monetary union" were abandoned or postponed indefinitely in the face of workers' struggles, it would be a victory for the workers who, throughout Europe, have put up sharp resistance to the capitalist offensive. Down with the capitalist system! Down with the Europe of Maastricht!

Nevertheless, such a victory would necessarily be temporary and reversible. It is impossible, within the framework of the capitalist system, to do away with unemployment, austerity and racism. The latest illustration of this is the crisis of the European automobile industry, whose extent was revealed by the recent fight of Renault workers in Vilvorde, Belgium. With production capacity becoming much greater than market demand, the capitalists have no other solution than to close plants and throw thousands of workers onto the street. This provoked, among other things, the first strike organized on a European level by workers from the various Renault plants and a demonstration in Brussels in support of the Vilvorde workers by tens of thousands of workers from throughout Europe and from most of the auto companies. The workers' perspective—in auto and elsewhere—must be to set up a planned economy, to organize production on the basis of the needs of the population at the level of *Europe as a whole* under the rule of democratic workers councils. This requires the overthrow of the bourgeoisies and their states. For a Socialist United States of Europe!

The social-chauvinists of the PCF have for years made common cause with bourgeois forces opposed to Maastricht on the basis of protectionism and anti-German nationalism—including with the "republican" chauvinist Chevènement. Presenting "Maastricht" as the sole cause of the anti-working-class attacks carried out by the capitalists of West Europe deliberately obscures, in the consciousness of the workers and the oppressed, the understanding that the main enemy is their own bourgeoisie, not Brussels or Frankfurt. The defense of the "national interest" ties the workers to their "own" bourgeoisie and inevitably sets them against the workers of other countries. The main enemy is at home! If today the PCF and the PS find themselves side by side on the question of Europe, even though they have divergent positions on Maastricht, it is because both defend the interests of the French bourgeoisie.

Why We Are Not Voting for LO

LO is presenting itself as a proletarian opposition to the candidates of the reformist "left" and talks of building the party which the working class needs. This is impossible for an organization like LO, which is passive in the face of racist oppression and the fascist threat that today polarizes French society. Many workers understand that the attacks against immigrants and their families are attacks against the entire working class. They are a way for the bourgeoisie and its fascist thugs to divide and weaken the working class and to make immigrants the scapegoats for the economic chaos created by the capitalist system. And tomorrow it will be the turn of other layers of society such as women, whom Le Pen wants to confine to the home in order to "free up jobs." The role of the revolutionary party is to mobilize the social power of the working class to defend all sectors of the oppressed, who have everything to gain from the overthrow of the capitalist system. The working class, because of its role in production, is the only class with the power to build a new society. For this, it needs to ally with other layers of society which face capitalist attacks; otherwise, the latter will turn toward reactionary illusions like Islamic fundamentalism and nationalism instead of strengthening the workers' class struggle.

Thus, during the December 1995 strike wave, we struggled against the working-class leaders—and the entire "far left"—who refused to fight racist terror. We

AFP

Young Muslim women in Lille, 1994, protest racist Bayrou directive threatening to expel students who wear Islamic headscarves in public schools.

Le Bolchévik

LTF at 1993 protest calls on railway workers to stop trains deporting immigrants.

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called for "Full citizenship rights for all who got here!" and denounced the campaign of cop terror against minorities, demanding "Down with Vigipirate!" In 1994, we fought side by side with the high-school students who mobilized to defend the girls expelled from school by the racist Bayrou directive because they wore a *hidjeb* (Islamic head scarf). As the Jeunesse Spartaciste (youth group of the LTF) wrote in a leaflet: "This directive, which under cover of 'defense of secularism' strengthens the hold of religious obscurantism, notably among the girls, aims simply to expel girls of North African descent from school" (*Le Bolchévik* No. 131, December 1994-January 1995). [See "France: Racist Edict Targets Schoolgirls," *Women and Revolution* No. 44, Winter 1994-Spring 1995.]

Under the pretext of "defending women," LO became the spokesman for the government by applauding the racist expulsions along with notoriously anti-immigrant interior minister Charles Pasqua. Remember that over Iran (1978-79) and Afghanistan (1979), where defending women from the slavery of the *chador* (head-to-toe "veil") was a central and vital question, LO never bothered about the plight of women, which they now use as a cover for their capitulation to the racist campaign. They had no compunction at the time about being on the same side as the Muslim fundamentalists, whom they so eagerly denounce in this country today. But the real threat in this country today is chauvinist and racist reaction, behind which stands the Catholic church, the historically dominant religion in France. In December 1994 in Lille, LO went beyond what the fascists themselves had dared to do: organizing a counterdemonstration to demand the expulsion of girls for wearing headscarves when the high-school students went on strike to defend their schoolmates against expulsion.

LO boycotted the demonstration against Le Pen's congress in Strasbourg last spring, with the excuse that the protest was controlled by the PS. This argument is sheer hypocrisy coming from the organization that in Vitrolles called for a vote to PS candidate Anglade, a notoriously corrupt, racist demagogue. LO thus left thousands of youth who want to get rid of the fascist scum politically disarmed, in the hands of the same reformist bureaucrats who try by any means to channel these youth behind the banner of "clean" capitalism. We went to the Strasbourg demonstration with our newspaper and our program for worker/immigrant mobilizations to smash the fascists, seeking to win from the influence of the reformists and centrists those who want to sweep away fascist barbarism. We intervened in a forum organized by the anti-fascist "Committee of Vigilance" to counterpose our red flag to the tricolor—the flag of World Wars I and II, of the massacres and repression in the colonies (as today in French Guiana) and of racist terror—with which these reformists, in the name of "republican values" and the "democratic image of France," wanted to rally the youth.

Cambio 16

Cops round up minority, immigrant youth. Racist terror has escalated under both popular-front and right-wing governments.

The FN has given a taste of what its program means in the city councils where it has won control: eviction of ethnic minorities, militarization of the population through a network of fascist-controlled "associations," municipal militias, the expulsion of the Jewish writer Marek Halter from the Toulon book fair, etc. The FN is fighting for power, and fascism in power means the physical destruction of the organized workers movement. It means the arrest of leftists and trade unionists, militarization of labor, gangs roaming the streets and attacking people from communities deemed "abnormal," war, etc. But LO ***does not characterize Le Pen as fascist*** because they are seeking to compete on the same terrain as the FN. Remember the televised "debate" between LO leader Arlette Laguiller and FN spokesman Martinez in March 1989! LO's goal was to convince the racists who were voting for the FN that the latter is fooling them. No debate with fascists! For worker/immigrant mobilizations to smash the fascists before they smash us!

That is why we are not calling for a vote for LO. Nor do we call for voting for Voix des Travailleurs, an opposition grouping expelled from LO, which stands on the same program as LO regarding the two crucial questions in this country today: the fight against the fascist threat and against racist terror.

For a Revolutionary Party!

In order to tail the reformists, the fake revolutionaries hide the class nature of popular-frontist bourgeois coalitions. Thus, the social-democratized Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR—affiliated to the United Secretariat), which is presenting a few candidates on the first round under the slogan "For a Left That Is 100 Percent Left," calls as usual to "beat the right on the second round" and to "vote left" (the voter being free to choose the percentage). The May issue of *Socialisme International* (SI—associated with Tony Cliff's Socialist Workers Party in Britain) headlines "Beat the Right! Vote Left!" With SI acting as electoral agents of the Socialist Party, the majority of SI has now liquidated wholesale into the PS Socialist Youth Movement (MJS). The Gauche Révolutionnaire (GR—linked with Labour Militant in Britain) ran the headline "Out with the Government!" and calls for a vote to the PCF on the first round based on the PCF's opposition to Maastricht, while admitting that this opposition comes from a chauvinist standpoint. GR also calls for a vote to Voix des Travailleurs. While proclaiming its anti-racism during the struggle of the "*sans-papiers*," GR nonetheless calls for a vote for an organization which closes its eyes to the question of racist terror.

PO, which unconditionally votes for the reformist parties everywhere and in every circumstance, calls for a "PS-PCF majority," explaining, "Let's test the PS and the PCF one more time, so that the workers can struggle and force their representatives to implement their promises, however meager: and if they refuse, let's break with the reformist policies in struggle and create the revolutionary alternative that we need so badly" (*Pouvoir Ouvrier*, May 1997). Fourteen years of Mitterrand governments showed "one more time" how each new "experience" of "left" class-collaborationist government, which in fact manages the capitalists' crisis at the expense of the workers and the majority of the population, only demobilizes and demoralizes the working class. It pushes the petty bourgeoisie and the most backward workers into the arms of reaction and the fascists—who have an easy time presenting themselves as the only "radical" alternative to established order. And what do Jospin and Hue promise except austerity, unemployment and ("left-wing") racism? PO wants to drive the workers once again into an impasse by calling on them to put a class-collaborationist coalition in power.

The sections of the International Communist League, which are today fighting propaganda groups, embody the revolutionary program. We intervene with our program ***to provide revolutionary leadership***, and to build a revolutionary party along with those who want to fight to overthrow the capitalist system, by exposing in the day-to-day struggle the role of the reformist and centrist charlatans. We represent the revolutionary Trotskyist nucleus dedicated to building this party—a Leninist party rooted in the working class, a tribune of the people capable of uniting "French" and "immigrant" workers in a common struggle against their common enemy, capitalism. The role of this party is to introduce into the working class the consciousness of its historical interests and tasks. The LTF, French section of the ICL, fights for new October Revolutions led by a reforged Fourth International. ■

Brazil Fraud...

(continued from page 7)

> office falling into the habit of continuing it in order to hold the office. They will thereby degenerate into mere office-holders and office-hunters. They will lose the confidence and respect of the militant rank and file workers, and our party, which stands responsible for them, will have its prestige greatly injured."

Anybody who reads the correspondence we have published documenting our months of political battle with the LM/LQB prior to the break in fraternal relations will see that the IG's absurd invention that we "fled the struggle" has nothing to do with the real political fight which led to that break, namely their persistent refusal to take the necessary steps to constitute themselves as the nucleus of a Trotskyist *party* in Brazil. The sole purpose of the IG's diversionary fiction is to obscure the real basis of a series of fights we had beginning in early 1995: against Norden's centrist course in Germany in politically adapting to the leftovers of the East German Stalinist bureaucracy, against the complicity of Norden and Negrete in creating a Potemkin village in Brazil, against Negrete's manipulation of the Mexican ICL section which denied the comrades the ability to be actively involved in a series of critical fights in the ICL (see *International Bulletin* No. 38, "Norden's 'Group': Shame-faced Defectors from Trotskyism").

The common denominator in ***all*** these fights is the ***party question***. As Trotsky put it, the essential task of the revolutionary party is raising the consciousness of the masses closer to an understanding of historical necessity, raising the subjective factor to the level of the objective. Centrists, because of their theoretical amorphousness and eclecticism, do not understand the importance of class-conscious revolutionary activity in history. With our understanding of the role of consciousness in history, we strive at all times for theoretical and programmatic clarity, ***bringing key political debates out in the open*** so the most conscious workers can reach a higher understanding of their own interests. Therefore we've made public our correspondence with the LM/LQB and essential documents from the fight with Norden's group.

But because of their amorphousness and their attraction to groupings to their right, centrists like Norden's IG despise our insistence on clarity of position and purity of principles. They don't like being called by their right name and so they seek to conceal from the workers their opportunist maneuvering under cover of false and vicious attacks on the Bolsheviks, while denouncing us for our "sectarianism" and "passive propagandism."

It is said that hypocrisy is the homage vice pays to virtue. The IG "Dossier" reprints a 31 December 1996 letter from Geraldo Ribeiro and Marcello Carega, five months after Ribeiro initiated his lawsuit against the union, which says: "We reject any interference of the bosses' 'justice' system in the workers movement in general and the SFPMVR in particular. The union belongs to the workers, not the bosses!" These people lie to the world and probably have no qualms lying to each other. The IG cannot simultaneously stand by the verbal affirmation of class principle in their "Dossier" and by the class betrayal carried out by their comrades in Volta Redonda.

We concluded our last article on the IG ("Potemkin Village Idiocy," *WV* No. 663, 7 March) with the warning: "*Caveat emptor*—Let the buyer beware!" To the IG, we say: You have consigned yourselves to a flea market of history. ■

Abortion...

(continued from page 12)

abortion ban. Only one day before the Senate vote, the AMA announced its decision, made by the 20 board members in a consensus conference call (it was not reported whether this was via cell phone from the golf links). It's the capitalist way of medicine for profit. To be sure, the AMA has a history of reactionary positions, opposing anything smacking of "socialized" health care, at one time including Medicare. But you'd think this doctors' organization would at least take a stand against a bunch of politicians telling them what they can and can't do when it comes to medical procedures. In its own way, the medical profession in this society functions as a kind of elite, arrogant secular "priestly caste," dispensing high-priced medical care to the rich, ignoring the poor, and raking in big bucks.

The AMA's decision is a big boost to the anti-abortion bigots. In many parts of the country, abortions are already effectively banned because there are no doctors or clinics willing to perform them. And it could get worse. Take Poland, for example, where abortion was recently legalized after the Solidarność government had abolished it. But most women still can't get abortions there, because doctors in public hospitals refuse to perform them under the new law's "freedom of conscience" clause, which was adopted to appease the obscurantist Catholic church.

The recent sordid Senate vote shows that the "lesser evil" is still plenty evil. Carol Moseley-Braun's proposed abortion ban couldn't be a clearer example of that. More broadly, it should be increasingly clear that it will take a fundamental break with all brands of bourgeois politics to mount a successful challenge to the wave of reaction sweeping this country. For women's liberation through socialist revolution! ■

Chicago...

(continued from page 12)

relative social quiescence, with the labor movement in particular paralyzed by its pro-Democratic Party misleaders. However, as we explained last year in "Down With Racist War on Immigrants and Blacks!" (*WV* No. 649, 2 August 1996):

> "Despite the lack of any real social struggle, the rulers are cognizant that the massive income disparity has generated seething anger at the bottom of this society. Fearing explosions of discontent, to preserve their rule they must bring the iron heel of repression down harder. That is what's behind the 'war on drugs' which targets ghetto youth and the 'war on terrorism' which is particularly aimed at immigrants. The rulers calculate that they can get away with going after the most vulnerable layers of society, who have little or no social power. But the massive increase in repression is ultimately aimed at the workers movement, as evidenced in the rapid growth of professional strikebreaking outfits."

In recent months, the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) and the Alliance to End Repression (AER) have both filed lawsuits seeking to counter the Daley administration's moves to intensify and institutionalize police snooping. But while political exposure and legal action can occasionally hamper the cops in openly pursuing their disruption against the left, as Marxists we understand that the secret police are an integral part of the capitalist state.

The bourgeois state—with its cops, courts and prison system—consists in its essence of armed bodies of men whose purpose is the repression of the working class and the oppressed on behalf of the capitalist rulers and their profit system. These agencies cannot be "cleaned up" but must be swept away through a socialist revolution in which the capitalist state is smashed and replaced by a workers state which expropriates the bourgeoisie.

A Workers Party Has the Right to Organize!

The Chicago Red Squad was formally disbanded in 1975, following a grand jury investigation and lawsuits brought by the AER and ACLU. In 1981, a federal consent decree which settled the lawsuits placed certain nominal limits on the Chicago cops' "intelligence gathering" capacities. Now, the cops are arguing that the consent decree "interferes with the ability...to successfully prosecute charges of criminal offenses committed at public demonstrations" and are demanding expanded powers to maintain "enemies lists" and to videotape demonstrations. The notoriously racist Chicago cops are whining that the restrictions have prevented them from prosecuting racial "hate crimes."

The cynicism of these justifications is both breathtaking and transparent. In special pre-convention training sessions last year, the cops were supplied with a sinister "who's who in radical America" which sought to equate black and leftist groups with the right-wing "militia" movement and the heinous 1995 bombing of the federal building in Oklahoma City (*Police—The Law Officer's Magazine*, August 1995). Ominously, first on the list of "radical groups" to "crack down on" was the Philadelphia MOVE organization, which has been subjected to some of the most atrocious state terror in U.S. history and whose most prominent supporter is death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal, target of a nationwide cop vendetta. In 1985 Philly cops, backed up by the FBI and the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (BATF), bombed MOVE's home, killing eleven black men, women and children.

Bettmann Archive

Mayor Daley Sr.'s cops riot against anti-Vietnam War protesters outside 1968 Democratic National Convention.

The Daley administration has made no secret of the fact that the main targets of police spying will be political activists, citing the need to keep tabs on "extremists" and "potential terrorists." If implemented, the new measures will simply formalize what the cops have already been doing. In taking up the prosecution of the Chicago Five, the recent AER suit against police abrogations of the 1981 consent decree describes how Countermedia and the Active Resistance Organizing Collective, a coalition that organized a "counter convention" last August, were subjected to particularly intense police harassment. Members were roughed up and detained for no reason. Without a search warrant and with their badge numbers taped over, cops carried out a nighttime raid on the groups' joint offices, destroying equipment, seizing documents deemed "subversive" and pepper-spraying two "counter convention" participants, sending them to the hospital.

Over the years, the Spartacist League has waged a number of successful legal actions against government authorities who tried to smear us as "terrorists" in order to set us up to be nameless, faceless victims of capitalist state terror. In 1983, the FBI issued new "Domestic Security/ Terrorism Guidelines" which sought to equate Marxist political opposition to this capitalist government with criminal "terrorism." A year later, an SL lawsuit forced the FBI to retract its longstanding "definition" of the SL, which tried to paint us as conspiratorial outlaws. They agreed to define us as what we are—"a Marxist political organization"—thus denying them a legal cover for violent measures against us and countering the capitalist rulers' effort to sow intimidation and fear among those interested in communist politics (see "Marxists vs. FBI Repression," *WV* No. 385, 9 August 1985). At the same time, we had no illusions that this would put an end to police spying against our organization or others. As we had earlier noted in "FBI Targets the Spartacist League" (*WV* No. 151, 1 April 1977):

> "Revolutionists welcome any measure that actually makes more difficult the murderous business of the official and unofficial terror organizations of U.S. imperialism. But the liberal streamlining attempts [against "intelligence abuses"] have no such intent. Nothing less than the victorious proletarian revolution can abolish capitalism's secret police and their death-dealing 'dirty tricks'."

A History of Anti-Labor Subversion

The government habitually covers bids for increased repressive powers by singling out relatively marginal or vulnerable elements. But in fact, the target of police red squads in this country is ultimately the organized labor movement. Among the 77 organizations listed in the 1974 lawsuit against police spying were the United Auto Workers, United Steelworkers, Teamsters and other unions. Going back at least to the time of the 1887 Haymarket executions—when four anarchist and socialist labor organizers were framed up and then hanged during the struggle for the eight-hour day—the Chicago Police Department (CPD) has a long and bloody history of provocation and repression against labor and organizations of the oppressed. Police cadets have their political mission driven home to them every day by a grotesque monument in the courtyard of the Police Training Academy to the "officers martyred in the anarchist riot of May 4 1886." The cops were killed when a provocateur threw a bomb into a workers' rally, a day after police gunned down six striking workers in cold blood. That massacre is commemorated by May Day, the international workers holiday.

The "industrial squads," precursors of the red squads, were created in the 1890s in the wake of a nationwide campaign of police terror against the early trade-union movement—especially the Knights of Labor, an early union federation—carried out with the Haymarket provocation as a pretext. After the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution and the electrifying impact it had on the American working class, the early red squads redoubled their attacks on the "worldwide Communist conspiracy." A reign of state terror epitomized by the 1920 Palmer Raids was kicked off in Chicago with mass roundups of immigrants and leftists, particularly Communists and members of the revolutionary syndicalist Industrial Workers of the World. An immigration spokesman at the time bragged before Congress how his men "went to various pool rooms, etc., in which foreigners congregated" and rounded up anyone who "happened to be there."

Chicago's Red Squad took on its modern form in the 1930s, in order to target the burgeoning industrial union movement—and the Communists, Trotskyists and left-wing Socialists who led it—which culminated in the formation of the CIO. With the outbreak of the Cold War following World War II, the union tops—from open right-wingers to social democrats like the Reuther brothers—joined with the feds and the McCarthyite witchhunters in pushing through an anti-Communist purge in the trade unions. Communist Party leaders and many suspected of being "sympathizers" were persecuted and jailed. The Stalinists had themselves laid the basis for the postwar witchhunt by their wartime alliance with the Democratic Roosevelt administration, during which they pushed a no-strike pledge and supported the victimization and imprisonment of leaders of the then-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party and Trotskyist militants in the Teamsters union, who were the first victims of the anti-Communist Smith Act.

By 1960, the Chicago Police Department boasted that its intelligence unit had accumulated information on 117,000 "local individuals," 141,000 "out-of-town subjects" and 14,000 organizations. And this was *before* a further expansion of the Red Squad in the 1960s and early '70s. Under Boss Daley's direction, the Red Squad carried out infiltration, dirty tricks and surveillance against all perceived opponents, ranging from the PTA to the liberal NAACP and the American Jewish Congress to the teachers union. Even with the Red Squad officially disbanded in the mid-'70s, the Intelligence Division continued its work. To this day, a "Labor Relations Section" of the CPD operates to gather "information on labor-management problems," i.e., to spy on unions and help break strikes.

The chief target of the government's war against the left in the late '60s was the Black Panther Party. Under the FBI's infamous COINTELPRO (Counter-Intelligence Program) operation, 38 Panthers were murdered outright and hundreds more framed up and jailed. In Southern California, former Panther leader Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt) has been imprisoned for more than a quarter of a century for a crime the government knows he didn't commit. And in Pennsylvania, courageous black journalist, MOVE supporter and former Panther spokesman Mumia Abu-Jamal is on death row because of his outspoken political beliefs.

Racist Cop Terror: Business As Usual

The Daley administration and Police Superintendent Matt Rodriguez (himself a former Intelligence Division detective) have tried to whip up hysteria over "suburban gang activity," a racist code phrase for the recent influx of blacks and Hispanics into previously all-white suburbs like Cicero. Revising the 1981 consent decree would allow the Chicago police

WV Photo

Chicago police academy monument denounces 1886 Haymarket labor rally as "anarchist riot."

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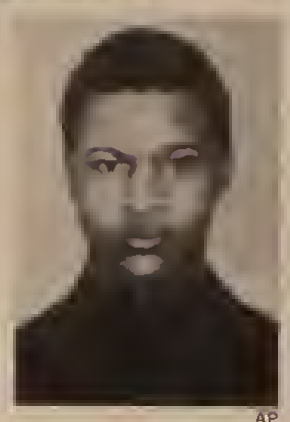

AP

UPI

Cops carry off body of Black Panther leader Fred Hampton after police assassinated him (far right) and comrade Mark Clark (right), 1969, set up by Chicago Red Squad and FBI.

to officially participate in a sinister national database that tracks thousands of "suspected gang members" as part of the capitalist rulers' drive to criminalize minority youth.

This is all part of the "routine" racist cop terror, complete with a well-oiled frame-up machine, which is used to keep down working people and minorities. Among the more recent victims of the Chicago police is Fernanda Royal, who was nearly killed when a cop shot her pointblank in the chest during a police rampage at the Cabrini-Green housing project on March 4. In 1995, homeless newspaper vendor Joseph Gould was blown away by an off-duty cop and Honduran immigrant Jorge Guillen was choked to death while handcuffed. Anyone who "looks like an immigrant" in the cops' eyes faces the constant threat of harassment, beating or deportation. Last October, the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) launched a series of mass raids that has left many immigrant workers in the city afraid to leave their houses.

For years, Chicago cops have made a "sport" of picking up black youths and dropping them off in white enclaves like Bridgeport, where 13-year-old Lenard Clark was beaten into a coma by racist thugs in March. On April 6, when 26-year-old Edward Stacy tried to enter a North Side bar notorious as a hangout for white cops, he was told "No n-----s allowed" and was savagely attacked by a racist mob that included at least two cops, one of whom pointed his gun at Stacy and then fired in the air.

One of the chants by anti-Klan protesters last June 29 which particularly enraged the police was "Cops and Klan go hand in hand!" The CPD is an object lesson in the truth of that slogan. The city's Red Squad was historically tied to organizations like the fascistic Legion of Justice, which was used in the 1960s and '70s to carry out burglaries and terrorist attacks on leftist organizations. They have also employed "informants" from George Lincoln Rockwell's American Nazi Party. And while liberals look to the FBI and Justice Department to "clean up" the Chicago police, the feds themselves have a long record of working with Klan and Nazi outfits, particularly against civil rights activists. When Klansmen in Greensboro, North Carolina gunned down five supporters of the Communist Workers Party in 1979, they were aided and abetted by local police and BATF and FBI agents.

Civilian Review Boards Whitewash Cop Terror

Liberal politicians push "civilian review board" schemes as the answer to police brutality. A recent example is the call by black Democratic State Senator Rickey Hendon for a review board to "monitor" the Chicago Housing Authority (CHA) cops, who were involved in the invasion of Cabrini-Green. Yet Chicago's existing "civilian" Police Board exonerated the killers of Jorge Guillen, while no charges at all were filed against the cops who beat Edward Stacy. It is telling that Hendon's proposal was unanimously passed by one of the most reactionary state legislatures in the country, and the first to enact a state "anti-terrorism" law. Meanwhile, the Illinois Joint Legislative Black Caucus is waging an all-out campaign to get a $69 million prison built in Chicago as a way of "providing jobs"! More generally, black Democrats like Jesse Jackson and nationalists like Louis Farrakhan have been in the forefront of the racist "war on drugs."

Recent FBI "investigations"—like "Operation Betrayed Trust" and "Operation Broken Star"—have revealed widespread corruption, drug dealing and planting of "evidence" by Chicago cops, centrally in the heavily black Austin neighborhood. But this hardly comes as news to black and Hispanic Chicagoans. Current police superintendent Rodriguez is a champion of the same "anti-gang" Tac Squads that are the most brazenly crooked and viciously abusive units. And when the former commander of the Austin District was transferred in the wake of the FBI probe, he was promoted to head the CHA Police.

While occasionally slapping one or another "rogue" cop on the wrist, federal "exposures" and civilian review boards are simply whitewash operations designed to head off outrage over cop terror and to strengthen the system of police repression overall. And "community policing" plans, like Chicago's much-touted CAPS program, not only serve as window-dressing for police occupying forces in the ghettos, but more importantly are designed to develop networks of neighborhood informants and finks. Liberals seek to "cleanse" the racist police of "excesses" while upholding this institution of racist, anti-working-class repression because they embrace the capitalist state as their own. The reformist "socialists" who implicitly or explicitly look to the capitalist Democrats as a supposed "lesser evil" likewise foster the illusion that the bourgeois state can—through "mass pressure"—be reformed into serving as an agency to defend the interests of workers and minorities.

In the *Communist Manifesto* written 150 years ago, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels laid out the basic Marxist understanding that the capitalist state is "a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie." V. I. Lenin, leader of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution, elaborated on this in his 1917 book, *The State and Revolution*. Polemicizing against the reformists of his day, Lenin wrote: "That the state is an organ of the rule of a definite class which *cannot* be reconciled with its antipode (the class opposite to it) is something the petty-bourgeois democrats will never be able to understand." Citing Engels' writings on the state, Lenin continued:

> "If the state is the product of the irreconcilability of class antagonisms, if it is a power standing *above* society and '*alienating* itself *more and more* from it,' it is obvious that the liberation of the oppressed class is impossible not only without a violent revolution, *but also without the destruction* of the apparatus of state power which was created by the ruling class."

In the wake of the brutal beating of Lenard Clark, the Labor Black Struggle League put out a call to the integrated unions to organize a march through Bridgeport as a show of labor's power and determination to fight racist terror. The LBSL's call got an enthusiastic hearing from workers and minorities across Chicago. But it is clear that any perspective for such labor-centered action requires a political struggle against the pro-capitalist union misleaders. Tied to the bosses' Democratic Party, the union tops have refused to lift a finger to bring out the unions in protest against Clark's beating or the cop invasion of Cabrini-Green.

On the contrary, the AFL-CIO bureaucracy's systematic sellout of strikes, suppression of any real labor struggle and pushing of anti-immigrant protectionism has helped pave the way for the capitalist rulers' attacks on workers and minorities. The massive deindustrialization of cities like Chicago has made minority youth a "surplus population" in the eyes of the ruling class, to be warehoused in prisons or shot down by killer cops. Today, on Chicago's West Side, on the same site where there was once an International Harvester plant that employed thousands there is a brand-new $10.2 million "boot camp" for young "first-time offenders."

We fight to forge a revolutionary workers party committed to sweeping away the entire apparatus of racist capitalist repression and the profit system it is designed to defend. It will take a workers revolution to do that, a revolution that will bring into being an egalitarian socialist society which serves the interests not of a handful of exploiters but of the mass of working people. ■

Drop the Charges Against the Cleveland Anti-Duke Four!

On May 18, David "Klan in a suit" Duke brought his program of lynch mob terror to Cleveland, where he spoke to a crowd of 200 at the Lithuanian Village restaurant. Duke was invited by the Hitlerites of the National Alliance, who vow to remove all nonwhites "from our living area and our breeding area." Some 50 anti-fascists, including members of the International Socialist Organization, the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP), the National Women's Rights Organizing Coalition and Refuse & Resist, protested outside under the slogan "Shut Down KKK Leader David Duke!"

An almost equal number of cops were mobilized to defend the fascist meeting. As the cops taunted the integrated crowd of protesters to "Come on!", they moved in on Cheryl Lessin, a well-known supporter of the RCP, throwing her to the ground and arresting her. The cops then went on a rampage, beating and pepper-spraying protesters, and driving those who attempted to leave the rally back into the melee to be beaten again. Lessin and three others face felony frame-up charges including "aggravated rioting," "assault on a peace officer" and "fleeing custody."

All four were held behind bars for nearly a week, with bail set at an outrageous $100,000 each. One of the arrested protesters, whose nose had been broken, was denied proper medical care; another was refused vital prescription drugs; Lessin was not allowed access to a shower or even a change of clothes. On Friday, May 23 the four were finally released from jail after paying a reduced bond. Now they face years in jail on the cops' frame-up charges. We demand: Drop all charges against the Anti-Duke Four!

That Duke could get away with spouting his filth in Cleveland, with its sizable labor and black populations, is a sign of the bankruptcy of the current misleaders of the unions who are desperately opposed to the kind of social struggle necessary to smash the Hitler-lovers. Now the National Alliance is planning to host another race-hate rally on June 4. Labor should have been out in force on May 18, together with thousands of blacks, Hispanics and all opponents of fascist terror, to drive the would-be lynchers back into their sewers. Defend the Anti-Duke Four! For labor/minority mobilizations to smash the KKK and Nazis!

WV Photo

September 1995: Chicago demonstrators express outrage over cop's killing of Joseph Gould, a homeless black man.

WORKERS VANGUARD

Deadly Threat to Labor, Minorities

Chicago Cops Dust Off Red Squad

CLTV

Contreras/Chicago Tribune

Racist Chicago cops in action: attacking Daley Plaza anti-Klan protesters last June 29 (as seen on TV), rounding up and terrorizing minority youth at Cabrini-Green housing project.

As we go to press, the Chicago Five prepare for their June 4 trial on bogus charges of assaulting police during a protest around the Democratic National Convention (DNC) last August. We call on trade unionists, leftists and all defenders of civil liberties to fill the courtroom in solidarity. At the same time, six members of the Progressive Labor Party (PLP) still face serious felony charges stemming from a police attack on their march last summer. Drop the charges against the Chicago Five and the PLP Six!

Like the failed attempt by Chicago cops and prosecutors to imprison three participants in a protest against a violent KKK race-hate provocation in Daley Plaza last June 29, these legal vendettas represent attempts by the Chicago administration of Mayor Richard Daley Jr. to stifle any social protest, particularly targeting leftist and anti-racist militants. The Anti-Klan Three case ended in a resounding victory after a trial earlier this month. One juror summed up a widespread sentiment when he said afterward, "We argued that this case was much bigger than what happened at the Klan rally. Every day, people in this country are having their civil liberties cut back" ("Victory for Anti-Klan Three!" *WV* No. 668, 16 May).

A case in point was the massive cop mobilization leading up to and during the DNC last summer. Following in the footsteps of his notorious father, whose cops brutally assaulted protesters against the Vietnam War during the 1968 Democratic Party convention, Daley Jr. ordered the Chicago police to prevent any hint of protest during Clinton's convention. Working with the sinister Federal Emergency Management Agency, the FBI and the Secret Service, the Chicago Police Department's "Intelligence Division" declared virtual martial law on the mostly black West Side, where the convention site was located. Local residents, who were subjected to an apartheid-style pass system inside the one-mile "security perimeter," angrily called it "the Democratic occupation." The cops prepared emergency jail space capable of holding thousands. What little protest was allowed during the convention was confined to remote, fenced-in "protest pits" surrounded by cops. Protest organizers were continually harassed by cops, some of whom sported T-shirts reading, "In 1968 we kicked your father's ass. Wait 'til you see what we do to you."

The Daley administration also used the occasion to demand that restrictions imposed in 1981 on Intelligence Division spying and surveillance be lifted. As we have noted before, this is an attempt to formally revive the "Red Squad" which was notorious in the 1960s and '70s for disruption and infiltration aimed at unions and black and leftist groups. The murderous terror which was the corollary to this police espionage was shown in the 1969 assassinations of Chicago Black Panther Party leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark. The secret police infiltrated their organization, set them up, and then in the dead of night the cops kicked their door down and machine-gunned them in their beds.

The move to dust off Chicago's Red Squad comes amid a massive escalation of repressive powers nationwide, from federal legislation expanding use of the death penalty to growing cop terror in the ghettos and barrios and the juridical rollback in civil liberties. Unlike the 1960s, this is taking place against a backdrop of

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Down With All Bans—Free Abortion on Demand!

Liberals Team Up with Anti-Abortion Bigots

Following an earlier overwhelming vote in the House, on May 20 the Senate passed a measure to outlaw a late-term abortion procedure by a vote of 64 to 36. The Republican bill, which carried with significant Democratic support, would ban "intact dilation and extraction" abortions, misleadingly labeled "partial birth" abortions by bigots. The lopsided Senate vote means the bill only needs three more supporters to override President Clinton's anticipated veto.

Meanwhile, Clinton has long made it clear that if a few words in the legislation were changed, he too would support the ban. To this end, Democratic Senate minority leader Thomas Daschle put forward an "alternative" bill to outlaw *all* abortions once the fetus is supposedly "viable" except when a woman's life is endangered or there is a risk of "grievous injury to her health." Democrats Dianne Feinstein and Barbara Boxer of California and leading liberal Carol Moseley-Braun of Illinois proposed a similar ban, but with a slightly better "health exception"! On the day of the Senate vote, most of the supposedly "pro-choice" liberals refused to even verbally object to the Republican measure, as the *New York Times* (21 May) reported, "letting the clock tick during most of their allotted debate time without a single senator on the floor making their case."

For the past two decades the exercise of a woman's right to abortion has been severely limited, through denial of Medicaid funding to poor women, squeal rules requiring women under the age of 18 to get the consent of a parent or judge, and outright terror attacks resulting in fewer and fewer hospitals and health facilities willing to provide abortions. What is immediately at stake with the current legislation is the first direct rollback of the Supreme Court's 1973 *Roe v. Wade* decision legalizing abortion nationally, as part of a relentless campaign to ban abortion entirely. Indeed, the Christian fundamentalists who have been spearheading the anti-abortion drive hail the Senate vote for bringing them within range of "final victory" in their reactionary crusade. Christian Coalition head Ralph Reed gloated, "Clearly the momentum is with us."

As Dr. Warren Hern, a courageous fighter for abortion rights whose Boulder, Colorado clinic has been fired on by "right to life" terrorists, notes in an op-ed piece in the *New York Times* (24 May), "The intent of the bill [is] to keep doctors from performing *any* abortion." Referring to the liberals' "alternatives," Hern cautioned that one "would do well to be suspicious of all such attempts to limit late-term abortions—even those 'compromise' proposals from legislators who claim to support abortion rights."

What gives politicians any right to decide when and if a woman can have an abortion? It should be a purely personal question, as all individual medical decisions ought to be. We Marxists say that women should have the absolute right to free abortion on demand, as part of free, quality health care for all.

Another sinister straw in the wind was the sudden decision by the board of the American Medical Association (AMA) to support the Republicans'

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 670 — 13 June 1997

Drop Frame-Up Charges Against Former Black Panther!

Geronimo Out After 27 Years in Prison Hell

Reuters

JUNE 10—A jubilant, integrated crowd of some 400 people thronged around Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt) this afternoon as he walked out of the Orange County Jail, where he immediately hugged his children and his two grandchildren. This was the former Black Panther Party leader's first taste of freedom after 27 years, well over half his life, in California's prison hellholes.

In a brief hearing earlier today in Santa Ana, Geronimo was released on $25,000 bail following the May 29 overturn of a frame-up conviction for a crime *everyone* knows he did not commit. As Orange County Superior Court judge Everett W. Dickey announced Geronimo's release this morning, the 200 people packed into the courtroom and another 200 in the hall erupted in loud cheers which were heard floors away. Geronimo's elated supporters then made their way to the jail building four blocks away to greet him after his lawyers had posted bail.

Speaking to his supporters and the press, Geronimo denounced the FBI "Counter-Intelligence Program" (COINTELPRO) which had orchestrated his frame-up and that of countless other black militants of his era. He described the "madness" he had just left behind: "You have political prisoners on top of political prisoners, I'm only one of a great many." Unbroken and unbowed in his commitment to the fight for black freedom after all these years, Geronimo paid tribute to the numerous other militants who remain behind bars in America's dungeons, including Ruchell McGee and Hugo Pinell.

Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Free All Class-War Prisoners!

WV Photo

United-front demonstration initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee in Oakland, March 1996, in support of Geronimo's fight against COINTELPRO frame-up conviction.

A number of other former Black Panthers were there to greet Geronimo as he came out. As well, there were numerous people carrying signs demanding "Free Leonard Peltier," the American Indian Movement leader and COINTELPRO frame-up victim who has been imprisoned for nearly 20 years. Partisan Defense Committee signs demanded freedom for death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal.

After a month-long hearing in which over 28 witnesses gave evidence, Judge Dickey ruled on May 29 that Geronimo was denied a fair trial in 1972 because the prosecutor withheld vital evidence from the defense. But Geronimo is still not a free man.

Los Angeles district attorney Gil Garcetti, in a purely vindictive move, has filed notice to appeal Dickey's decision. And even if Garcetti fails in his appeal, he still has the option of forcing Geronimo to go through a new trial. The latter possibility is unlikely, however, as many elements of the initial frame-up engineered by the FBI and the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD) have now been publicly exposed and key prosecution witnesses are either dead or discredited.

Meanwhile, Geronimo has the legal status of someone who has been charged with a crime but not yet convicted. The state is thus holding an ax over Geronimo's head. It is crucial that all supporters of this unbroken fighter for black rights join in the call raised on Partisan Defense Committee signs outside the courthouse today: *Drop the charges now!*

The Spartacist League/U.S. joins Geronimo's many other supporters in hailing his release from prison. Yet we note with bitterness that the better part of his life has been stolen from him and his family, solely because of his uncompromising commitment to the fight against racist oppression.

We salute the heroic struggle Geronimo has undertaken for the past quarter century to prove his innocence and expose

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U.S. "Drug War" Covers for Brutal Repression of Peasants, Guerrillas

Military Reign of Terror in Southern Mexico

Numerous accounts in the Mexican press indicate that the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) government of President Ernesto Zedillo has sharply escalated its military reign of terror in the southern state of Guerrero in the recent period. The Zedillo regime is conducting a war of extermination against the leftist guerrillas of the Popular Revolutionary Army (ERP), rounding up hundreds of community leaders and youth who are often tortured and "disappeared." Following the bloody U.S.-backed massacre of 14 Túpac Amaru leftists in Lima by the Peruvian Fujimori dictatorship in April, we warned: "This will embolden Washington's Latin American front men—notably in Mexico, where peasant-based revolts rage in several provinces—to step up their murderous 'counterinsurgency' efforts" (*WV* No. 667, 2 May).

Representatives of three human rights groups who just visited Guerrero described how the local population was being subjected to a state of siege involving "torture against detainees, cases of disappearances and an extensive military presence" including troops, tanks and helicopters (*La Jornada*, 3 June). The news magazine *Proceso* (1 June), citing a report in the EPR's *El Insurgente*, wrote that in Guerrero, "during the last six months, the federal army has increased tenfold, going from 4,500 to 45,000 on-duty soldiers."

Armed to the teeth by the Pentagon, Mexican troops are deployed in the region's sparsely populated, mountainous sierras, where desperate *campesinos* (peasants) live on the verge of starvation not far from the glitzy seaside

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Partisan Defense Committee

CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES

Court Grants New Evidentiary Hearing for Mumia Abu-Jamal

Last week, the Pennsylvania Supreme Court granted a request by attorneys for death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal to take testimony from key witness Pamela Jenkins. Jenkins was the central witness in recent investigations into a massive corruption and frame-up scandal in the Philadelphia Police Department. Earlier this year she came forward to reveal that at the time of Mumia's 1982 frame-up trial for the shooting death of police officer Daniel Faulkner, she had been pressured by the cops to falsely name Mumia as the shooter (see "Witness Reveals New Link in Jamal Frame-Up," *WV* No. 664, 21 March). Most significantly, Jenkins revealed that her friend and fellow prostitute at the time, Cynthia White—who was the star prosecution witness and the only one who claimed to have seen Jamal shoot Faulkner—gave this false testimony only after her life was threatened by the cops.

The new evidentiary hearing on Jenkins' testimony will take place on June 26. Unfortunately, the hearing will take place before notorious hanging judge Albert Sabo, who presided over Mumia's original trial and the Post-Conviction Relief (PCRA) appeal two years ago as well as a subsequent evidentiary hearing. Sabo has heavy-handedly dismissed all of the evidence of Jamal's innocence already presented before him. Prior to the state Supreme Court's decision to grant this hearing, there had been ominous signs that it was about to issue a negative ruling on Mumia's PCRA petition to have his conviction overturned. Now any ruling will be delayed until after the conclusion of the Jenkins hearing and the consequent legal appeals.

Until now, the state Supreme Court had ruled that the prosecution would have the last word in the series of briefs and counter-briefs stemming from Jamal's PCRA petition. Now, the Court has agreed to grant Jamal's attorneys a final "sur-reply" rebutting the lies in the D.A.'s last statement. The "sur-reply" will be submitted on June 11.

Outrageously, however, the Pennsylvania Supreme Court denied a defense motion for "discovery" information and a further hearing based on revelations of systematic racist jury-rigging which came out through the release of the now-infamous Philly district attorney's office "training" video in March (see "Philadelphia: Frame-Up City," *WV* No. 666, 18 April). We say: ***Free Mumia now! Abolish the racist death penalty!***

Chicago Five Win Acquittal!

The Chicago Five, who initially faced a raft of bogus felony charges stemming from their participation in protests around the Democratic National Convention (DNC) last August, were acquitted June 5, moments after the defense rested its case, of the remaining "mob action" charge. This legal victory follows on the heels of the failed prosecution of the Anti-Klan Three for participating in a protest against a violent race-hate provocation by the KKK in Chicago's Daley Plaza last June 29. All these arrests were part of a massive police mobilization last summer by Democratic mayor Richard Daley Jr.'s administration, as it sought to stifle any protest whatsoever before and during Clinton's renomination convention.

As in the case of the Anti-Klan Three, the prosecution's witnesses consisted mainly of police who lied through their teeth, portraying the protesters, who were charged with breaking through cop lines surrounding the convention center, as violent cop-bashers. The sinister "mob action" charge was brought in part because protesters invited residents of the Henry Horner Homes, a largely black housing project, to join the march. But the cop lies were torn to shreds by defense evidence, including a videotape of the march. The judge presiding in this non-jury bench trial ruled that the prosecution had not substantiated its charges.

Seeking to whip up a "terrorism" scare, the city authorities used repression of protest around the time of the DNC as both a trial run and justification for expanded cop spying and provocation against labor, minorities and leftists, hoping to take the wraps off the Chicago Police Department's notorious red squad (see "Chicago Cops Dust Off Red Squad," *WV* No. 669, 30 May). The acquittal of the Chicago Five is a small but important victory in the fight against heightened capitalist state repression. ■

TROTSKY

For a Socialist United States of Europe!

LENIN

The project of a European capitalist "superstate" is both utopian and reactionary: utopian in that the imperialist bourgeoisies cannot overcome their conflicting national interests; reactionary in that the moves toward greater economic integration are designed to intensify the exploitation of the working class and racist attacks on immigrants. Economic and political unification of Europe in the interests of the working masses, and especially of North African, Turkish, Kurdish and other minorities, can be achieved only through proletarian revolution. As Leon Trotsky explained in a 1923 article, the formation of a Socialist United States of Europe would have profound revolutionary repercussions around the world, from North America to East Asia.

Europe cannot develop economically within the state and customs frontiers imposed at Versailles. Europe is compelled either to remove these frontiers, or to face the threat of complete economic decay. But the methods adopted by the ruling bourgeoisie to overcome the frontiers it itself had created are only increasing the existing chaos and accelerating the disintegration.

To the toiling masses of Europe it is becoming ever clearer that the bourgeoisie is incapable of solving the basic problems of restoring Europe's economic life. The slogan: "A Workers' and Peasants' Government" is designed to meet the growing attempts of the workers to find a way out by their own efforts....

Long before the imperialist war we recognized that the Balkan states are incapable of existing and of developing except within a federation. The same is true of the various fragments of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and of the western portions of Czarist Russia now living outside the Soviet Union. The Apennines, the Pyrenees and Scandinavia are limbs of the European body stretching out toward the seas. They are incapable of an independent existence. The European continent in the present state of development of its productive forces is an economic unit—not a shut-in unit, of course, but one possessing profound internal ties—as was proved in the terrible catastrophe of the world war, and again revealed by the mad paroxysm of the Ruhr occupation. Europe is not a geographical term; Europe is an economic term, something incomparably more concrete—especially in the present postwar conditions—than the world market. Just as federation was long ago recognized as essential for the Balkan peninsula, so now the time has arrived for stating definitely and clearly that federation is essential for Balkanized Europe....

The sooner the popular masses of Europe regain the confidence in their own strength which was sapped by the war, and the more closely they rally around the slogan of "United Workers' and Peasants' Republics of Europe," the more rapidly will the revolution develop on both sides of the Atlantic. For just as the triumph of the proletariat in Russia gave a mighty impetus to the development of the Communist parties of Europe, so, and even to an incomparably greater degree, will the triumph of the revolution in Europe give an impetus to the revolution in America and in all parts of the world. Although, when we abstract ourselves from Europe, we are obliged to peer into the mists of decades to perceive the American revolution, yet we may safely assert that by the natural sequence of historical events the triumphant revolution in Europe will serve in a very few years to shatter the power of the American bourgeoisie.

—Leon Trotsky, *The First Five Years of the Communist International*, Vol. 2 (1953)

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No. 670 **13 June 1997**

CP Joins Witchhunt Against Arrested Anti-Fascists

Defend the Cleveland Anti-Duke Four!

As we reported last issue, four anti-fascist protesters who demonstrated against "former" Klansman David Duke in Cleveland on May 18 are facing charges that could land them behind bars for years. All opponents of racist terror must rally to the defense of the Cleveland Anti-Duke Four. If the government succeeds in sending them to prison, it will be a setback for working people and the oppressed across the country.

Yet Gus Hall's bedraggled band in the so-called Communist Party (CP) has not only abstained from defending these anti-fascist protesters but is actually joining in the witchhunt against them. In a despicable letter to the Cleveland *Plain Dealer* (29 May), Ohio CP chairman Rick Nagin wrote: "The violent incidents connected with the appearance of white supremacist David Duke at the Lithuanian Club in Collinwood have all the earmarks of a provocation orchestrated by the ultra-right." Grotesquely, Nagin says not a word about the real perpetrators of violence that day, the cops who went on a rampage, beating and pepper-spraying the anti-racist militants in order to allow Duke to spew his genocidal filth.

Echoing the classic "outside agitator" litany used by anti-communists against all leftists, including the CP, Nagin sneers that the protesters were "evidently bused in from Michigan" and "lacked any support from labor or the African-American community." Nagin assures the paper's readers (and the authorities) that his fossilized outfit "was neither present nor in any way involved." This hardly needs saying, since the CP's whole "anti-fascist" strategy has for years amounted to futile and suicidal appeals to this racist capitalist state to "ban the Klan," combined with fulsome support to Clinton's Democratic Party under the rubric of "fighting the right."

This is directly counterposed to what is urgently necessary: mass united-front mobilizations to stop the fascists, centered on the social power of the labor movement and drawing in blacks, Hispanics, Jews, gays and all of the Klan's intended victims. And, as opposed to the hatchet men of the CP, we believe in the old working-class principle that an injury to one is an injury to all. We fight for united-front defense of all those targeted by the bourgeois state for standing up against the Klan. Drop all charges against the Anti-Duke Four!

* * *

Letters demanding that all charges be dropped against the Anti-Duke Four should be sent to: Cleveland Municipal Court, Judicial Division, Box 94894, Cleveland, OH 44101-4894. Donations should be sent to: Anti-Dukkke Four Defense Fund, c/o Refuse and Resist!, Box 606082, Cleveland, OH 44106, telephone: (216) 556-3512.

From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal

Summitry & Cynicism

"The poor is hated even of his own neighbour: but the rich hath many friends."
— Proverbs 14:20 (King James version)

The recent so-called Volunteers Summit in Philadelphia was about many things, but really helping the poor wasn't one of them.

It was pure pageantry for politicians, camouflage for corporations and P.R. for a government bent on punishing the poor for the vile "sin" of poverty. It was the velvet glove that hides the iron hand that strangles the poor while singing a sweet, deceitful song: "I feel your pain." A pain caused by a social system that funnels the lion's share of wealth to the few, while snatching away the means of bare subsistence from the many, all the while donning the smiling mask of "volunteerism."

Why volunteerism? Why now?

Because the call for "volunteerism" comes amidst the most brutal government cutbacks in recent history, at a time when capital is triumphant, and both parties (the Republicrats) bow, scrape and genuflect to their masters on Wall St. They *know* these cutbacks will cause unmitigated disaster, unbridled, rampaging hunger, increased homelessness and bitter hopelessness, for men, women and children into the millions, but they don't give a hot diggity damn. In a world where all politics is theater, the "millionaires' government" was high opera, where the rich danced while patting themselves on the back, before a painted backdrop that covered a cavern of American socio-economic decay.

While they danced a nice diddle, capital called the tune, and the play was staged in a city that has become evocative of Dickens' *A Tale of Two Cities*: "It was the best of times, it was the worst of times," for the stark contrasts between wealth and poverty.

Philadelphia's Center City, with its glazen, shimmering skyscrapers, and bustling business district, has its antithesis in its grim, crumbling northern neighborhoods, sites of socioeconomic neglect and official predation on the poor that echo the haunting emptiness of a ravaged Beirut.

In such a place, the brazen call of President Clinton, George Bush, former Pentagon chief Colin Powell, and the CEOs of America's wealthiest corporations to "volunteer" sound more like sacrilege than insult.

There is something almost perverse about these nouveau or born millionaires preaching to the poor about "volunteering."

Bill Clinton has worked for the government of Arkansas in some capacity for almost 15 years, as the state's attorney general, governor and law professor at the University of Arkansas, before his election as president.

George Bush was a Congressman, CIA chief, U.S. Liaison to Beijing, and U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations, before his vice presidency and presidency.

Colin Powell spent his adult life in the military.

The point being, all three men spent their adult lives working for the state in some capacity and made good livings doing so. None are known for volunteering.

For the corporations active in the summit the costs expended in Philadelphia can all be recovered by tax exemptions. For them, Philly was a freebie.

In the excessive media praise and fawning over the event much attention was given to a painting session, where politicians painted the walls. It was a cheap photo op, the political equivalent of putting a band-aid on a cancerous sore, for in North Philadelphia, which has the most substandard housing in the city, to paint a wall when whole blocks stand barren is paying attention to a pimple while ignoring the loss of limbs.

"Volunteering" can't build enough houses needed by the poor, as even Habitat for Humanity supporter (and former U.S. president) Jimmy Carter admits.

According to the U.S. Census (1992) there were 36.9 million Americans living below the poverty line (33 percent of which are Black!). Will volunteerism feed them? Hardly.

Just as the call for volunteerism gains volume, government support gets shut off. Is that coincidence?

Thirty years ago, the government launched its War on Poverty; now it launches its war on the poor. As stocks rise, wages fall, and jobs slide across the border and abroad to fatten corporate coffers. In such a context the poor are seen as expendable, or at the very best as potential labor who may be paid at below minimum wage to keep "real" workers in line.

It *is* time to volunteer—it's time for folks to give their time and energy to revolution, to join and build such organizations that oppose this ruthless war on the poor, and work for a day when life comes before profit.

4 May 1997

© 1997 by Mumia Abu-Jamal

To join the fight to free Mumia and for the latest updates on his case, contact the Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013-0099; phone (212) 406-4252. E-mail: 75057.3201@compuserve.com. Urgently needed contributions for Mumia's defense, which are tax-deductible, should be made payable to the Bill of Rights Foundation, earmarked "Mumia Abu-Jamal Legal Defense," and sent to the Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, 163 Amsterdam Avenue, No. 115, New York, NY 10023-5001. If you wish to correspond with Jamal, you can write to: Mumia Abu-Jamal, AM8335, SCI Greene, 1040 E. Roy Furman Hwy., Waynesburg, PA 15370.

Full Citizenship Rights for All Immigrants!

Down With Feds' Vendetta Against L.A. Eight!

For more than ten years, under presidents Reagan, Bush and now Clinton, the Justice Department and the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) have tried to deport eight Los Angeles immigrants—seven Palestinians and a Kenyan woman—solely on the basis of their alleged political beliefs. In a surprising development, in April the INS granted legal resident status to two of the L.A. Eight, Aiad Barakat and Naim Sharif. But this is far from the end of the government vendetta. Deputy Attorney General Philip Bartz immediately announced that the feds planned to pursue their case against the others.

The case of the L.A. Eight symbolizes the anti-immigrant witchhunt which has reached fever pitch in recent years. Well-established businessmen, students and working people with families, they were arrested in dawn raids in January 1987 and charged under the McCarthyite McCarran-Walter Act with "advocating world communism." Specifically, the feds claimed that the L.A. Eight were supporters of the radical-nationalist Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), despite their denial that they were either members of the PFLP or participants in any of its activities. In demanding "Stop Deportations of the L.A. Eight!" (*WV* No. 530, 5 July 1991), we declared: "Their struggle against deportation is vital to the fight against anti-immigrant racism and state terror."

The racist rulers have always sought to single out the most vulnerable sectors of the population in order to intensify capitalist repression against all working people and minorities. A case in point was the 1919 Palmer raids, carried out at the height of the "red scare" in the wake of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution, in which thousands of socialist and anarchist immigrants were rounded up and deported. The patent aim of this witchhunt was to intimidate the labor movement as a whole and to purge it of its most militant elements. Italian anarchist workers Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti ultimately paid for their views with their lives, executed in Massachusetts in 1927.

Militant

L.A. Eight in 1987, shortly after government launched witchhunting campaign to deport them.

The 1952 McCarran-Walter immigration act represented a continuation of this anti-immigrant, anti-communist crusade. This reactionary "thought crimes" legislation was emblematic of the frenzied repression of the Cold War era, whose victims included the heroic Rosenbergs, U.S. citizens executed as "Soviet spies" in 1953 amid a crescendo of anti-Communism and anti-Semitism. In more recent years, the bourgeoisie has targeted Arabs in particular as it whips up "anti-terrorist" hysteria as a thin cover for all-sided anti-immigrant chauvinism.

It was in the course of the L.A. Eight's fight against deportation in 1987 that government plans came to light for herding Arab residents into concentration camps in times of "national emergency." In the ensuing years, legislation has been passed to set up secret "anti-terrorism" courts for immigrants, where they can be "tried" without even being told what charges they face or what "evidence" the government is using against them. The bipartisan "Anti-Terrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act" signed by Clinton last year decrees that even permanent residents can be summarily jailed or deported on the basis of years-old prior convictions for things as minor as turnstile-jumping and bars *anyone*, including citizens, from providing even "humanitarian" aid to groups designated as "terrorist." This draconian law also guts the right of death row prisoners to *habeas corpus* appeals of their convictions in the federal courts.

Most recently, Clinton seized on the explosion of TWA Flight 800 off Long Island last year—which the FBI itself says was the result of a mechanical failure—to introduce a giant government database for flagging airline passengers with "suspicious" travel patterns or criminal history. Over the past few years we have characterized such escalating repression as indicative of a "creeping police state." With the latest measures, it's breaking into a fast gallop. One Justice Department official made this pretty clear when he stated in court last April that the government "can do pretty much what it wants to do" when it can demonstrate a "compelling interest."

The feds' dogged vindictiveness in going after the L.A. Eight reflects an intersection of anti-Communist (now dubbed "anti-terrorist") "thought crimes" prosecution and vile anti-immigrant chauvinism. After the McCarran-Walter Act was ruled unconstitutional and repealed by Congress in 1990, the government pursued the case of the L.A. Eight under other pretexts, charging them under the 1990 Immigration Act with supporting a "foreign terrorist group," the PFLP. The charges included raising

continued on page 5

Centrists Backed Kabila Forces in Congo

Workers Power: Heart of Dimness

When the rebel army of Laurent Kabila drove former dictator Mohutu Sese Seko out of the capital city of Kinshasa last month, it brought a new reactionary, pro-imperialist regime to power in Congo (formerly Zaire). Kabila immediately clamped down on all political opponents and banned street protests. Numerous reports indicate that his largely Tutsi forces have carried out massacres of Hutu refugees. One of Kabila's first acts upon entering Kinshasa was to outlaw the wearing of pants or short skirts by women; his troops enforced the ban by stripping a number of women in the streets.

Having backed Kabila's rise to power, U.S. imperialism is now demanding that the new regime give lip service to a modicum of "democracy" in order to ensure stability in the mineral-rich country. Nonetheless, visiting American Congressman Tom Campbell praised the ban on political parties and protests as "perhaps actually in good judgement." Another Kabila patron, South African president Nelson Mandela, chimed in: "It would be suicidal for him to allow the operation of parties before he has had a firm grip on the government of the country" (*ITN World News*, 28 May).

Some months ago, we wrote that "revolutionaries do not have a side in this conflict," noting that the war between Kabila's forces and the despised Mobutu dictatorship "is essentially a struggle to decide who will preside over selling off the country's immense mineral riches to the imperialists while lording it over the dreadfully oppressed masses" (*WV* No. 665, 4 April). For its part, the British centrist Workers Power (WP) group hailed Kabila's movement as "progressive," lauding it as "a legitimate struggle against the pro-imperialist Mobutu dictatorship" and a "legitimate war of self-defense" by the Tutsi minority in Zaire against communalist terror (*Workers Power*, December 1996). But now that Workers Power can no longer sweep under the carpet Kabila's pro-imperialist, communalist and anti-democratic policies, it has taken to piously intoning that "Kabila is no friend of democracy" (*Workers Power*, May 1997).

Workers Power's methodology provides a case study in centrist opportunism. Kabila's "anti-imperialist" credentials, such as they were, stemmed from the fact that in the 1960s he led a short-lived guerrilla movement in which Che Guevara briefly participated. As Guevara's unpublished memoirs reveal, however, he was quickly disabused of Kabila's leftist pretensions (*Le Monde*, 8 April). When Kabila launched his power drive last fall, WP quickly latched onto it, consistent with WP's prior support to the neighboring Tutsi-dominated Rwanda Patriotic Front (FPR) regime, which promoted Kabila's rebellion. WP supported the FPR's rise to power in Rwanda in 1994 and continued to back it even afterward, dubbing its military campaign in eastern Zaire a "just war" in "defence of the Rwandan population against the genocidal raiding parties" by Hutu militias.

For Marxists, the question of extending military support in civil wars and other conflicts is determined by whether the victory of one side or another will further the cause of social emancipation for the proletariat and the oppressed. A case in point in sub-Saharan Africa is our line on Angola. Before 1975, we gave military support to all three competing Angolan nationalist movements in their struggle against Portuguese colonialism. When the rival independence movements launched into a three-sided civil war against each other following the defeat of the Portuguese, none of these petty-bourgeois forces warranted any support from Marxists. However, when apartheid South Africa—backed by the U.S.—militarily intervened in the conflict in late 1975 on the side of Jonas Savimbi's UNITA and the FNLA, we then extended military support to the MPLA nationalists, who were aided on the ground by Cuban troops. The defeat of the CIA/South African-organized offensive by the Soviet-backed MPLA/Cuban forces was a blow against imperialism.

Robert/Sygma Reuters

Hailed by Workers Power as "progressive," U.S.-backed Laurent Kabila banned opposition parties, ordered troops to suppress protests in Kinshasa (right) immediately upon taking power.

In Rwanda and Congo, the Tutsi and Hutu armed forces were qualitatively similar communal-based movements in which neither side posed a military conflict with imperialism. When the Hutu militias had the upper hand, they perpetrated horrific slaughters of Tutsis; the Tutsi forces then carried out indiscriminate massacres against the Hutus. The Tutsis have received the backing of U.S. and British imperialism, while the Hutus were supported by French imperialism, which has been striving to maintain its historic "*chasse gardée*" (hunting preserve) in central Africa.

The line-up of the competing imperialist camps had its reflection in Workers Power's "international," where WP's support to the Tutsis didn't sit well with its French affiliate, Pouvoir Ouvrier (PO). PO publicly attacked the line of its British "cothinkers," using a similar position of Gauche Révolutionnaire (GR—affiliated to British Labour Militant, now the Socialist Party) as a foil. PO denounced GR's call for "All power to the FPR!" as "totally opportunist, even treacherous," making the obvious point that the FPR wanted to "establish a new capitalist order albeit one loyal to other masters, Uganda and the USA" (*Pouvoir Ouvrier*, September 1994). WP/PO's parody of a "Revolutionary Communist International" is a vivid confirmation of Trotsky's observation that centrism—which, stripped of its revolutionary rhetoric, is defined by its overriding quest for "unity" with the chauvinist social democrats on its own national terrain—is inherently incapable of genuine internationalism.

Throughout the Cold War, WP repeatedly refused to side with the Soviet bureaucratically degenerated workers state against pro-imperialist and counter-revolutionary forces. But in every conflict between opposing petty-bourgeois or bourgeois nationalist forces, WP always searches for a so-called "progressive" or "anti-imperialist" side. At bottom, WP's methodology is social-democratic, substituting "classless" considerations (which camp is more or less "democratic" or "genocidal," which best embodies a mythical "anti-imperialist" dynamic, etc., etc.) for the historic interests of the international proletariat. In WP's eyes, if the Hutu militias carried out a genocidal massacre of Tutsis, this makes the Tutsi-based nationalist movements "progressive."

WP's support to the FPR/Kabila forces denies the fact that under imperialism, "nation-building" in backward countries with interpenetrated ethnic and national populations necessarily means one people dominating the others and seeking to drive them out or eliminate them. In practice, the policy of the "anti-imperialist united front" pursued by these pseudo-Trotskyists stands counterposed to Trotsky's theory and program of permanent revolution. Trotsky argued that in the epoch of imperialist decay, the unresolved bourgeois-democratic tasks (political democracy, national consolidation, agrarian revolution) in underdeveloped countries cannot be realized by bourgeois and petty-bourgeois forces, which are inevitably subservient to imperialism. The achievement of these aims requires that the proletariat, supported by the peasantry, seize state power and fight to extend socialist revolution to the advanced capitalist powers.

Crowley/NY Times

Desperate Hutu refugees in eastern Zaire (now Congo) were subjected to massacres by Kabila's Tutsi-dominated forces.

Marxism is a scientific guide to action, informed and reinforced by empirical evidence. Centrism, on the other hand, is, in Trotsky's words, "crystallized confusion," resorting to equivocation and obfuscation to cover its tailing of alien class forces. This is exemplified most glaringly over Iran in 1979 where, in the name of the "anti-imperialist united front," Workers Power joined with virtually the entire left in hailing Khomeini's "revolution." In bitterly denouncing our revolutionary proletarian opposition to both the shah and the mullahs, WP sneered that our warnings against support to Khomeini "amount to uncritical retailing of the chauvinist rubbish which filled the American press." WP ridiculed the notion that the mullahs in power would "introduce savage Islamic law punishments: stoning, public hanging and whipping" and "enforce the wearing of the veil" (*Workers Power*, February 1979).

Of course, that is precisely what the mullahs did once they came to power. Yet WP never repudiated its support to Khomeini. Likewise, as Kabila's forces closed in on Kinshasa, WP simply "dropped" its call for their "victory" and hoped no one would notice. Now, *Workers Power* (June 1997) blares, "Don't Trust Kabila—Fight for a Workers' Republic." Even now, WP promotes the sham "popular committees" set up by Kabila as vehicles for the workers to "press for their demands," while raising ludicrous calls for workers militias and workers and peasants councils in this extremely backward and economically shattered country.

WP disappears the need to link social struggles in Congo with those in South Africa—the industrial powerhouse of this region—which has a huge and combative black proletariat with the potential power to sweep away imperialist domination and carry through a socialist transformation of sub-Saharan Africa. WP's line there is *counterposed* to the fight for workers revolution, as it looks instead to the ANC-dominated nationalist popular front which suppresses the proletariat on behalf of the Randlords. In the 1994 South African elections, where the Communist Party and COSATU trade-union federation were part of a common slate with the bourgeois-nationalist ANC, WP yearned to give "critical support" to the popular front through the back door, complaining: "Had it been possible to vote separately for the workers' organisations and candidates within the ANC alliance then revolutionaries should have supported these candidates critically" (*Workers Power*, April 1994).

The unspeakable horrors of Belgium's colonial occupation of the Congo were powerfully evoked in Joseph Conrad's classic short novel, *Heart of Darkness*. Today, the horrors of neocolonialism—ethnic and tribal massacres, famine and poverty—are accompanied by the development of a powerful proletariat in the industrial centers of Egypt, the Maghreb, Nigeria and especially South Africa. The promise of liberation lies in proletarian struggle against capitalist imperialism and for socialism, extending to the imperialist centers. Proletarian victory requires the leadership of internationalist Trotskyist parties based on the program of permanent revolution and steeled in the political struggle against all forms of nationalism and centrist opportunism. ■

All Honor to Black Civil War Regiment!

Boston Spartacist Leaflet

The May 27 Spartacist League leaflet reprinted below was distributed in Boston at various events held that week celebrating the 100th anniversary of the dedication of a memorial for the Massachusetts 54th Regiment.

On May 28, 1863, the troops of the Massachusetts 54th, under the command of Colonel Robert Gould Shaw, left Boston for South Carolina, the first regiment of Northern black troops to be called up for the second American Revolution, the Civil War. The employment of ***these heroic black troops*** turned the tide of the Civil War, the greatest act in American history, which brought about the destruction of the slave system under which black people were not considered human beings but instead property.

The smashing of chattel slavery through the Civil War led to the most democratic period that this country has ever known—Radical Reconstruction, under which the Union Army occupied the South to prevent the former slavemasters from reversing the outcome of the Civil War and protected blacks from racist terror. Reconstruction was reversed by the "Compromise of 1877" when an alliance between the Northern capitalists and the Southern Bourbons took power away from the black ex-slave masses and their Radical Republican allies and placed it back in the hands of the former slaveholders.

In the South, a new form of white supremacy was established under the "Jim Crow" system of racial segregation and police-state control. In the North, although having formal "equality" under the law, blacks were forcibly segregated in inner-city ghettos. As the "last hired and the first fired," they supplied a "reserve army of labor" for the Northern capitalists. Today, the ghetto poor are considered a "surplus" population that the ruling class doesn't see as "worth" educating or maintaining even at the most minimal subsistence level. This is what is behind the attacks on every conceivable social program from welfare to affirmative action, the rise of cop terror in the streets and the speedup on death row.

As they condemn millions of black welfare mothers and their children to die, the government would like people to believe that the ghetto poor are responsible for their own poverty and desperation. To push this lie the ruling class upholds Colin Powell as "proof" that blacks can "make it if they really want" in racist America. Most recently, the former Pentagon chief—who oversaw the slaughter of hundreds of thousands of Iraqis during the Persian Gulf War—was one of the chief spokesmen at Clinton's cynical "Volunteers Summit" in Philadelphia. The utter and vicious hypocrisy of this event was eloquently captured by black death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal in a column titled "Summitry & Cynicism":

> "It was pure pageantry for politicians, camouflage for corporations and P.R. for a government bent on punishing the poor for the vile 'sin' of poverty. It was the velvet glove that hides the iron hand that strangles the poor while singing a sweet, deceitful song: 'I feel your pain.' A pain caused by a social system that funnels the lion's share of wealth to the few, while snatching away the means of bare subsistence from the many, all the while donning the smiling mask of 'volunteerism'."

Now Powell has been invited to address the commemoration ceremony for the courageous black soldiers of the Massachusetts 54th. But, where the Massachusetts 54th fought against King Cotton and the racist system of slavery, Powell fought *for* the Seven Sisters of oil and racist American imperialism. Where Shaw and his troops fought for a revolution which would end chattel bondage, Powell served a military machine which has sought to enslave millions around the globe through bloody butchery. From the invasion of Panama to the racist occupation of Somalia under the aegis of "humanitarianism" to the rape of Haiti, wherever the forces of American imperialism are sent it has meant exploitation, oppression and death.

We also note that it is with the utmost hypocrisy that Mayor Menino and Governor Weld dare to attend this commemoration. Menino's cops murdered the elderly black minister Accelynne Williams and ride roughshod over minorities and youth, carrying out sinister mass arrests at the housing projects. Meanwhile, Weld's campaign to bring back the death penalty (itself a throwback to slavery) and "welfare reform" has meant the further impoverishment of hundreds of thousands of blacks and poor throughout Massachusetts. In the context of a national attack on blacks and immigrants, programs like affirmative action which provide some black and Hispanic students a chance at a decent education have been viciously slashed. Here in Boston, while students from Mattapan and Grove Hall were being purged from prestigious Boston Latin, Menino was busy restricting minority admissions at an experimental elementary school in West Roxbury. Weld and his education czar John Silber are doing their best to make the UMass schools inaccessible to black and working-class youth.

Women and Revolution

Monument by Augustus Saint-Gaudens honoring Robert Gould Shaw and the heroic black troops of the Massachusetts 54th stands in Boston Common.

We believe that not enough honor can be bestowed upon the heroes of the Massachusetts 54th. What they fought and died for was a society in which racism and slavery would be obliterated. But their aspirations were betrayed by the Northern capitalists. At one time the bourgeoisie had been capable of such revolutionary acts as eliminating the rule of monarchs and priests. Their profit system has since decayed to the point where it would rather throw the black masses to starve on the streets or lock them up in prisons than give them a decent education or job.

We maintain that the road to black freedom lies in the struggle to shatter this racist capitalist system through working-class socialist revolution. At the time of the Civil War, Karl Marx, the founder of modern communism, captured the fundamental truth of American society in his statement that "Labor cannot emancipate itself in the white skin where in the black it is branded." The Spartacist League is fighting to build a multiracial revolutionary workers party that will wrest the tremendous productive resources of this country out of the hands of the corrupt and greedy capitalist owners. When the power of the racist ruling class and its state are shattered, and this wealth is deployed for the benefit of those who labor to produce it, then the basis will be laid for eradicating all inequalities based on class, sex and race. ■

L.A. Eight...

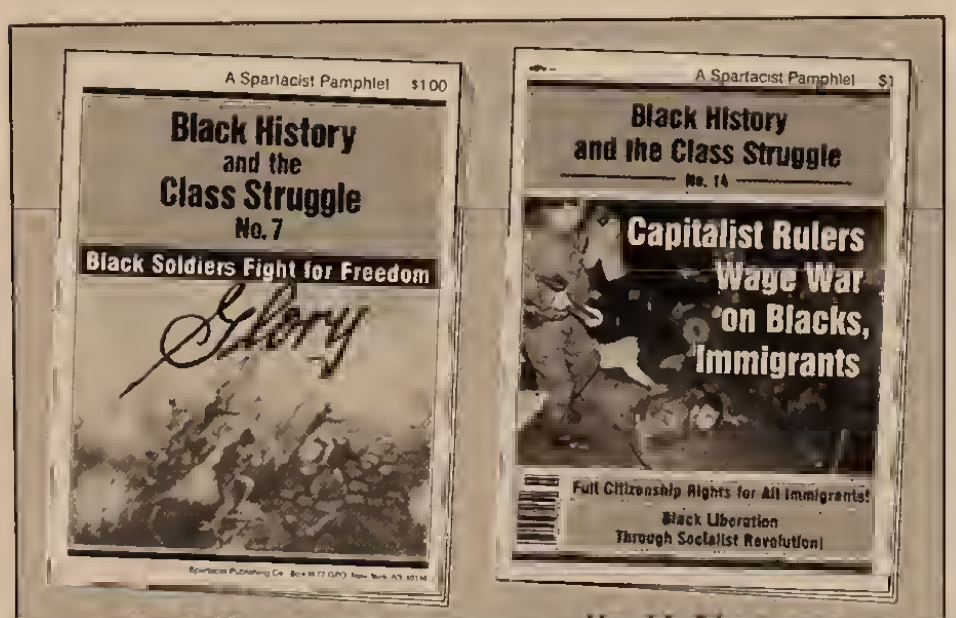
(continued from page 3)

money for hospitals, clinics, day-care centers and schools in Lebanon and the Occupied Territories, distributing literature (all of which was available in bookstores and libraries) and participating in demonstrations with anti-U.S. and anti-Israel placards. A lawsuit by the L.A. Eight seeking to block their deportation charged that the government had unlawfully targeted them because of their political beliefs. Indeed, former INS regional director Ernest Gustafson admitted that the L.A. Eight had been "singled out for deportation because of their alleged political affiliations."

When a federal court issued a preliminary injunction blocking their deportation last year, the Clinton administration retorted that non-citizens were not entitled to the full protection of the First Amendment! After the government's claim was rejected on appeal, Clinton's Justice Department broadened its attack, arguing that neither citizens nor non-citizens should be allowed to provide "support" to those deemed by the government to be foreign "terrorist" groups. Now the government is using a new immigration law to claim the courts have no power to stop the INS from doing anything it wants. This law is a frontal assault on the democratic rights of all, giving formal legal sanction to what is demonstrated every day to black and Hispanic youth and striking workers—that the capitalist state's police agencies act as a law unto themselves.

The new law, which went into effect April 1, not only subjects hundreds of thousands to deportation but strips immigrants of the right to appeal arbitrary INS decisions in the federal courts. Last October, the Justice Department tried to use the new law against the L.A. Eight retroactively, even before it took effect. A January 13 ruling by District Court judge Stephen Wilson again rebuffed the administration, noting that the government's position would render any immigration appeal on constitutional grounds a "fiction." Despite a string of favorable court rulings, defenders of the L.A. Eight must redouble their efforts to finally put an end to the government's continuing harassment and attempts to deport them.

The anti-immigrant witchhunt—part of a generalized assault on civil liberties—is aimed as well at pitting one section of the working class against another. This country's capitalist rulers use *la migra* raids and anti-immigrant laws in an attempt to intimidate immigrant workers, many of them Central American refugees with experience in tumultuous class battles at home, threatening deportation into the hands of the death squad regimes from which they fled. It is necessary to fight for full citizenship rights for *all* immigrants, "legal" or "illegal." The bourgeoisie's anti-immigrant offensive must be fought by mobilizing the power of the multiracial working class—black, white, Hispanic and Asian. ■



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Turkish Regime Invades Iraq, Slaughters Kurds

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In the early morning hours of May 14, 50,000 Turkish troops backed up by Phantom fighter-bombers and Cobra helicopter gunships poured across the Iraqi border. During Turkey's 12-year war against the Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK), 2,000 villages have been destroyed, 25,000 people killed and two million people turned into refugees, including some 15,000 who have fled to northern Iraq. Since the 1991 UN/NATO massacre of the Iraqi peoples, Turkey has repeatedly extended its military offensives to the Kurdish population of northern Iraq—but this invasion far exceeds, in scale and firepower, any previous one. Ten thousand Kurdish and Turkish political prisoners throughout Turkey went on a hunger strike at the end of May in protest against the invasion.

While Bonn competes with Washington in providing military and financial support to its NATO ally in Ankara, the ruling Christian Democrats (CDU) and "oppositional" Social Democrats (SPD) have brought this murderous war home by ruthlessly banning the PKK and other Kurdish organizations (as well as Turkish left groups), or even such elementary expressions of national identity as showing the Kurdish national colors. Despite our sharp political differences with the petty-bourgeois nationalist PKK, we of the Spartakist Workers Party stand with it militarily against Turkey's "scorched earth" war and defend its supporters against state repression here. Our comrades participated in a demonstration of 10,000 mainly Kurdish and Turkish youth in Hamburg against the Turkish invasion. We say: The Fourth Reich is the godfather of the bloody war against the Kurds! Down with the ban on PKK and [the Turkish leftist] Devrimci Sol! Turkish Army: Get out of Kurdistan!

U.S. State Department spokesman Nicholas Burns immediately gave U.S. approval. Doing the dirty work for Washington in the region, Israel refitted the U.S.-built Turkish air arsenal so it could carpet bomb previously inaccessible Kurdish villages in the mountainous regions bordering Iraq. The president of the European Union issued a tepid statement of "deep concern" that the Turkish invasion remain within "appropriate boundaries"(!), even as German-made tanks and armored vehicles transported

Reuters

Gamma

Top: Turkish troops sweep into Kurdish region of northern Iraq. Above: Victims of army massacre in Turkish rulers' ongoing war against PKK and Kurdish people.

Turkish divisions into Iraqi Kurdistan.

The imperialist powers are enemies of working people throughout the world. As revolutionary internationalists, we stood with the peoples of Iraq against imperialist aggression during the 1991 Gulf War and the U.S. air strikes against Iraq last year, while stating that Saddam Hussein should be dealt with by his own working class for his crimes against them. We demanded: "Down with the imperialist embargo against Iraq!" Meanwhile the SPD, the Party of Democratic Socialism and the Greens in Germany embraced it as the "bloodless" way to starve Iraq into submission to its imperialist masters.

The imperialists have repeatedly used the Kurdish people as pawns for their great-power ambitions while stabbing them in the back. Following the 1991 Gulf War, the strategic region of Iraqi Kurdistan bordered by Turkey, Syria and Iran and near the oil and gas fields of Kirkuk was declared to be a "safe haven" for Kurds and off-limits to the Iraqi army—to be policed by the U.S. and its allies, under a UN fig leaf, as part of Washington's "New World Order." We warned at the time that such control by U.S. and other imperialist "peacekeepers" would create a situation as bad as that in Gaza and the West Bank. This "safe haven" has been repeatedly invaded by the Turkish army to round up and kill supporters of the PKK.

The feudalist and bourgeois-nationalist misleaders of the Iraqi Kurds, Massoud Barzani's Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) and Jalal Talabani's rival Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK), have long histories of sacrificing the Kurdish national struggle for illusory support from the imperialists and their regional lackeys, while killing each other. During the Gulf War, they both sided with the U.S. and joined the CIA-backed "Iraqi National Congress." Both groups have been ruthlessly policing their "own" people, as well as collaborating with Ankara in hunting down PKK supporters inside Iraqi Kurdistan. When the PUK, backed by Iranian troops, appeared to be getting the upper hand last year, Barzani got help from Saddam Hussein. The U.S. used this as a pretext for a major show of force in the Gulf—mobilizing its Pacific and Persian Gulf fleets as well as deploying B-52 bombers from as far away as Guam. Now the Turkish army is using Barzani's "invitation" as the pretext for its invasion, and the American imperialists are overjoyed. But it means nothing but death and devastation for the Kurds in both Turkey and Iraq.

With the USSR gone, the U.S. wants to show that it is the world's No. 1 military power, and it will use this power to exert its control over the oil and gas fields of the region, which are of vital concern to Germany and especially Japan. U.S. trade sanctions against Iran and Iraq are in turn also aimed against its imperialist rivals. When Turkey signed a $20 billion gas deal with Iran last year, the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* exulted that "it was a slap in Washington's face." And on the eve of its invasion, Ankara signed a deal with Baghdad for a 1,300 kilometer (800 mile) gas pipeline to run to the Turkish port of Ceyhan. But in both cases the pipelines pass through Kurdish territory, which has to be "secured" before they can be built. The sharpened interimperialist rivalries in the Near East are the harbinger of a future world war, this time fought with nuclear weapons.

At the same time, Turkey is also ex-

Protest Saddam Hussein's Execution of Iraqi Leftists!

As thousands of Turkish troops massacre Kurds in northern Iraq, the Ba'athist dictatorship of Saddam Hussein in Baghdad has launched a wave of mass executions of political prisoners. Reports from the Iraqi Communist Party (ICP) and the Worker-Communist Party of Iraq (WCPI) indicate that more than 250 detainees, including ICP members, have been killed since February in the notorious Abu Ghraib political prison, with another 600 facing execution in the coming weeks. The ICP has long been a special target for the terror of the Ba'athist regime. Other ICP members remain in the Abu Ghraib dungeons, as do supporters of the WCPI and other leftists.

On May 30, supporters of the International Communist League in London and Toronto joined urgent protest demonstrations initiated by the WCPI against the executions. We call on all working-class and left-wing organizations to demand an immediate end to the executions, and freedom for all leftist opponents of Saddam Hussein!

While the American rulers hypocritically denounce the Iraqi strongman as a tyrant and flood the country with CIA agents in an attempt to bring down his regime, Washington backed him for years in the 1970s and '80s as he cracked down on Iraq's workers, Kurds and other minorities. And now the U.S. and other western media are conspicuously silent on his mass executions of Communists and other leftists.

In the six years since the U.S.-led imperialist war against Iraq, hundreds of thousands more men, women and children have died as a direct result of the economic blockade carried out under United Nations auspices. We defend the Iraqi people against imperialist attack, including the numerous terror raids since the 1991 Gulf War. Down with the UN starvation embargo! U.S. out of the Persian Gulf!

The Iraqi dictatorship and all the reactionary regimes of the Near East must be brought down by the working people and oppressed who have suffered under their heel. This requires the construction of revolutionary parties which take up the cause of all the oppressed—from the beleaguered Kurdish people to doubly oppressed women—in the fight for a socialist federation of the Near East.

Trotskyists Say: Independence for Quebec!

Anglo-Chauvinism Dominates Canadian Elections

JUNE 7—The virulently Anglo-chauvinist Reform Party, based in the Western provinces, emerged as "her Majesty's loyal opposition" in the recent Canadian elections. In a campaign dominated by appeals for "national unity," a code phrase for the continued suppression of the national rights of the Quebec nation, Reform Party leader Preston Manning played first fiddle in appealing to the crudest anti-Québécois bigotry.

Liberal prime minister Jean Chrétien, who retained a slim majority in Parliament, called for outlawing any move by Quebec to secede. Conservative Party leader Jean Charest raised the spectre of partitioning Quebec to create a separate Anglo-dominated enclave in the event of secession. Yet election ads by the racist Reform Party, for whom all Québécois are "*untermenschen*" (subhumans), scurrilously attacked both Chrétien and Charest as "unfit to govern" because they were born in Quebec! Railing against any "special status" for Quebec, Manning obscenely compared the calls for a "sovereign" Quebec by the bourgeois nationalists of the Bloc Québécois and the Parti Québécois provincial government with the secession of the Southern Confederate slavocracy which triggered the American Civil War.

The Reform Party swept the Western provinces, with their biggest base of support coming from British Columbia. Among the first to praise Manning's BC victory was the province's New Democratic Party (NDP) premier, Glen Clark, who grotesquely declared that "the Liberals will have to be more responsive to legitimate B.C. concerns" (Toronto *Globe & Mail*, 4 June)! Playing the card of Maple Leaf chauvinism is nothing new for the social democrats of Canada's so-called "labor party." As our comrades of the Trotskyist League/Ligue Trotskyste of Canada wrote in a 21 May election statement which demanded: "Down With 'National Unity' Chauvinism—Independence for Quebec!":

> "The bigotry fostered by the NDP and the labor bureaucracy serves to rally the workers of English Canada behind their 'own' exploiters, while driving Québécois workers into the arms of the bourgeois-nationalist PQ and Bloc.... In standing foursquare against Anglo chauvinism and supporting independence, we seek to redirect the workers' struggles against their respective national capitalist exploiters. Independence would put an end to the historic oppression of the Québécois people at the hands of the Anglo rulers and allow the decisive *class* questions to come to the fore in both nations, laying a basis for common struggle against all the capitalist oppressors."

Spartacist Canada

October 1996 "Day of Action" labor protest in Toronto against austerity attacks. Anti-Québécois chauvinism pushed by Canadian rulers and NDP lackeys is poison to proletarian struggle.

That the racist bigots of the Reform Party are now the official opposition party once again underlines the depth of the national divide which has long dominated the Canadian political landscape. The forcible confinement of Quebec—a distinct nation with its own language, culture and, particularly since the early 1960s, a self-conscious bourgeoisie striving to cohere a separate political economy—has sharply undermined the cause of common class struggle by the English-speaking and Québécois working class.

Last October, the streets of Toronto, the financial capital of English Canada, were filled with the largest labor protest in Canadian history, against the vicious slashing of social programs. Waving the chauvinist flag of Maple Leaf "unity," the capitalist rulers seek to deflect working-class anger over mass unemployment and austerity into hatred of the Québécois. They are assisted in this by the right-wing social democrats of the NDP, who not only fan the flames of anti-Québécois reaction but whose provincial governments have served to enforce the austerity diktats of the Canadian bourgeoisie.

Disillusioned in "their" party, hundreds of thousands of unionists and other working people in English Canada cast their votes for the unvarnished chauvinism of Manning's Reform Party. The only place the NDP gained support in the recent elections was in the impoverished Maritime provinces, a protest vote against the Liberals' austerity drive. In Quebec, the historic combativity of the French-speaking working class has been sapped, channeled by nationalist labor bureaucrats into support for the Parti Québécois.

Voter turnout in Quebec was sharply down, as embittered trade unionists, the poor and unemployed stayed home in protest against the PQ's relentless attacks. Yet the Bloc Québécois again won a majority of Quebec seats and the ominous and increasing rise of the Reform Party can and will be wielded by the PQ and the Bloc Québécois to "rally the nation" behind them. Confident that the electoral success of the Reform Party will lead to a "yes" vote in the next Quebec referendum on secession, PQ leader Lucien Bouchard declared his conviction that this was "the last federal election in the history of Quebec." Indeed, the governing Liberals remain the only substantive federal party in the fractured Ottawa Parliament.

As the Trotskyist League/Ligue Trotskyste wrote on the eve of a 1995 Quebec referendum on secession which failed by a narrow margin ("For Quebec Independence!" *Spartacist Canada* No. 105, September/October 1995):

> "Nationalism and chauvinism have been the key strands in the ropes which bind the English-speaking and French-speaking workers to their 'own' capitalist enemies, setting them against each other, and against anyone else who is 'not us.' Thus French-speaking Haitians in Montreal, English-speaking Jamaicans in Toronto, Asians in Vancouver, aboriginal peoples struggling to assert their rights, are all victims of racist abuse and open state terror 'justified' in large part by the vicious logic of nationalism which currently defines and bedevils this country.
>
> "We advocate independence for Quebec to help clear the way for united struggle by the racially integrated working class of the whole continent against the system of exploitation and oppression that threatens the future of all humanity. For an independent Quebec! For class struggle against *all* the capitalist exploiters, from Bay Street and Ottawa, to Rue St-Jacques and Quebec City, to Wall Street and Washington! Forward in the fight for North American socialist revolution!" ■

tremely unstable and ripe for class struggle. Massive social oppression and dislocation caused both by the war and capitalist austerity measures generated the mass public workers strikes which shook Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir last year. Even the conservative British *Economist* (17 May) bluntly warns that Turkey's war on the Kurds is "unwinnable." The parliamentary façade of what is in effect a military dictatorship is rapidly disintegrating: the country's top prosecutor is seeking to have the ruling party, Necmettin Erbakan's Islamic fundamentalist "Welfare" (Rafah) Party banned, while members of parliament from its corrupt coalition partner, Tansu Ciller's "True Path," are defecting like rats deserting a sinking ship.

For semicolonial countries, the collapse of the Soviet Union has meant the loss of what room for maneuver they had by playing off the Soviet Union against the imperialist countries. In this context, the PKK's call on the UN and the imperialist powers to bring about a "political solution" is a dead end. At best, it would mean the kind of "autonomy" that exists in the West Bank and Gaza, where PLO police assist the Israeli armed forces in the brutal subjugation of the Palestinian masses.

The 25 million Kurdish people in the Near East, partitioned among Turkey, Iraq, Syria and Iran, constitute the largest nation in the world without a state of its own. Because genuine national emancipation of Kurdistan requires the revolutionary destruction of four capitalist regimes—and accompanying imperialist domination—in this strategic region, the solution to the Kurdish question must be revolutionary, proletarian and internationalist. As we wrote in "For a Socialist Republic of United Kurdistan!" (*WV* No. 651, 13 September 1996): "The motor force for the struggle for Kurdish independence is to be found in the proletariats of the countries which oppress the Kurds. The workers of Turkey, Syria, Iran and Iraq have their own scores to settle with their exploiters." In turn the Kurdish working class exists in diaspora, not only in the major industrial centers of the region, but together with Turks in the coal mines, metal plants and chemical works of Germany and West Europe. Immigrant workers here are the living bridge between the struggle for the emancipation of the Kurds in a socialist Near East and proletarian revolution in imperialist West Europe.

Der Spiegel

February 1991 "mile of death" north of Kuwait City, where U.S. imperialist war machine slaughtered fleeing Iraqi troops during Gulf War.

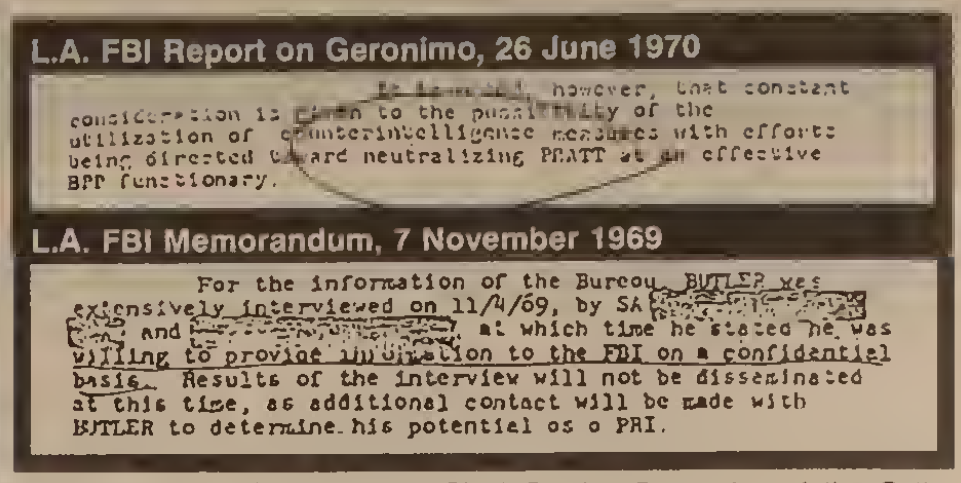
This is the perspective of Trotsky's permanent revolution for countries whose capitalist development has been retarded by imperialism—the tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution can be achieved only through the seizure of power by the proletariat, supported by the peasant toilers, and the extension of proletarian revolution to the advanced capitalist countries. It can only be realized by winning Turkish, Arab and Persian workers to champion the emancipation of the Kurdish nation and other oppressed peoples of the region and to be mortal enemies of the great-power chauvinism of "their" respective bourgeoisies. This internationalist perspective is counterposed to every variant of petty-bourgeois nationalism, no matter how "socialist" its rhetoric. In "Fortress Europe," a first step in forging revolutionary unity is combatting the poisonous anti-immigrant racism that serves as the battering ram for the all-sided assault on living standards and the ideological preparation for new imperialist wars. This perspective can be realized only by building vanguard parties of the working class in the Near East and Europe as part of a world party of socialist revolution. This is the task to which the SpAD and the International Communist League are dedicated. ■

Geronimo...

(continued from page 1)

the massive government frame-up machine which put him behind bars. Geronimo was denied parole *14 times* simply because he refused to renounce the fight to prove his innocence, underscoring the assumption of police and prosecutorial infallibility in this country, where a prisoner must admit guilt before he can be paroled. In a June 4 statement on the overturn of Geronimo's conviction, fellow former Black Panther Mumia Abu-Jamal, who is currently fighting for his life from death row in Pennsylvania, noted: "His only 'crime' in the words of the authorities was 'he is still a revolutionary.' That is why they cased him, framed him and held him so long."

AP



FBI documents from COINTELPRO, the murderous campaign to destroy Black Panther Party, show Julius Butler (above), key prosecution witness against Geronimo, was a government informant.

Geronimo Is Innocent and the Government Knows It

Judge Dickey's May 29 ruling came months after a hearing on Geronimo's fifth *habeas corpus* petition, which documented the all-sided collusion of government police agencies to railroad him into prison. The court's decision rips apart both the prosecution's original case against Geronimo and its continued attempts to deny prosecutorial misconduct. It details the D.A.'s failure to reveal that Julius Butler, the key prosecution witness, was an informer for the FBI, the LAPD and the D.A.'s office itself. It asserts that the false testimony at trial by the LAPD and Butler denying that he was an informant "left a grossly inaccurate impression on the jury." The judge's memorandum concludes that "this was not a strong case for the prosecution without the testimony of Butler, and certainly not an overwhelming case in any event."

In a June 1 statement aimed at mobilizing California unions and black organizations to demand Geronimo's immediate release, the Partisan Defense Committee, which has actively championed his cause for nearly two decades, pointed out:

> "The court's decision, narrowly based on the compelling defects of the 1972 trial, is in fact *a cover-up of the massive and grotesque frame-up* to which Geronimo has been subjected. As we have detailed over the past decade, the government knows that Geronimo *did not commit and could not have committed* the crime of which he is accused."

Indeed, while almost unanimously behind the court's decision, bourgeois liberals are now seeking to mute or disappear Geronimo's political history as a leader of the Black Panther Party, while the press muses on Garcetti's current "dilemma" and wonders what the best course might be "when you honestly believe that someone was guilty as convicted."

The fact is that unambiguous evidence of Geronimo's innocence has been revealed through two decades of disclosures of government misconduct and perjured testimony. The failure to disclose Butler's informant status barely scratches the surface of the criminal conspiracy against Geronimo. There is a mountain of evidence detailed in volumes of government documents which have still not been disclosed, some of which have already been destroyed.

As early as 1985, a former high-level FBI agent named Wesley Swearingen revealed the existence of FBI wiretaps which showed that Geronimo was in Oakland, 400 miles away from the scene of the murder for which he was convicted, at the time it took place! The FBI then claimed those wiretaps had been "lost."

An investigation by lay minister James McCloskey has led to the identification of the likely actual killers. It also came out that the sole eyewitness, the husband of the murder victim, identified a different suspect two years before Geronimo was charged.

Judge Dickey's opinion permits the false conclusion that those in charge of the case were ignorant of Butler's informant status and the benefits he obtained for concocting and attributing to Geronimo a fake "confession." But Julius Butler had over 33 contacts with the FBI in the 18 months before and 18 months after Geronimo's indictment in 1970. During that time, the FBI, the LAPD and the L.A. D.A.'s office coordinated their surveillance of the Panthers and of Butler's actions against Geronimo. As was revealed for the first time in the recent hearing, Southern California police agencies formed a group called the Los Angeles Intelligence Unit which met up to four times a year to exchange information.

Judge Dickey's opinion covers up for these active participants in the railroading of Geronimo and carefully protects those who built their careers on the government's racist vendetta—from Edwin Meese, who presided over the war on the Panthers as then-governor Ronald Reagan's top cop in California, to Richard Kalustian, now a sitting L.A. County Superior Court judge who as deputy D.A. prosecuted Geronimo and paved the way for the fink Butler's admission to the California bar. The government conspiracy against the Panthers which targeted Geronimo among many others was orchestrated right from the top, through the FBI's notorious COINTELPRO operation.

Flax Hermes

Banner carried in April 1967 San Francisco protest against Vietnam War captured hatred of many black militants for racist U.S. imperialism at home and abroad.

Down With LAPD/FBI COINTELPRO Frame-Up!

A highly decorated Vietnam veteran, Geronimo returned from two tours of duty in 1968 a determined opponent of U.S. imperialism who was committed to contributing to the struggle against the racist enemy at home. After enrolling in UCLA, he joined the Black Panther Party, the best of a generation of black militants who wanted to fight the oppression of racist American capitalism. Most galling to the government, the Panthers opposed Martin Luther King Jr.'s passive acceptance of the bourgeois order, asserting their right to armed self-defense in the face of the terror from racist cops in the inner-city ghettos.

Labeling them the greatest threat to the internal security of the U.S., the FBI declared war on the Panthers and, with the assistance of local police, activated their murderous COINTELPRO operation. FBI chief J. Edgar Hoover stated bluntly: "The Negro youth and moderate[s] must be made to understand that if they succumb to revolutionary teachings, they will be dead revolutionaries." Thirty-eight Panthers were murdered outright; Fred Hampton and Mark Clark were assassinated in their beds in a 1969 raid by a Chicago police hit team under the direction of the Illinois State's Attorney. Countless others were framed up on false charges.

FBI documents from 1969 record the agency's designation of Geronimo as a "Key Black Extremist" and target him for "neutralization" as an effective leader of the Panthers. An FBI memo spelled it out: "Operation Number One is designed to challenge the legitimacy of the authority exercised by ELMER GERARD PRATT, BPP Deputy Minister of Defense." In December of that year, an LAPD Metro Squad and SWAT team commandos armed with M-60 machine guns, tear gas launchers and dynamite subjected Panther headquarters to a five-hour barrage and raided the house where Geronimo was sleeping.

Having failed to murder him, the FBI, LAPD and D.A.'s office then used Julius Butler to frame up Geronimo for the two-year-old unsolved murder of Caroline Olsen on a Santa Monica tennis court. Butler had an ax to grind after being expelled by Geronimo from the Panthers on suspicion of being a fink. With the knowledge of the FBI, Butler fingered Geronimo to the LAPD and then turned over to the LAPD weapons that he claimed belonged to the Panthers. Despite having earlier been found guilty on four felony counts, Butler was kept out of state prison and instead given probation and a $200 fine. He was also given money to buy a gun by the D.A.'s office. Three days after Geronimo's conviction, D.A. Kalustian personally intervened to have Butler's fine reduced. All of this information was known at the time by the FBI, LAPD and D.A.'s office—and was withheld from the defense and the jury at Geronimo's original trial.

There Is No Justice in the Capitalist Courts!

With Geronimo's enormous victory, his case is now being held up as an example of the justice of the bourgeois legal system. The truth is that Geronimo is a living condemnation of the American capitalist state and the racist *in*justice of its courts. After 27 years and mountains of evidence demonstrating Geronimo's innocence, the courts have produced a ruling on narrow legal grounds which covers up the scope of this mammoth frame-up and amnesties its perpetrators. The state and federal courts have proven to be a steady and firm ally of the FBI's COINTELPRO, repeatedly withholding from the defense secret FBI documents which have been examined by the courts and flatly refusing Geronimo any opportunity to expose the government vendetta against him. Until the December 1996 hearing in Judge Dickey's court, Geronimo had never even been permitted to call Butler as a witness in any proceeding.

Justice in America is neither blind nor does it carefully weigh the evidence on balanced scales. The courts, like the cops and prison system, are part of the capitalist state, which is not a neutral body but exists to administer the exploitation of the working class by the handful of rulers who own the wealth of society. By its nature, the capitalist judicial system is based on racial discrimination and class

AP photos

Massive cop assault on L.A. Black Panther Party headquarters, December 1969; Geronimo barely escaped assassination.

bias. Statistics gathered for the 1987 case of *McCleskey v. Kemp* showed that in Georgia a black man who killed a white man was eleven times more likely to be sentenced to death than a white who killed a black. The Supreme Court found this proof of racial bias *irrelevant*, saying that they could not overturn the death penalty on these grounds because that would put into question the entirety of the criminal justice system in this country!

At the same time, to justify its continued rule over the populace while veiling the racial and class oppression inherent in bourgeois democracy, the ruling class must maintain the appearance that the law applies equally and evenhandedly to all. Unlike the blatant bias shown in the kangaroo court of "hanging judge" Albert Saho, who has presided over the ongoing frame-up of Mumia Abu-Jamal, Judge Dickey has from the outset taken great care to preserve the appearance of impartial justice in Geronimo's case. His ruling, while most heartily welcome, does not change the nature of capitalist injustice.

Nor was this ruling a matter of humanitarian considerations. Geronimo's longtime support from significant layers of the California labor movement, black organizations and civil libertarians has made it difficult for the ruling class to simply bury him in prison and to hide the facts of his frame-up, which have persisted in coming to light. At the same time, with the unions prostrate and social struggle at an ebb, the capitalist rulers see no immediate challenge to their untrammeled exploitation and oppression. COINTELPRO succeeded in destroying the Black Panther Party and a generation of black militants who identified with it, while others were bought off and co-opted. With the key players in Geronimo's frame-up shielded from harmful exposure, there is no particular reason for the state not to let Geronimo out.

Moreover, there's plenty of reason for the racist rulers to want a facelift for the badly tarnished image of the judicial system in Los Angeles, with the obscene display of racist injustice in the acquittal of the cops who beat Rodney King still vividly imprinted in the consciousness of many. In a country where the gap between rich and poor rivals that in many "Third World" countries, it is useful for the ruling class to confess a past "excess" in order to more effectively exploit and repress the working and oppressed masses.

L.A. SEIU service employees union marched into D.A. Garcetti's office in August 1994 to demand freedom for Geronimo.

On June 2, the *Los Angeles Times* concluded an editorial statement on Geronimo by stating, "Garcetti should close the book on this shameful chapter in law enforcement history." But the frame-up of Geronimo was not some aberration of a time now past. While the government was forced by embarrassing exposure to shelve COINTELPRO in the mid-1970s, America's apparatus of repression is still at work: from the 1985 firebombing of MOVE in Philadelphia which killed eleven black people, including six children, to the horrendous massacre of more than 80 men, women and children outside Waco, Texas in 1993.

Above and beyond these atrocities are the ever-escalating speedup on death row and the cold-blooded cop executions of black and Hispanic youth on the streets, part of the "routine" cop terror which stalks the ghettos and barrios across the country. And in his four years in office, Democrat Clinton has presided over an intensifying onslaught on basic civil rights, including slashing prisoners' access to legal defense and gutting the vital *habeas corpus* right of prisoners to appeal their convictions in federal court.

There are to this day a number of class-war prisoners in America's jails, guilty only of the "crime" of having fought against racist oppression. Ed Poindexter and Wopashitwe Mondo Eyen we Langa (David Rice), members of the Omaha, Nebraska Committee to Combat Fascism, are in their 25th year of life sentences, convicted on perjured testimony in the 1970 killing of a cop in a bomb explosion. Hugo Pinell, the last of the San Quentin Six, has been behind bars *since 1965*, framed up on charges stemming from the killing of three guards in the melee that erupted after prison officials assassinated Black Panther spokesman George Jackson.

Mumia Abu-Jamal has become a symbol of the racist injustice of capitalism in the U.S., persecuted by the same COINTELPRO operation that put Geronimo in prison, and Geronimo has consistently spoken up in his defense. An award-winning journalist known as the "voice of the voiceless" for his outspoken condemnation of police brutality, Jamal had been in the sights of the FBI and Philadelphia cops from the moment he joined the Black Panther Party as a teenager. Framed up for the killing of a cop, Jamal was railroaded to death row based on his political beliefs, in a proceeding that was such a mockery of bourgeois justice that he cannot even be said to have had a trial. While a massive international campaign of protest stayed the hand of the executioner in the summer of 1995, Jamal remains on death row awaiting the Pennsylvania Supreme Court's ruling on his petition to overturn his conviction.

It is genuinely obscene to speak of "closing the book" on the frame-up of Geronimo ji Jaga. There is no way to rectify the vicious actions of the ruling class and its state against him—injustice has been irrevocably committed. But we can and will redouble our efforts to win freedom for the many other class-war prisoners and to continue the struggle to build a revolutionary workers party that can fight for a workers government which alone will put an end to racial oppression. As we said in an article on Geronimo's case in 1985:

> "The full counterrevolutionary scope of COINTELPRO and its massive crimes against the Panthers and other black militants will be unearthed when the working class, led by a multiracial Trotskyist vanguard party, takes power by smashing the decrepit capitalist system through socialist revolution. The working class will not forget and surely will not forgive such bestial crimes." ■

Mexico...

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resorts of Acapulco and Zihuatanejo. Army encampments that sprang up when the EPR first appeared on the scene in June 1996 have now become full-scale bases. During this same period, the Peasant Organization of Sierra del Sur, the most prominent independent organization of *campesinos* in Guerrero, has had most of its leaders killed or jailed.

Guerrero has a long tradition of radical agrarian insurgencies, which for decades have been met with brutal government repression. But the current military deployment is larger than anything seen before. The PRI's terror campaign is aimed not only at crushing the EPR but at squelching even liberal bourgeois opposition to its corrupt rule. Indeed, the recent military escalation comes on the eve of legislative and state elections which pose an unprecedented challenge to the PRI's historic, near-total grip on political power. Among the scores of people assassinated by government forces in Guerrero since 1995 were 15 well-known leaders of the bourgeois-nationalist Party of the Democratic Revolution (PRD) of Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas. Now, with Cárdenas poised to win the first-ever mayoral election in Mexico City, the repression has escalated throughout the country. In Chiapas, armed thugs organized by the PRI have launched a series of murderous attacks against supporters of the Zapatista guerrillas of the EZLN as well as against the PRD.

For years, U.S. imperialism has been supplying arms to its capitalist client regime in Mexico in the guise of pursuing its global "war on drugs." When a Guerrero legislator charged on June 3 that Zedillo was using U.S.-supplied helicopters intended for fighting drugs to carry out its current wave of terror against the EPR, the U.S. embassy stonewalled with pleas that it had "no information" to that effect. According to the *New York Times* (4 June), Washington's denials "were greeted with some skepticism." No doubt! As we wrote earlier this year:

> "The 'drug war' is nothing more than a pretext for imperialist-sponsored terror.... Shortly after the EZLN rebellion broke out, the Pentagon not only delivered huge quantities of military equipment to the Mexican army, but sent thousands of U.S. troops and DEA [Drug Enforcement Administration] and CIA agents to Guatemala near the border with Chiapas. Even the U.S. government's General Accounting Office has admitted that American 'counter-narcotics' helicopters were used to transport Mexican troops to Chiapas, where they slaughtered hundreds of peasants."
>
> — "U.S. 'Drug War' Means Imperialist Terror" (*WV* No. 664, 21 March)

While defending the fighters of the EPR and EZLN against bourgeois state repression, we warn that their guerrillaist strategy, based on an atomized peasantry and relying on nationalist appeals, cannot lead to fundamental social change for the dispossessed and impoverished masses. In fact, these groups offer only an illusory strategy of trying to pressure the capitalist state for some "democratic" reforms, which in practice boils down to more or less open support to the "progressive" bourgeois PRD. In the midst of the current wave of military terror, on June 4 the EPR announced a unilateral truce as a "show of respect for the electoral struggle," pointing to legislative elections scheduled for July 6. But in the electoral contest between the PRI, the right-wing PAN and the "left" bourgeois-nationalist PRD, there is no choice for workers and the downtrodden peasantry.

U.S. imperialism's brutal exploitation of Latin America is premised on the harsh suppression of the democratic aspirations of the workers and peasants, enforced through its bloody neocolonial regimes. The real threat to the rule of Wall Street and its local henchmen is not represented by petty-bourgeois guerrilla forces but by the many-millioned proletariat, which from Buenos Aires to Bogotá has recently entered into a series of sharp defensive struggles against starvation austerity measures dictated by Wall Street and the International Monetary Fund and carried out by the local bourgeoisies.

We fight for a perspective of mobilizing the working class at the head of all the oppressed—impoverished peasants, women, youth, indigenous peoples—in a struggle for socialist revolution to sweep away the capitalist rulers who gorge themselves on profits extracted from the blood of their "own" working people. This fight must be extended throughout the hemisphere, in particular by linking up with the class struggles of the North American proletariat. As we wrote in our article in March:

> "What is needed above all is the forging of revolutionary workers parties armed with the Trotskyist perspective of permanent revolution: to break the chains of imperialist domination, the proletariat—standing at the head of the peasantry and all the oppressed—must seize state power from the weak and venal local bourgeoisies and seek to extend socialist revolution to the U.S. imperialist heartland." ■

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Workers' protests rock Europe: Trade unionists march in Paris against threatened closure of Renault auto plant in Belgium (left); Italian workers demonstrate last November against austerity cuts imposed by "left-center" Prodi government.

"Euromarch"...

(continued from page 16)

The destruction of the Soviet Union has led to increased interimperialist conflicts over the redivision of world markets and spheres of exploitation, ultimately threatening World War III. The global system of "free trade"—the economic cement which held together the U.S.-dominated anti-Soviet alliance—is crumbling as the major capitalist powers form rival trade blocs: a German-led European Union, with East Europe as its hinterland; a Japanese-led "East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere," with Southeast Asia as its low-wage workshop; and a U.S.-dominated North American Free Trade Agreement, for the benefit of the American bourgeoisie, their Canadian junior partners and their lackeys in the Mexican ruling class. As we wrote in a joint declaration of the Spartacist League/U.S., the Grupo Espartaquista de México and the Trotskyist League of Canada titled "Stop U.S. 'Free Trade' Rape of Mexico" (*WV* No. 530, 5 July 1991):

> "Already at the time of the First World War, Lenin noted that the narrow limits of the capitalist nation-state had become a fetter on the development of the productive forces, producing a struggle over redivision of the world. The various 'common markets' in no way overcome this, but instead intensify interimperialist rivalries. We Trotskyists, communists, struggle for the economic integration of the world on a socialist basis."

The bourgeoisies must sharply increase the rate of exploitation and lower their labour costs, in order to compete internationally. The social welfare programmes currently under attack in West Europe were granted in the period following World War II, to avert what the capitalists saw as the "threat of Communism." Since the destruction of the Soviet Union, the imperialist bourgeoisies have moved to dismantle the "welfare state."

These austerity drives have provoked defensive workers' struggles, notably in Italy, France, Spain and Germany, often on a scale not seen in decades. In Belgium, Spain and France, Renault workers have staged internationally coordinated protests and plant occupations,protesting shutdowns that threatened thousands of jobs. In Germany this March, 85,000 miners throughout the Ruhr and Saar mining regions downed tools against shutdowns and layoffs. In every instance the mass reformist parties have betrayed these struggles, seeking where possible to divert them into the dead-end of parliamentarism. This poses the urgent task of forging a revolutionary leadership of the working class. The ICL fights to build Bolshevik parties to lead the proletariat in struggle against the entire capitalist system and toward the conquest of proletarian state power.

Christian von Polentz

German Spartakists led anti-fascist protesters in stopping Nazi provocation in Berlin in February.

Trying to take advantage of the increasing and massive opposition to the economic austerity policies associated with Maastricht, a number of organisations, centrally including the fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat (USec) of the late Ernest Mandel—are staging a "Euromarch '97" in Amsterdam on June 14 to coincide with an EU conference aimed at negotiating the terms of a Maastricht Treaty "Mark 2." The nominal demands of the march are for full employment, defence of social welfare provisions and against social "exclusion." There is *no call* to combat racism or fascism, and the demands which are raised are all couched within a framework which *accepts* the capitalist system.

The intent of the march organisers, who supported the election of the French Socialist Party (PS) and Communist Party (PCF), is simply to pressure the reformist misleaders. For the fake left, prostrating themselves before larger, alien class forces is nothing new. Throughout Cold War II, which began with the imperialists' frenzied reaction to the Soviet Army's intervention in Afghanistan in 1979, such groups as the USec, the British-based Workers Power, and Tony Cliff's Socialist Workers Party echoed their own ruling classes and labour lackeys in supporting every sort of counterrevolutionary scum in the former Soviet Union and East Europe. Thus, they backed the Nazi-infested Baltic nationalists; Lech Walesa's Solidarność (the only "union" in the world supported by the Vatican, Reagan and Thatcher); and Yeltsin's coup in Russia in August 1991. Following the collapse of the Soviet Union, such groups as the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR), the French group affiliated to the USec, are now playing a more open role as left social-democratic pressure groups on the mass reformist workers parties and as advisers to the top union bureaucrats.

While remaining committed to the Maastricht project, Lionel Jospin's Socialists have cynically sought to capitalise on the strong anti-Maastricht sentiment of the working class. Aiming to dampen the labour unrest which has rocked France, the PS mouths empty liberal platitudes about a "reorientation of European construction" around policies which would be "placed at the service of man." But Mitterrand's heirs are no less committed to serving the interests of the Paris Bourse than the Socialist government of yesterday, whose economic programme was encapsulated in *le franc fort* (the strong franc) and Maastricht. The new "cohabitation" government of Chirac and Jospin, and including the PCF, will continue the brutal attacks on the working class and poor, police terror against racial minorities at home, and imperialist plunder in African and other French colonies and neocolonies. Indeed, the fascist Le Pen strongly hinted that his supporters should vote for the candidates of the popular front in the second round of the elections against Chirac & Co.

Echoing Jospin's PS, the march organisers, in a letter to sponsoring organisations, state that the march's basic aim is to "reverse the whole direction of European Union and national governments' economic and social policy." Indeed, the "Euromarch" programme does not even oppose the European Union or the Maastricht Treaty, while its USec organisers boast that endorsers include "those who are against the Treaty in principle and those who are not" (*Socialist Outlook*, March 1997). While some of the participants pay lip service to a "workers Europe" or a "united socialist Europe," ***all support*** the social-democratic and ex-Stalinist labour lieutenants of capital—the Party of the Democratic Left and Rifondazione Comunista (RC), who respectively are part of or prop up the pro-austerity popular-front capitalist government in Italy; the PS and PCF in France; Blair's "New" Labour Party in Britain. Thus the British groups involved in the "Euromarch" emblazoned on their press in gigantic letters the call to *vote Labour*.

In contrast, the ICL maintains that effective resistance to the present capitalist offensive requires a revolutionary internationalist perspective and programme. The European bourgeoisies are intent on savage attacks on the working class, slashing jobs, wages and social programmes, hitting hardest at the weakest sectors of society. Immigrants, asylum seekers and racial minorities are made scapegoats by the capitalist rulers, who use racism to divide the working masses and to poison the workers' class consciousness. As capitalist restoration ravages East Europe and imperialist aggrandisement drives the masses of the neocolonial "Third World" into ever more grinding poverty, larger and larger numbers of refugees face refusal of entry or deportation from "Fortress Europe," as well as deadly racist terror at the hands of the cops and the fascists, who have grown dramatically in France, Italy, Germany and Austria.

Fascism feeds off mass unemployment and despair, and across Europe racist terror against immigrants and Roma (Gypsies) is the cutting edge of the capitalists' attacks on the living standards of the whole working class. The interests of the working class and minorities must advance together, or they will fall back

AFP

AP

Growth of Le Pen's National Front means more fascist terror attacks against immigrants in France.

separately. Thus defence of the immigrant communities against government and fascist attacks, centring on the demand for ***full citizenship rights for all immigrants and asylum seekers***, is key to advancing working-class struggle in West Europe.

Furthermore, as we wrote last year (*Spartacist* [French-language edition], No. 29, Summer 1996):

> "West Europe's dark-skinned proletarians are not just defenceless victims but a very important component of the forces capable of destroying the racist capitalist system. West Indian transport workers and South Asian nurses in Britain, North African Arab and Berber auto workers in France, Turkish coal miners and Kurdish chemical workers in Germany will play an important part in a European proletarian revolution. These workers are a bridge to the workers and peasant masses of the neocolonial Third World, a living link in an international socialist perspective. To transform this perspective into reality requires above all the construction of revolutionary parties, the reforging of the Fourth International based on the principles of Lenin and Trotsky."

For Proletarian Struggle Against the European Union

Now the West European powers are fearful that the main objective of the 1992 Maastricht Treaty, the pursuit of "currency union," may have to be postponed or abandoned. The French elections were called by Chirac to obtain a mandate for further attacks on the working class, to meet the criteria for monetary union on schedule. However, the victory of the Socialist-led coalition was fueled by the protest vote against the government cutbacks which also provoked massive public sector strikes in December 1995. Imperialist Germany itself now looks unlikely to meet its own economic criteria for monetary union.

As the Ligue Trotskyste de France, section of the ICL, noted in our 15 May statement on the French elections:

> "If tomorrow 'monetary union' were abandoned or postponed indefinitely in the face of workers' struggles, it would be a victory for the workers who, throughout Europe, have put up sharp resistance to the capitalist offensive....
>
> "Nevertheless, such a victory would necessarily be temporary and reversible. It is impossible, within the framework of the capitalist system, to do away with unemployment, austerity and racism."

Some reformist organisations, such as Arthur Scargill's Socialist Labour Party (SLP) and the French Communist Party, present the EU and the Maastricht Treaty as the root cause of rising unemployment, government cutbacks and the general worsening of economic conditions. This obscures the fact that, with or without the Maastricht Treaty, the main enemy of the workers of each country is their "own" bourgeoisie. Here it is important to recall that Thatcher's Britain pioneered the dismantling of the "welfare state" years before there was any serious talk of a common European currency. Throughout most of the 1980s, the government of French Socialist president François Mitterrand (supported by the PCF) pursued a harsh monetarist austerity. As a result, unemployment rose steadily from 6 percent in 1981, when the "Union of the Left" came to power, doubling by the time Chirac replaced Mitterrand two years ago.

Our opposition to Maastricht and the EU is based on a proletarian-internationalist perspective and is counterposed to the nationalist protectionism pushed by the PCF and the SLP, with their respective calls to "produce French" and to "stop imports of coal" to Britain. In 1992 Scargill, leader of the miners union, shared a platform with Winston Churchill Jr., a notorious racist, in a campaign supposedly to "save British coal." Similarly, Klaus Zwickel, leader of the German IG Metall union, demanded racist "immigration quotas" to "ease the German labour market," while the German building workers union organised a demonstration explicitly against Portuguese, Polish and Russian workers. Nationalism is poison to the working class, fanning the flames of racism by pitting sectors of the working class within each country and of different countries against each other.

The power of the working class must be mobilised to fight for a sliding scale of wages and hours with no loss in pay in order to spread the work among all the workers and to maintain the workers' standard of living. The bosses' attempt to create a two-tier wage system is also aimed at pitting youth and immigrants against the unions. Now more than ever, the unions must fight to organise all non-unionised workers and the unemployed. We fight for industrial trade unions, to include all workers in the same industry. The crisis of unemployment and attacks on social welfare have hit women workers the hardest. We demand equal pay for equal work, and free 24-hour day care. To achieve these demands requires the systematic mobilisation of the masses for the proletarian revolution.

U.S. president Clinton with France's Chirac and Russian leader Yeltsin at meeting mandating NATO expansion to East Europe. Polish shipyard workers in Gdansk facing imminent plant closure are among victims of capitalist counterrevolution in East Europe and former Soviet Union.

Reuters

The Working Class Must Fight Racist Terror

The deadly danger of such nationalism was clear when this February in Berlin-Hellersdorf the Hitlerite "Young National Democrats" tried to stage a murderous racist provocation under the slogan "Jobs for Germans First!" But the Nazi skinheads' provocation was spiked by a united-front mobilisation of hundreds of anti-fascist demonstrators. This modest but politically significant victory over the fascists, who were sent scurrying under heavy police protection, required a political battle to counter the demobilising efforts of the social-democratic SPD and PDS. Those who wanted to *stop* the Nazis were mobilised under the leadership of our comrades of the Spartakist Workers Party (SpAD).

At bottom, the reformists look to the forces of the racist capitalist state to deal with the fascists. However, any bans or other action by the bourgeois state against the fascists, the armed gangs in defence of capital which the rulers hold in reserve to use against the proletariat, will ultimately be directed against the workers organisations. In contrast, we understand that crushing the fascist gangs requires mobilising the social power of the organised proletariat standing at the head of all the oppressed. This perspective has been exemplified by mass united-front actions initiated by the Spartacist League/U.S., which stopped Ku Klux Klan and Nazi provocations in a number of cities.

It is the policies of the mass reformist parties—which are seen as part of the "establishment," sworn to protect the capitalist status quo which is more and more unbearable—that in fact engender the growth of the fascist menace. These reformists don't offer anything except more austerity, unemployment, attacks on social programmes, mass expulsions of "illegal" immigrants. The fascists then have an easy time presenting themselves in the eyes of the petty bourgeoisie and the most backward workers as the only "radical" alternative to the established order.

It is necessary to counterpose to the chauvinist demagogy of Le Pen or the Austrian Haider, who promise to end unemployment through the mass expulsion of immigrants, the socialist reorganisation of the European economies which alone can provide jobs for all with a rapidly rising living standard. As Trotsky wrote in 1930 when, under the impact of the Great Depression, the Nazi Party emerged as a real threat to take power:

> "The problem of unemployment is one of the most important elements of the political crisis. The struggle against capitalist rationalisation and for the seven-hour working day remains entirely on the order of the day....
>
> "The ***Soviet United States of Europe***—that is the only correct slogan which points to the way out of the splintering of Europe, which threatens not only Germany but all of Europe with complete economic and cultural decline.
>
> "The slogan of the proletarian unification of Europe is simultaneously a very important weapon in the struggle against the abomination of fascist chauvinism, the hating of France, and so forth."
>
> — "The Turn in the Communist International and the Situation in Germany" (September 1930)

A Capitalist European "Superstate"?: Utopian and Reactionary

The European Economic Community, predecessor to the European Union, was set up in the mid-1950s as an economic adjunct of the NATO military alliance against the Soviet bloc. Its precursor was the Cold War Marshall Plan, implemented by U.S. imperialism in the late 1940s. However, since the counterrevolution in the former USSR and East Europe, the reunified Fourth Reich has become more dominant within the EU, with the Bundesbank bent on dictating austerity from the Mediterranean to the Baltic. Germany's renewed drive for hegemony in Europe has generated sharp divisions within the ruling classes of the other EU countries, especially its rivals in two world wars, Britain and France. German foreign minister Klaus Kinkel predicted that the Amsterdam conference may be a "night of the long knives," a chilling reminder that the German Fourth Reich is the successor state to Hitler's Third Reich.

Control over the quantity of money within its boundaries is a basic economic prerogative of a bourgeois state, one necessarily closely linked to other instruments of economic policy. A stable monetary system based on the "euro" would require tight and permanent restrictions over taxation and government expenditure in all the EU member states. This is precisely what Kohl and the Bundesbank are now demanding. But since capitalism is organised on the basis of particular national states, itself the cause of repeated imperialist wars to redivide the world, it is impossible to cohere a stable pan-European bourgeois state. A European imperialist "superstate" can be achieved only by the methods of Adolf Hitler, not those of Jacques Delors, the French social-democratic architect of Maastricht. Should the Maastricht project for a common European currency come

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NOTICE

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"Euromarch"...

(continued from page 11)

into being, it would amount to only a brief, conflict-ridden episode.

The idea of a gradual evolution into a "united states of Europe" under capitalism is a utopian fantasy. Lenin was clear in his denunciation of the concept in 1915:

> "From the standpoint of the economic conditions of imperialism—i.e., the export of capital and the division of the world by the 'advanced' and 'civilised' colonial powers—a United States of Europe, under capitalism, is either impossible or reactionary....
>
> "Of course, *temporary* agreements are possible between capitalists and between states. In this sense a United States of Europe is possible as an agreement between the *European* capitalists...but to what end? Only for the purpose of jointly suppressing socialism in Europe, of jointly protecting colonial booty *against* Japan and America."
>
> —"On the Slogan for a United States of Europe" (August 1915)

In the *Communist Manifesto* of 1848, Marx and Engels noted that the capitalist system had created a world market, laying the basis for proletarian internationalism. Only the taking of state power by the working class, and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in at least several advanced industrial countries, can achieve a rationally planned economy, placing the productive capacity of Europe at the service of the working people of the world. Only on this basis can we speak of a *Socialist* United States of Europe.

The Left Fringe of European Social Democracy

The stage for the present attacks on the working class and immigrants in West Europe was set by the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union. In East Europe and the former Soviet Union, the devastating consequences of capitalist restoration are manifest: from intercommunal slaughter to widespread hunger and homelessness. In Poland and elsewhere, women have been driven from the workforce, while abortion rights have been sharply curtailed. The impact of counterrevolution, both in the former degenerated/deformed workers states and internationally, underscores how profoundly right was the Trotskyist position on the Russian question: for unconditional military defence of the Soviet degenerated workers state and the deformed workers states against imperialist attack and internal counterrevolution, and for proletarian political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracy. This remains our program for the remaining deformed workers states of China, Vietnam, North Korea and Cuba.

Novosti

1917 Russian Revolution: soldiers demonstrate under banner reading "Communism." For new October Revolutions!

In 1979 we said, "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan" and "Extend Social Gains of the October Revolution to the Afghan Peoples." We noted that the Red Army was defending the Soviet degenerated workers state against imperialism, and was on the side of social progress, defending the rights of women against the CIA-backed *mujahedin* reactionaries. From the moment Polish Solidarność consolidated around an openly pro-imperialist programme in the autumn of 1981, we raised the call "Stop Solidarność Counterrevolution!" Eight years later, we threw our forces into East Germany, seeking to provide revolutionary leadership to the incipient political revolution which erupted with the opening of the Berlin Wall. While Gorbachev gave the green light to capitalist reunification and the Stalinists of the SED/PDS sold out the DDR, we unconditionally opposed capitalist *Anschluss* (annexation) of the East German deformed workers state by West German imperialism. We fought for a "Red Germany of Workers Councils" as part of a Socialist United States of Europe.

Today with the West European bourgeoisies gloating about the "death of communism" and dismantling state welfare programmes, the already very tame mass social-democratic and ex-Stalinist parties have moved even farther to the right. Foremost among them is Tony Blair's "New" Labour in Britain, whose leaders want to refashion it as an outright bourgeois party modelled on Clinton's Democrats in the U.S. Blair's party has dropped its few remaining pretences to represent the interest of the working class and intends to sever Labour's link with the trade unions.

Keeping in step with this shift to the right, a host of pseudo-Trotskyist groups are openly embracing the lie that capitalism can be reformed. One of the smaller centrist outfits participating in the Euromarch campaign, the British Workers Power group (WP) and its League for a Revolutionary Communist International (LRCI), actually maintains that the European Union and a common European currency are progressive, or potentially so. WP took an abstentionist position during the 1992 referendums on Maastricht. Echoing Labour's enthusing over the EU "Social Charter," they argued that "the terms of the Maastricht Treaty can also be a basis for extending rights and gains from states where the working class never won those gains, or where it has lost them" and they added that "to some extent European workers will be better armed to fight back on a continental scale after the implementation of the terms of Maastricht" (*Workers Power*, June 1992).

Today, these EU socialists still hold that Maastricht is preferable to nationally "isolated" capitalism:

> "The national states would carry out equally anti-working class policies whether they were in the EU or out of it. To the extent that they would be thrown back upon smaller markets and face sharper competition, their capitalists would have to launch redoubled attacks."
>
> —"Build a United Socialist Europe!" *Workers Power*, May 1997

In its own way, the LRCI is here echoing the threats of the Bundesbank and international financiers that any EU member state which does not accept a common currency will face massive capital flight and suffer economic hardships even worse than those resulting from the Maastricht convergence terms. This same kind of argument is also used by both capitalists and labour bureaucrats to oppose increased wages and benefits within the framework of a particular European nation-state.

The LRCI's own answer to Maastricht is a parody of parliamentary cretinism:

> "Dissolve the powerless European parliament and convene a Europe-wide constituent assembly (organised and defended by the workers' organisations) to tear up the Maastricht treaty and to draw up a new workers' plan for economic and political convergence, designed to meet the needs of the workers, not the ruling class."
>
> —*Workers Power*, January 1997

Why not tear up the NATO treaty, too, while they're about it? Or "open the borders" of the bourgeois states—another utopian demand raised by Workers Power? The Maastricht Treaty is an agreement between bourgeois *states*. As Marx and Engels explained a long time ago, bourgeois states are ultimately based not on parliaments or ministries but on *armed bodies of men*. The working class can tear up the economic as well as the military arrangements of the world capitalist system only by smashing the bourgeois state apparatus and replacing it by the dictatorship of the proletariat in the form of a government of workers councils. But this perspective is completely counterposed to the aims of the sponsors of Euromarch '97.

In practice, the "internationalism" of groups like the USec, the LRCI and the British-based centrists of the Leninist-Trotskyist Tendency boils down to support for "progressive" imperialism. This was graphically illustrated by their joint campaign for "Workers Aid to Bosnia," which was a stalking-horse for NATO/UN intervention on the Bosnian Muslim side, inflaming communalist war in the Balkans. The "Workers Aid" campaign, with its calls to "lift the arms embargo of Bosnia," was a thinly veiled call for imperialism to arm the Bosnian Muslim forces. Capitalist restoration in the bureaucratically deformed workers state of Yugoslavia led to all-sided communalist massacres among the Balkan peoples, fuelled by rival imperialist intervention forces. As proletarian internationalists, we oppose all the competing nationalist forces, demand the withdrawal of all imperialist troops and called for military defence of the Bosnian Serbs when they were targeted by NATO bombing raids. We recognise that the only just solution to murderous nationalism and communalism lies in socialist revolution to sweep away all the reactionary regimes and to establish a socialist federation of the Balkans.

It is the duty of communists in the imperialist countries to call and work for the military defeat of their "own" bourgeoisie in wars against the colonial and semicolonial countries. Our comrades of the LTF fight against the bloody colonialist machinations of French imperialist troops in Africa. Building for the Euromarch, the British Socialist Party (SP, formerly Militant Labour) declares: "We are internationalists and support greater solidarity and integration of the working peoples of Europe and the world" (*Socialist*, 16 May). The British SP's "internationalism" certainly does not extend to opposition to British imperialism in Ireland. Notorious in Britain for their rejection of the call for British troops out of Northern Ireland, SP meetings in Belfast and Dublin have hosted a representative of the fascistic Ulster Loyalist paramilitary groups, convicted for the murder of two Catholics. Scandalously, the British SWP ***supported*** the introduction of British troops to Northern Ireland in 1969, on the pretext that they would "save lives."

In stark contrast to this social-chauvinism, the Spartacist League/Britain and the Dublin Spartacist Group call for the immediate unconditional withdrawal of British troops from Northern Ireland as part of the fight for an Irish workers republic within a socialist federation of the British Isles. As a 21 April SL/B election statement stressed:

> "We oppose the forcible reunification of Ireland, and recognise that there can be no equitable solution to the national oppression in Ireland within the framework of capitalism. Northern Ireland is a situation of interpenetrated peoples in which the Catholic minority is currently oppressed within the sectarian Orange statelet.... A proletarian perspective is necessarily internationalist, and requires the mobilisation of the working class on both sides of the Irish border and both sides of the Irish Sea for the revolutionary overthrow of British imperialism, smashing the Orange statelet in the North as well as the Catholic clericalist state in the South."

Against Popular Frontism

As Lenin indicated, under certain conditions it is a correct tactic for a small revolutionary organisation to give critical electoral support to a larger reformist workers party. The basic condition for such a tactic is that the reformist party in question presents itself as representing the interests of the working class independently of and against the parties of

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Defend Farmland Teamster Strikers!

New Jersey

A small strike by Teamsters drivers in northern New Jersey provides an object lesson in how the union bureaucracy is running the labor movement into the ground. The strike at Farmland Dairies in Wallington began in December 1995 when the owners tried to impose a union-busting *three-tier* scale of wages and benefits. Farmland supplies milk to supermarkets throughout New Jersey and New York City. By cutting off deliveries and leaving management with thousands of gallons of soured milk, this strike ***could and should have ended in victory in a matter of days.*** Instead, the strike has dragged on for 18 months, 150 workers have been locked out and replaced by scabs, and over a dozen strikers face imprisonment on assault and other bogus charges for defending their picket lines. All labor must demand: ***Drop all charges against Farmland strike militants!***

Typically, the strike began with a burst of militancy. Just as typically, that militancy was stifled and suppressed by misleaders committed to enforcing the strikebreaking dictates of the capitalist courts. A couple of days into the strike, over 400 unionists from striking Teamsters Local 680 and New York Local 584 dairy workers massed outside the plant before dawn—intent on stopping scabs entering and delivery trucks leaving. As local police called in the county Rapid Deployment Force, strikers were confronted by 150 helmeted riot cops outfitted with gas masks.

But what stopped the strikers was their own "leaders," who that very day caved in to a temporary restraining order and a further injunction reducing the "picket line" to two or three strikers. Instead of appealing to Teamsters and other unionists throughout the area to turn out for mass pickets which could have turned the injunction into a meaningless scrap of paper, the union tops dispersed the strike ***away from the point of production***, sending picketers off to far-flung supermarkets to plead with shoppers not to buy Farmland products.

WV Photo

Isolated Farmland strikers watch as scab trucks roll through plant gate; union tops caved in to court injunction barring mass pickets.

"Family owned" Farmland, whose sales total more than $150 million a year, has pulled every dirty trick in the book in an attempt to divide the multiracial workforce and smash the union. Strikers told *Workers Vanguard* that the owners called a plant meeting a month before the contract expired to offer "lifetime jobs," skills training and job upgrades to all workers who would agree to cross picket lines. Fifty scabs accepted the bosses' inducements; those who refused to quit the union were threatened with a permanent lockout.

The owners' strikebreaking has been backed to the hilt not only by the cops and courts, but the capitalist state's prison system has also been brought into play. A shop steward reported the use of ***prison labor as scabs***: "Every day, three times a day, we'd see the sheriff's van pull in and seven or eight guys would get out. A couple of times we saw them putting their orange jumpsuits on at the end of the day."

Farmland also filed an antitrust suit against the New York and New Jersey Teamsters locals. Nearly a year into the strike, Local 680 members learned that a transparent company union called "United Workers of America" (UWA)—with no AFL-CIO connection—was challenging the Teamsters for representation. A sham vote under Labor Department auspices—with one polling place for the strikers and a second inside the plant for the scabs—resulted, not surprisingly, in a narrow victory for the company-promoted "union." The feds' "Labor Relations Board" (NLRB) then dutifully dismissed the Teamsters' challenge to the election, which is still being appealed. Looking to the capitalist government to "save the strike" is part and parcel of the same losing strategy which led to the dismantling of the picket lines.

The strike was undermined from the beginning by a 1992 agreement for a two-tier wage scale which the local executive board slipped in behind the workers' backs. Management recruited its scabs from among these disgruntled "second-class" workers. One striker expressed a common sentiment when he said, "With a second tier you're underselling a man coming in under you. Nobody with a conscience can work that way. That's how they separate you. That's what they did; they separated us." This also emboldened Farmland to try to impose yet a *third* tier, which would doom new-hires to permanently lower wages with no health care, pension or holidays. If Farmland succeeds, it could affect all unionized New York and New Jersey dairies because of "me too" clauses in the contracts.

The Farmland strikers—white, black, East European, Middle Eastern, West Indian and Hispanic—have shown a determination to fight over all these months. What they have lacked is a leadership which starts from the ABCs of the class struggle—that the bosses and their state are the enemies of workers and minorities. One striker from East Europe remarked, "Here in America, the term 'middle-class' is used to cover up the difference between workers and the bosses. Everyone is middle-class—the homeless, the stockbrokers—everyone." The political lessons of this strike need to be learned. What is needed is a ***class-struggle leadership and program*** which intransigently guards the political independence of the labor movement from the capitalist rulers and their political parties as part of the fight for a society in which those who labor will rule.

the bourgeoisie. Critical electoral support affords revolutionaries a broader hearing for their own views and puts them in a better position to attract militant workers who become disillusioned when their leaders betray, as they inevitably do, their professed principles and programme. Thus, in the recent elections the Spartacist League/Britain campaigned for a vote to Arthur Scargill's SLP, a left split from Blair's "New" Labour Party. The SLP, which stood in opposition to New Labour, espouses a variant of "old Labour" reformism.

Like Lenin and Trotsky, the ICL opposes in principle any type of coalition with capitalist parties ("popular frontism"), whether in government or in opposition, and we oppose voting for reformist parties in popular fronts, like the PDS and RC in Italy and the PS and PCF in France. In its 15 May leaflet, the LTF noted that by running in an alliance with bourgeois formations (including the ultra-chauvinist Jean-Pierre Chevènement) the French reformist parties "thus become representatives of a *bourgeois* coalition. Under these conditions, a vote for the parties in these coalitions is a vote for the class enemy. It is a break with the principle of class independence. *No vote for the workers parties in popular fronts! No to class collaboration!*" The LTF also said no vote to Lutte Ouvrière, who ostentatiously refuse to participate in any struggles against the fascist forces of Le Pen or against racism.

The USec's LCR and LRCI's Pouvoir Ouvrier both called for votes to pro-Maastricht Socialists and the virulently chauvinist PCF. This flatly negates their respective posturing for a "socialist Europe." In Italy, the USec section serves as a loyal "opposition" within RC, which in turn acts as a prop for the "left-center" capitalist Prodi government. The "Ulivo" (Olive Tree) coalition presides over vicious austerity, murderous attacks on immigrants and imperialist military intervention in Albania. More left-leaning elements in the USec look to the centrist Proposta group led by Franco Grisolia, which also operates within RC as a "left" cover for popular-front betrayal. Proposta expressed its allegiance to Italian imperialism recently by voting in favour of an RC motion which sought to provide a "United Nations" fig leaf for military intervention in Albania. Our comrades of the Lega Trotskista d'Italia denounced the bloody murder of 89 Albanian refugees by the Italian navy and demanded: "Italian imperialism, get your bloody hands off Albania! Full citizenship rights for the Albanian refugees and all immigrants!"

For the Communism of Lenin and Trotsky!

The social democrats and ex-Stalinists now present themselves as a "lesser evil," as advocates of a lesser degree of unemployment, cutbacks in social programmes and overall economic hardship. And the "far left" pseudo-Trotskyists have in their turn become the defenders of the "welfare state" status quo. We stand for a fundamentally different programme and perspective: the smashing of the capitalist state, the expropriation of the means of production and the establishment of a planned, collectivised economy under a workers government. We seek to go forward to new October Revolutions throughout Europe and throughout the world. As the Transitional Programme, the founding document of the Fourth International written in 1938, states:

> "The Fourth International does not search after and does not invent panaceas. It takes its stand completely on Marxism as the only revolutionary doctrine that enables one to understand reality, unearth the cause behind the defeats, and consciously prepare for victory. The Fourth International continues the tradition of Bolshevism, which first showed the proletariat how to conquer power."

The ICL is dedicated to the task of reforging Trotsky's Fourth International through intransigent political struggle against the social-democratic and ex-Stalinist betrayers and their centrist hangers-on. ■

SPARTACIST LEAGUE/U.S. LOCAL DIRECTORY

National Office
Box 1377 GPO
New York, NY 10116
(212) 732-7860

Boston
Box 390840, Central Sta.
Cambridge, MA 02139
(617) 666-9453

Chicago
Box 6441, Main PO
Chicago, IL 60680
(312) 454-4930

Los Angeles
Box 29574
Los Feliz Sta.
Los Angeles, CA 90029
(213) 380-8239

New York
Box 3381
Church St. Sta.
New York, NY 10008
(212) 267-1025

Oakland
Box 29497
Oakland, CA 94604
(510) 839-0851

San Francisco
Box 77494
San Francisco, CA 94107
(415) 777-9367

Washington, D.C.
Box 75073
Washington, D.C. 20013
(202) 872-8240

TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA/LIGUE TROTSKYSTE DU CANADA

Toronto
Box 7198, Station A
Toronto, ON M5W 1X8
(416) 593-4138

Montréal
C.P. Les Atriums
B.P. 32066
Montréal, QC H2L 4V5

Vancouver
Box 2717, Main P.O.
Vancouver, BC V6B 3X2
(604) 687-0353

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AFL-CIO...

(continued from page 16)

took a break from celebrating Clinton's second inauguration to raise the white flag. The Knight-Ridder and Gannett newspaper bosses were out to bludgeon the unions at any cost. The direct connection between the corporate bosses and their state was as vivid as the photos showing police attacking strikers and their allies on the picket lines. This was a graphic affirmation of the Marxist understanding that the capitalist state is not a "neutral" agency but rather an apparatus of repression—cops, courts and prisons—whose purpose is to protect the class rule of the bourgeoisie.

Trade unionists throughout the area saw this strike as a key battle, joining the strikers on militant picket lines which initially threw back the scabs and cops. But from the outset, the union tops sought to quell the workers' militancy, using strike-breaking court injunctions as a cover for dispersing the pickets and channeling the struggle into impotent consumer boycotts and even more futile appeals to the Gannett and Knight-Ridder boards of directors. The AFL-CIO misleaders who now talk of "solidarity" were the very ones who ***killed this strike***!

In part to cover over the tracks of this betrayal, on April 13 Sweeney & Co. organized a march by some 20,000 trade unionists, students and others in Watsonville, California to support an organizing effort for mostly immigrant strawberry pickers. But far from seeking to mobilize the unions ***in struggle*** against California's powerful agribusiness corporations—through strike action in the fields backed by solidarity strikes and labor boycotts by the Teamsters and other unions—the AFL-CIO leadership ensured that this was a political rally for Clinton's capitalist Democratic Party. Their keynote speaker was black Democratic spokesman Jesse Jackson, who pleaded, "Mr. Clinton, stand up and lead us forward." This appeal to the capitalist state's commander in chief to "lead" the struggle for the downtrodden immigrant farm workers is particularly obscene given Clinton's militarization of the U.S.-Mexico border and his axing of welfare and other benefits for blacks, immigrants and the poor.

Behind both the debacle in Detroit and the defeatist strategy pushed in Watsonville is the labor bureaucracy's political partnership with capital, expressed chiefly through its ties to the Democratic Party. And in this profoundly racist society, that means turning a blind eye, at best, to the oppression of blacks and immigrants. Yet particularly in the cases of Watsonville and the newspaper strike in overwhelmingly black Detroit, it is manifest that labor's cause cannot be advanced without championing the cause of all the oppressed. At the outset of the Detroit strike, we wrote: "A class-struggle leadership in the union would have the authority to rally thousands of black youth—whose fathers and grandfathers once worked in central Detroit's now rusting auto plants—to the side of organized labor."

Daymon J. Hartley

Detroit newspaper strikers were repeatedly attacked by union-busting "security guards" (seen above) and cops.

But the union misleaders—the "new" Sweeney team no less than the "old guard" they replaced—***oppose*** class struggle and instead promote class ***collaboration*** with the racist capitalist rulers. Instead of mobilizing labor's ranks to defend immigrant rights and to beat back the avalanche of attacks on the ghetto masses, the union tops push racist protectionism and have enlisted as overseers for slave-labor "workfare" programs.

Nevertheless, the AFL-CIO's face-saving call for the Detroit march was cheered by the bulk of the reformist left, which has consistently and unabashedly hailed the Sweeney crew's (barely) "militant" pretenses. Month after month, the reformists pleaded with Sweeney for this march. With the defeat of the newspaper strike an acknowledged fact, many of these reformist "socialist" outfits are now mouthing a few tepid criticisms of the bureaucrats, complaining that the march comes too late and that the union leaders should have defied the strike-breaking injunctions.

This is simply after-the-fact eyewash designed to cover for the reformists' own role in backing the labor traitors. The problem with the labor bureaucracy is not one or another isolated "mistake" or even capitulation, but an entire perspective premised on the defense of the capitalist profit system. As we wrote in reply to a letter from a Machinists union official ("Exchange on Boeing Strike," *WV* No. 634, 1 December 1995):

> "The labor bureaucracy is the top layer of the unions which long ago separated itself from its working-class base, and which sees the world through the same lens as the capitalists and their government. The purpose of these top union officials is to ensure the subordination of the workers to the national interests of the enemy class. This collaboration with the capitalist rulers is codified in the labor bureaucrats' fealty to the Democratic Party—and it has led to an unending string of defeats for organized labor."

Even to defend working people and minorities against the current onslaught of attacks, much less to win new gains, requires a political struggle against the labor misleaders, "new" as well as old. This is part of the fight for a workers party committed to ending the rule of the racist capitalist exploiters through socialist revolution.

Labor Must Fight Racist Oppression

California's strawberry pickers slave away for up to 12 backbreaking hours a day, earning as little as $150 for a six-day week. Working in fields laden with dangerous pesticides, with little access to bathrooms or fresh drinking water, they get no health insurance or overtime pay. Child labor is widespread, while sexual harassment of women workers by growers and foremen is rampant. As the turnout for the April 13 Watsonville rally showed, the strawberry workers have tapped into deep sympathy from union members and student youth. But the AFL-CIO officialdom have channeled this support into the call for "five cents for fairness." This pathetic plea is an appeal to supermarket chains to raise the price of a pint of strawberries!

California's huge Central Valley produces half of the food crops grown in the U.S., dominated by giant agribusiness corporations whose immense profits have always been based on brutal exploitation of migrant workers. Initially, these consisted largely of Japanese and Filipino immigrants, later workers fleeing the Southwest Dust Bowl and, since World War II, primarily Mexican immigrants. Throughout this century, efforts to organize California's farm workers have been met with violent resistance from the growers, who have on their side the full arsenal of capitalist repression—from private anti-union goon squads to the *migra* cops of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS).

Five years of strikes in the late 1960s, coupled with a consumer boycott, won union contracts for grape and lettuce pickers which provided significant gains in wages and working conditions. By 1970, the United Farm Workers (UFW) had organized 80,000 workers. But faced with a union-busting drive in which Teamsters bureaucrats despicably broke strikes in exchange for sweetheart contracts, UFW leader Cesar Chavez called off the strikes. In the absence of labor struggle, the consumer boycott was little more than a public relations stunt aimed at the "consciences" of a random and atomized middle class. Today, the UFW has been reduced to only 20,000 members.

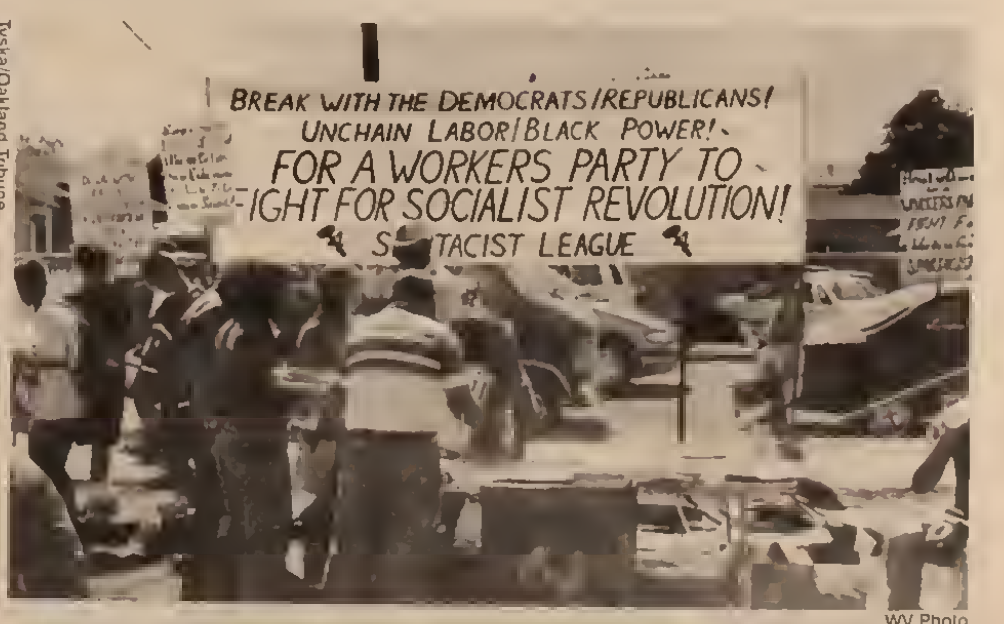
An estimated 60 percent of strawberry pickers are undocumented immigrants, overwhelmingly Mexican. Easily replaced by other desperate immigrants, threatened with INS raids and deportation for daring to organize or even speak out, farm workers on their own have little social power to bring to bear against the vicious agribusiness giants. Key to organizing farm workers is linking their struggle with more powerful unions like the Teamsters who pack and truck produce. And posed pointblank in any organizing effort is defense of immigrant rights.

Yet the Teamsters bureaucracy under Sweeney sidekick Ron Carey, no less than its "old guard" predecessors, is dead-set against any such perspective. Under Carey, who won office under the direct supervision and sponsorship of the feds' Labor Department, the Teamsters have organized a series of chauvinist protests nominally directed against the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) but in fact targeting Mexican truck drivers. Carey and the other AFL-CIO tops oppose NAFTA from the standpoint of racist job-trusting against the "threat" of low-wage Mexican labor. The late Cesar Chavez, lionized by the opportunists on the left as a "progressive" alternative to the right-wing AFL-CIO hierarchy, himself mobilized the UFW to finger undocumented workers to *la migra* and in 1973 organized a union vigilante force to work with the INS along the Arizona border.

We Marxists denounced NAFTA as the "free trade" rape of Mexico, arguing for international labor solidarity against the capitalist exploiters. A class-struggle leadership of the labor movement would seek to link the fight of immigrant workers in the U.S. in proletarian-internationalist struggle with superexploited workers in the *maquiladora* factories on the Mexican side of the border, in sharp counterposition to the American-chauvinist poison of the pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy. Communists fight for ***full citizenship rights for all immigrants!***

In racist America, advancing labor's cause is inseparably bound up with the fight for the rights of oppressed minorities. This is clear in organizing farm labor on the West Coast, where the oppression of immigrants is used to divide black, white, Latino and Asian workers and keep undocumented workers terrorized. It is no less true in tackling the task of organizing in the South, where auto and other industries have fled from their previous unionized bases in

Tyska/Oakland Tribune



WV Photo

Watsonville march for California strawberry workers, April 13: "new" AFL-CIO chief John Sweeney (far left) boosted Democrat Jesse Jackson as keynote speaker. Spartacist banner at march stressed that fight for rights of labor and the oppressed requires break with capitalist Democratic Party.

the North and Midwest. The capitalists have relied not only on "routine" racist cop terror but on KKK lynchings and burnings to keep the South an "open shop" bastion against the integrated labor movement. Mobilizing the labor movement against racist terror is critical to organizing and defending unions, in the North as well as the South. In July 1996, in the midst of the newspaper strike, the KKK staged a race-hate provocation in Ann Arbor, Michigan—less than an hour's drive from Detroit. We fight for mass labor/black mobilizations to stop the KKK/Nazi fascists.

More generally, the fight against black oppression is central to the struggle against capitalist exploitation in the U.S. This is patently clear in the former "Motor City," whose devastation was part of the "deindustrialization" of the Midwest over the last two decades and the accompanying assault on union rights. Today, the racist rulers have decided that the ghetto masses, who were formerly seen as a "reserve army of labor," are a "surplus" population to be consigned to homelessness and starvation. It is no accident that Michigan's Republican governor, John Engler, pioneered many of the anti-welfare measures codified into law nationally by Democrat Clinton last summer. At the same time, black workers still form a substantial part of the unionized workforce and are a link to the dispossessed ghetto masses. They have the potential to play a strategic role in the fight for workers revolution to sweep away capitalist rule. ***For black liberation through socialist revolution!***

Robideau/USWA

Bridgestone-Firestone strike was knifed by union misleaders who directed workers' anger into vile anti-Japanese chauvinism.

AFL-CIO Tops: Labor Lieutenants of Capital

The treachery of the trade-union misleaders is most sharply exposed during open clashes between workers and the employers and their state. Early in the Detroit newspaper strike, even as thousands of unionists were turning out for mass pickets outside plant gates to stop printing and distribution, Sweeney's current vice president and then United Mine Workers chief, Richard Trumka, moved in to divert the strike into a boycott campaign against companies advertising in the scab paper. This was the strategy which strangled the press strike.

We stressed at the time (*WV* No. 629, 22 September 1995): "Militant, mass picket lines that ***shut down the scab papers*** are urgently necessary. But as one defeated strike after another has shown, militancy alone ***is not enough***." Pointing to a string of defeated newspaper strikes, from the *Chicago Tribune* in 1987 to the *Pittsburgh Press/Post-Gazette* in 1992, we called for a political struggle against the pro-capitalist labor traitors who were the main roadblock to winning the strike.

The Detroit newspaper strike has joined a long list of recent battles knifed by the AFL-CIO tops, notably Caterpillar, A.E. Staley and Bridgestone-Firestone. The latter strike in particular was buried by the union tops under an avalanche of racist anti-Japanese protectionism, with various Rubber Workers officials raving that "It's America against Japan" and talking of "another sneak attack," recalling the pretext for the U.S. entry into the Pacific war with Japan in World War II. The labor bureaucracy whips up vile, chauvinist "yellow peril" racism and anti-immigrant bigotry as it rails against the "threat" of "cheap labor." But the pro-capitalist union tops have themselves helped create conditions of "cheap labor" ***in the U.S.*** Over the last 20 years, they have presided over the decimation of the labor movement, enforcing "two-tier" wage agreements and other givebacks which have led to a drastic decline in workers' wages and living standards.

The fundamental reason for this could be seen in Jesse Jackson's keynote speech in Watsonville. Calling on workers to join their exploiters "under one big tent," Jackson intoned: "We've come to put justice in business. The growers should make a profit, the workers should make decent wages, the customer should have a good product, we can all be winners." This is a lie: either the workers win or the capitalists win.

It is unremarkable for a bourgeois politician like Jackson, masquerading as a "friend of labor," to propagate the lie of the "partnership" between labor and capital. But this lie is fully embraced by those who claim to lead the working class. In upholding the sanctity of the bourgeoisie's "right" to profits, the union bureaucracy must ***necessarily*** enforce the conditions for securing those profits. In an earlier era, when the rulers occasionally offered some crumbs to the workers to promote the illusion of "class peace," this was expressed in business-unionist pleas for "more" within the framework of capitalism. Today, as the bourgeois rulers in the U.S. and other capitalist countries drive down wages and slash social programs to hone their competitive edge against each other, the union tops negotiate only the terms for *less*.

The only "solidarity" the union tops have is with the interests and aims of American imperialism. As revolutionary leader Leon Trotsky explained in his 1940 article, "Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay":

> "The intensification of class contradictions within each country, the intensification of antagonisms between one country and another, produce a situation in which imperialist capitalism can tolerate (i.e., up to a certain time) a reformist bureaucracy only if the latter serves directly as a petty but active stockholder of its imperialist enterprises, of its plans and programs within the country as well as on the world arena."

Forge a Class-Struggle Leadership!

So strong are the bureaucrats' ties to the capitalist order that they have renounced the very means—factory occupations, secondary strikes, etc.—by which unions were built in this country. Those unions were forged in opposition to the bosses' cops and courts. As American Trotskyist leader James P. Cannon wrote in describing how revolutionary socialists led the 1934 Minneapolis general strike which laid the foundations of Teamster power for decades to come:

> "The old fashioned trade union movement, which used to deal with the bosses without governmental interference, belongs in the museum. The modern labor movement must be politically directed because it is confronted by the government at every turn. Our people were prepared for that since they were political people, inspired by political conceptions. The policy of the class struggle guided our comrades; they couldn't be deceived and outmaneuvered, as so many strike leaders of that period were, by this mechanism of sabotage and destruction known as the National Labor Board and all its auxiliary setups."
>
> — *History of American Trotskyism* (1944)

Cannon and the Minneapolis Teamsters leaders were imprisoned for their opposition to U.S. imperialism during World War II, foreshadowing the anti-Communist purges within the unions during the postwar McCarthy era. Sweeney & Co. are the descendants of the Cold War witchhunters who drove the "reds" and thousands of militant unionists out of the labor movement in order to more securely tie the unions to the capitalist class enemy.

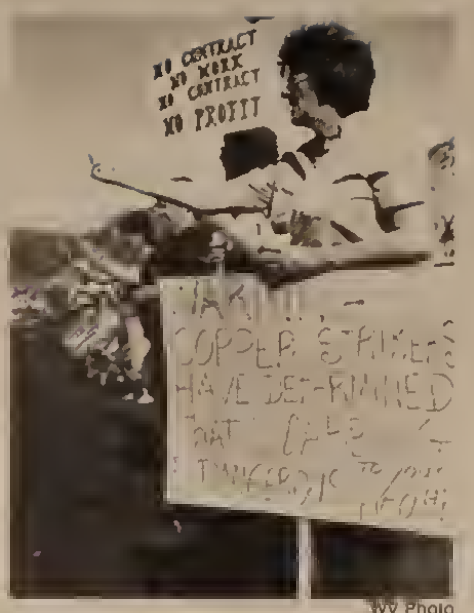
Today, the various reformist "socialist" groups share the fundamental outlook of the trade-union bureaucracy, accepting the limits imposed by the capitalist system of production for profit. Thus, they bury the need to break labor's ties to the capitalist Democratic Party and, at best, criticize the union tops only on the terrain of tactics, occasionally urging more "militancy" in economist struggles. Virtually all of them support "progressive" bureaucrats like Ron Carey and his boosters in "Teamsters for a Democratic Union," whose calling card is inviting the capitalist government into the unions through court suits or elections run by the Labor Department. This puts them in opposition to the central task of fighting for the political independence of the labor movement from the capitalist state and the bosses' parties.

Sweeney & Co.'s capitulation to the Detroit newspaper barons is directly related to the AFL-CIO's support for the Democrats. When faced with this simple fact, the reformists can only express their "disappointment" in Sweeney. Revealing her own illusions, Jane Slaughter of *Labor Notes* complains that Sweeney "stalled" when he was asked to call a national march in Detroit because "he didn't want to embarrass Bill Clinton's election run-up with a display of 'special interest' acting-out by Big Labor" (*Nation*, 14 April). Meanwhile, *Labor Notes* is a prime mover in Labor Party Advocates/Labor Party, which is nothing but a "union" shill for support to Clinton's Democrats.

The social-democratic Solidarity writes in its *Against the Current* (May/June 1997) that the "Action! Motown '97" march "probably" won't "change the balance of power in Detroit's newspaper labor war." Why? Because, according to these apologists for the bureaucracy's defeatist strategy, the union leaders "weren't prepared to let the public know that the boycott of the papers remains in effect." So, for the misnamed "Solidarity," Sweeney's big betrayal is in not publicizing the consumer boycott which was implemented to ***bury*** the strike!

Socialist Action (March 1997) simply acts as publicity agents for the final sellout, which one local Teamsters hack imaginatively painted as "a bold new strategy to take our jobs back." Arguing against "the false impression that Detroit newspaper strikers, by their offer to go back to work 'unconditionally,' are giving up their struggle," *Socialist Action* retails as good coin the bureaucrats' bluster that "everybody goes back, or no one goes back!" But as even the unions admit, they went back ***on management's terms***, with almost all the strikers still locked out.

One group, David North's "Socialist Equality Party" (SEP), occasionally tries to strike a "leftist" posture against such crass opportunism. These counterfeit



WV Photo

Hard-fought strike at Phelps Dodge, 1984. Militant workers understand: picket lines mean don't cross!

"Trotskyists" write that "Bitter experiences like the Detroit newspaper strike are teaching more and more workers that the defense of their living standards cannot proceed through the AFL-CIO" (*International Workers Bulletin* [*IWB*], 24 February). These charlatans are here denouncing not only the AFL-CIO tops, but the unions themselves which, according to the SEP, have now become simply "an appendage of big business and the capitalist state" (*IWB*, 15 January 1996). North's disciples in the British SEP put it even more bluntly, declaring that "the trade unions are not workers organisations in any meaningful sense" (*International Worker*, 30 November 1996).

While clothed in left-wing rhetoric, this anti-union line accommodates the pro-capitalist labor tops by renouncing the political struggle needed to oust them from the unions. Not surprisingly, the Northites openly "solidarize" with strikebreakers. Writing about the Midwest Caterpillar strike, the Northites put quotation marks around the word "scabs" as they pooh-poohed "the anger of strikers towards the 'scabs,' i.e., those union members who decided to cross picket lines" and amnestied the strikebreakers as "not right-wing or anti-union" (see "David North, 'Socialist' Apologist for Scabbing," *WV* No. 637, 19 January 1996).

At bottom, the anti-union Northites and the trade-union opportunists join in equating the mass defensive organizations of the working class with the class traitors who head them. We Trotskyists seek to forge a ***class-struggle leadership*** within the unions through a political fight to oust the pro-capitalist bureaucracy. In his 1940 article on the trade unions, Trotsky noted the "progressive degeneration of trade unions and their growing together with the imperialist state" which in turn has led to the stifling of workers democracy within the unions. Trotsky wrote:

> "It is necessary to adapt ourselves to the concrete conditions existing in the trade unions of every given country in order to mobilize the masses, not only against the bourgeoisie, but also against the totalitarian regime within the trade unions themselves and against the leaders enforcing this regime. The primary slogan for this struggle is: ***complete and unconditional independence of the trade unions in relation to the capitalist state.*** This means a struggle to turn the trade unions into the organs of the broad exploited masses and not the organs of a labor aristocracy."

To reverse the ruling-class onslaught against the unions, the poor, Hispanics and blacks, it will take hard class struggle in which the labor movement actively fights for the interests of all the oppressed. Key to this is the fight for a new leadership based on the understanding that the interests of labor and its exploiters are irreconcilably counterposed. This political task inside the unions is inseparably bound up with the struggle to forge a revolutionary workers party, based on the most class-conscious militants and committed to fighting for a workers government to sweep away the racist capitalist profit system. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

ICL Statement for June 14 Amsterdam "Euromarch"

For a Workers Europe— For Socialist Revolution!

The capitalist rulers of West Europe have escalated their austerity attacks against the working people and intensified racist terror against immigrants and minorities. As proletarian internationalists, we of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) oppose the European Union as an imperialist economic bloc which is a vehicle for capitalist co-operation against the working masses of Europe. The working class must oppose the imposition of the 1992 Maastricht Treaty for "currency union." This treaty is a pact among the capitalist masters of Europe to compete for markets against other world powers, which means increasing attacks against the working class and racial minorities.

The current reactionary onslaught symbolised by Maastricht is a direct consequence of the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union and the bureaucratically deformed workers states of East Europe. The 1917 Bolshevik Revolution was the signal event of the 20th century, the first and only victorious proletarian revolution. But the pressure of imperialist encirclement on an economically backward country, the devastation of the Russian working class in the Civil War, and the failure and defeat of proletarian revolutions abroad—in large part due to the betrayals of the West European social democracies—set the stage for a political counterrevolution in 1923-24. This Soviet Thermidor led to decades of misrule by a nationalist, parasitic caste headed by Stalin and his heirs. The ultimate result of the Stalinist betrayals carried out under the lie of building "socialism in one country," whereby workers revolution internationally was subordinated to an accommodation to imperialism, was the capitalist counterrevolution which destroyed the Soviet degenerated workers state in 1991-92. We Trotskyists, who consistently defended the gains of October against imperialism and counterrevolution and fought for proletarian political revolution to sweep away the Stalinist usurpers, today fight for new October Revolutions as the only answer to deepening capitalist reaction.

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Down With Maastricht!

No to Social Democratic Front Men for Capitalist Austerity!

Economist

AP

Martin Argles

Jobless workers in Britain. Newly elected French "Socialist" prime minister Lionel Jospin (top right), British Labour's Tony Blair. While "Euromarch" organizers tail social democrats, we fight for revolutionary workers parties to sweep away racist capitalism.

Break with the Democrats! For a Revolutionary Workers Party!

"New" AFL-CIO Tops Killed Detroit Press Strike

AP

Mass pickets at *Detroit News/Free Press* stop scab truck, September 1995. Union bureaucrats used cover of court injunction to disperse pickets, push impotent consumer boycott.

Watsonville: For Class Struggle to Organize Farm Workers!

The strike by 2,500 pressmen, reporters, truck drivers and clerks against the *Detroit News* and *Free Press* which began in July 1995 officially ended in the unions' surrender this February, with all but a tiny handful of strikers' jobs now replaced by scabs. This defeat was a blow against the entire labor movement. Now, nearly two years after the strike began, John Sweeney's "new" AFL-CIO leadership is staging an "Action! Motown '97" weekend of "solidarity" with the Detroit newspaper workers on June 20-21. But what's being offered in Detroit is not a march for action, but rather a funeral procession in "solidarity" with *surrender*. Turn-of-the-century "Wobbly" (Industrial Workers of the World) militant Joe Hill said, "Don't mourn, organize!" Sweeney and his fellow bureaucrats instead preach, "Don't organize, mourn!"

The *Detroit News/Free Press* strike was defeated long before the union tops

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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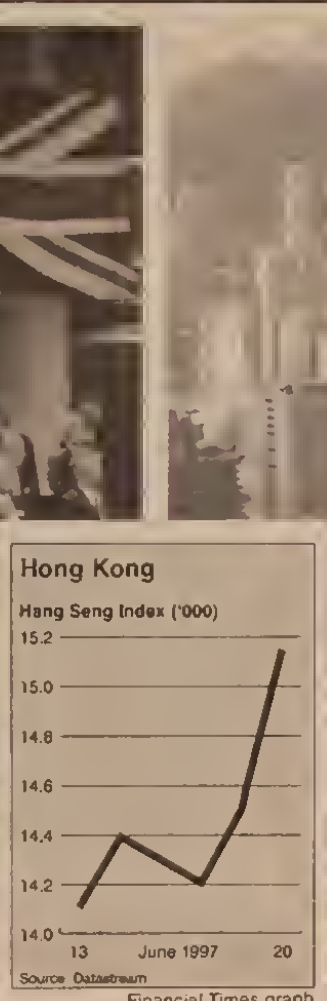
No. 671 11 July 1997

British Colonialist Rulers Leave, Finally

Beijing Stalinists Embrace Hong Kong Financiers

China: For Proletarian Political Revolution to Stop Capitalist Restoration!

Reuters



Financial Times graph

Financial Times

Ceremony marks end of British rule in Hong Kong. Stock prices shot up on eve of Beijing's takeover: Stalinist bureaucracy's pledge to maintain capitalism there poses sharply escalated danger of counterrevolution in China.

As the clock struck 12 on the night of June 30, thousands of villagers in Hong Kong's New Territories area cheered as 4,000 troops of the Chinese People's Liberation Army (PLA) crossed the border from Guangdong province. The departure of Hong Kong's last British governor, accompanied by Prince Charles, on the royal yacht *Britannia*, was greeted with parades and celebrations throughout the mainland, Hong Kong and overseas, with slogans proclaiming: "Wash clean 100 years of national humiliation!"

The International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) joined in cheering as the rotted British Empire finally lost its last major colonial holding with the lowering of the bloody Union Jack and the raising of the five-starred red flag of the People's Republic. But we warn that in the hands of the venal Stalinist bureaucracy, which has pledged to maintain Hong Kong's capitalist system, the takeover of the territory is a dagger aimed at the remaining gains of the 1949 Chinese Revolution. The heightened danger posed to the Chinese bureaucratically deformed workers state was amply manifest in the record high hit by Hong Kong's Hang Seng stock index on the eve of the takeover, and by the all-night parties hosted by local tycoons. *Business Week* (9 June) gloated: "Our hunch is that the takeover does not mean an end to Hong Kong, but rather the beginning of the endgame for what will eventually be seen as the relatively short-lived (for China) Chinese Communist era."

On July 1, Chinese president Jiang Zemin assured a meeting of financiers, foreign "dignitaries" and members of the territory's new, handpicked government that "Hong Kong will continue to practice the capitalist system." This was in keeping with the "one country, two systems" formula advanced by the late Deng Xiaoping at the time of the 1984 accord with Britain outlining the terms of the handover. But two systems cannot long coexist within China's borders. The takeover of Hong Kong poses ever more starkly the choice faced by the Chinese proletariat: either proletarian political revolution sweeps away the treacherous Stalinist bureaucracy and stops the galloping danger of capitalist restoration, or bloody counterrevolution will engulf all of China and again subject the worker and peasant masses to brutal exploitation and misery.

The smashing of capitalist rule and the construction of a planned economy following the 1949 Revolution, when Mao Zedong's Communist Party (CCP)/PLA peasant-guerrilla forces defeated Chiang Kai-shek's hated Guomindang (Kuomintang) regime, brought enormous social gains for China's workers and peasants. But that social revolution was deformed from its inception by the political rule of a nationalist bureaucratic caste, which has steadily undermined the collectivized foundations of the Chinese workers state. The introduction and deepening of capitalist market measures by the Beijing regime have already significantly cracked and threaten the complete destruction of the "iron rice bowl" system of lifelong guaranteed jobs, housing and social insurance. In response, there have been sharp struggles by the workers in defense of their livelihood.

However, the elemental and atomized resistance of the Chinese proletariat to growing immiseration and social chaos cannot in itself defeat the powerful forces—both within China and outside it—pushing toward capitalist counterrevolution. As we recently wrote in "China on the Brink: Workers Political Revolution or Capitalist Enslavement?" (*Spartacist* No. 53, Summer 1997):

> "The program of political revolution is needed in China today if the workers and impoverished peasant masses are to emerge victorious in the class battles that lie ahead. As part of our fight to reforge Trotsky's Fourth International, the International Communist League seeks to build an egalitarian-communist party based on the program of Lenin and Trotsky's Bolsheviks and the early Chinese Communist Party. Such a party would link the struggle against the corrupt Stalinist bureaucracy in China with the class struggles of the militant Indonesian and South Korean workers against their capitalist rulers, and with those in the imperialist centers such as Japan. Only through extending socialist revolution to these countries will the threat of capitalist re-enslavement be eliminated once and for all and the basis laid for the development of China in a socialist Asia."

Britain's Vile Colonial Police State

The outpourings of Chinese people around the world on June 30 spoke to the deep hatred of the British colonialists who lorded it over Hong Kong as their privileged preserve for over 150 years. Britain seized Hong Kong, then a sleepy fishing village, in the 1842 Treaty of

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Marines Gun Down Hispanic Youth in Texas

On May 20, four Marines killed 18-year-old Esequiel "Junior" Hernandez, a Texas high school sophomore, in cold blood near the Mexican border. Hernandez was the first U.S. citizen killed by American troops on U.S. soil since four Kent State University students protesting the Vietnam War were shot down by the National Guard in 1970. Hernandez was herding his goats, carrying a World War I-vintage .22 rifle to chase wild animals away. The camouflaged and heavily armed Marines, who claimed Hernandez fired at them from over 200 yards away, stalked the youth for 20 minutes from bush to bush, and then shot him. They let him bleed for 20 minutes before they finally called for medical help. Hernandez bled to death.

Hernandez' killing is a direct product of the militarization of the U.S.-Mexico border area, which began under Republican president Ronald Reagan and has been escalated by the Clinton White House. The four Marines, deployed on a "covert" drugs reconnaissance mission, were part of "Joint Task Force 6," which includes members of all four branches of the military, the Border Patrol and other federal police agencies. No one in the nearby village of Redford knew that there were armed troops in the area.

The killing was the second shooting along the border by troops this year. In January near Brownsville, Texas, an "illegal" immigrant, Cesaro Vazquez, tripped over a Green Beret hiding in a bush. Fearing he was about to be robbed, Vazquez fired off his .38 calibre gun. The Green Beret then shot Vazquez, who was subsequently sentenced to a six-year prison term.

Although only 90 people live in Hernandez' town, an estimated 800 mourners attended his funeral. Some 200 also turned out for a protest in El Paso. Following Hernandez' killing, the Border Patrol announced that military operations had been suspended. Meanwhile, state prosecutors complained that the Marines have impeded their investigation into the incident. Marine commanders have defended the brutal slaying as in line with their "rules of engagement" for their border activities. In 1989, shortly before "Joint Task Force 6" was set up, U.S. Army Lieutenant General Thomas Kelley, director of operations for the Joint Chiefs of Staff, outlined these deadly "rules" to the House Armed Services Committee:

> "When you deal with police officers, they think in terms of going to court and we don't. We're sort of like the special operations soldier who is taught to clear a room by killing the bad guys and not touch the hostages, a regular old infantry soldier just flips a grenade through the door. We're sort of like the infantry soldier right now."
>
> —Timothy J. Dunn, *The Militarization of the U.S.-Mexico Border, 1978-1992: Low Intensity Conflict Comes Home* (1996)

In the 1980s, the Posse Comitatus law—which bars the military from engaging in domestic police activities—was weakened specifically to allow the use of troops in the "war on drugs." Enacted in 1878 to prevent Union soldiers from enforcing the right of blacks to vote in the post-Civil War South, the Posse Comitatus law has been repeatedly ignored by the government in order to dispatch troops to quell "civil disturbances." Congress recently voted to authorize another 10,000 troops for use along the border. However, Clinton is reportedly seeking to phase out such operations—while more than *tripling* the number of Border Patrol thugs (*Los Angeles Times*, 21 June)!

While the "anti-drug" campaign has always been aimed especially at the black and Hispanic inner cities, it now increasingly intersects the anti-immigrant hysteia being whipped up by the capitalist rulers. The "war on drugs" has also served as a cover for increasing U.S. imperialist military intervention in Latin America, including shipments of arms and equipment to blood-drenched neocolonial regimes like the Fujimori dictatorship in Peru, to suppress peasant insurgencies.

AP

Esequiel Hernandez Jr., killed by U.S. Marines.

The government's claims to the contrary, major drug shipments are not brought into the U.S. by backpack in remote border areas. Washington's militarization of the border is aimed at terrorizing immigrants fleeing starvation conditions and stringent austerity measures in Mexico and Central America dictated by Wall Street. It will take a socialist revolution to sweep away the racist capitalist rulers and their murderous apparatus of repression. ■

On Trotsky's Red Army

TROTSKY

LENIN

Like the capitalist system it defends, the bourgeois army is rife with race, sex and class oppression. In contrast, the Red Army organized by Leon Trotsky following the 1917 Russian Revolution was committed to the defense of the proletarian revolution and was conceived as an internationalist instrument for the liberation of all humanity. Reflecting its tasks and goals, the revolutionary Red Army under the Bolshevik government of Lenin and Trotsky sharply combatted all manifestations of racial, sexual and nationalist prejudices within its ranks.

In the bourgeois democratic State, the army is used to keep down the workers and to defend the capitalists' money-bags. The proletarian army, the Red Army of the Soviet Republic, is used for the class purposes of the proletariat and for the struggle against the bourgeoisie. Consequently, in respect of the conditions of service and in respect of political rights, there is a vast difference between a bourgeois army and a proletarian army. The bourgeoisie finds it expedient to pretend that its army is "above politics." In reality, it uses the army as a means for promoting its predatory and counterrevolutionary policy under the flag of the defence of "national interests." It does everything in its power to sow division between the army and the people. By a thousand subterfuges, it deprives soldiers of the possibility of utilising their political rights. Things are very different in the Soviet Republic. In the first place, the proletariat frankly declares that the Red Army is an instrument for use in the political class struggle against the bourgeoisie. In the second place, the Soviet Power uses all possible means to bring about an intimate union between the army and the people. The workers are solidarised in the soviets with the soldiers of the Red Army; these soviets are known as "Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Delegates." The workers and the soldiers study in the same schools, and attend the same courses of lectures, they mingle at public meetings; they rub shoulders in demonstrations....

The Red Army is not something distinct from the people; it consists of the working class and the poor peasants; and it marches under the leadership of the working class.

—Nikolai Bukharin and Evgeny Preobrazhensky, *The ABC of Communism* (1922)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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EDITOR Len Meyers

EDITOR, YOUNG SPARTACUS PAGES: Joe Sol

PRODUCTION MANAGER Susan Fuller

CIRCULATION MANAGER: Mindy Sanders

EDITORIAL BOARD: Ray Bishop (managing editor), Bruce André, Helene Broslus, George Foster, Liz Gordon, Frank Hunter, Jane Kerrigan, James Robertson, Joseph Seymour, Alison Spencer

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The closing date for news in this issue is July 8

No. 671 **11 July 1997**

Letter

On the "Global Economy"

New South Wales, Australia
15 February 1997

Dear Editor,

Part II of your series "The 'Global Economy' and Labor Reformism" is one-sided (*WV* No. 661 [7 February]). Though you mention Lenin's work, *Imperialism*, you barely touch on its contents. More than in Part I, you play down globalisation. This tends to the view of capitalism as a series of national economies, a traditional bourgeois way of thinking. (This view is the other side of the coin to the view you combat: a denial of reality leads to hysteria when reality is discovered.) You should then conclude not only that North is wrong but also Lenin was wrong. If investment by advanced countries in the rest of the world is only 3 or 5 cents in the dollar (your figures), was Lenin right to describe this era as one of finance imperialism?

You argue that a government, the "committee for managing the common affairs for the whole bourgeoisie," will preserve for itself key industries in the imperialist heartland. This comes close to saying the state can reconcile capitalism's contradictions, making the possibility of revolutionary situations remote. On the contrary, Lenin indicates that core industries can be shed by top imperialist countries. He observes a decline in the number of workers in basic industries in Britain and that more and more land is "used for sport, for the diversion of the rich." He quotes the liberal Hobson for the *tendency* of Europe to become "little clusters of wealthy aristocrats drawing dividends and pensions from the Far East, with a somewhat larger group of professional retainers and tradesmen and a large body of personal servants and workers in the transport trade and in the final stages of production of the more perishable goods." This predicts the growth of the service sector in the developed countries, a phenomenon claimed to disprove Marxism. Of course, this is only one of a number of conflicting tendencies.

It is this contradictory situation which you ignore in your attack on North's misconceptions.

Yours sincerely,
Niall C.

WV Replies

Niall C. expresses genuine differences with us but also a number of false conceptions of our analysis and views which may in part stem from having written a critical letter before he read Parts Three and Four (*WV* Nos. 662 and 664, 21 February and 21 March) of the completed series.

Niall C.'s letter attributes to us "the view of capitalism as a series of national economies." This is false. Part Four states: "From its inception, capitalism has been a global system marked by conflicts among competing nation-states." However, the global character of the world capitalist system does *not* generate a tendency to equalize economic conditions in

NOTICE

***Workers Vanguard* skips alternate issues in June, July and August.**

Our next issue will be dated August 8.

Karl Michalak

1958-1997

Karl Michalak, a longtime supporter of the Spartacist League, died suddenly June 30 at his New York City home from cardiac arrhythmia. He was 39 years old.

Throughout his life, Karl battled daunting medical problems to achieve his personal and political goals. After traveling throughout Europe, Mexico and Central America in the late 1970s and early '80s, Karl worked his way through Columbia University film school, supporting himself by conducting pre-arraignment interviews with Spanish-speaking prisoners in New York City's hellish prison system. The glaring contrast between the privileged circles of Columbia and the netherworld of Central Booking made a deep impression on Karl and honed his acerbic wit. While his firsthand knowledge of the racist American injustice system and the horrors of medicine for profit initially motivated him to study revolutionary politics, surely his determination in the face of great odds was evident in his decision to join the Spartacist League in 1993, long after he had been diagnosed as HIV-positive.

Karl had many passions and talents: writing screenplays, poems, songs, movie reviews and articles for film journals; drawing cartoons and painting; and acting. In his writings and artwork, he often skewered the hypocrisy of religious bigotry and the increasing interpenetration of church and state, women's oppression and the mediocrity of contemporary bourgeois culture with pointed satire. The arrogant medical establishment was also a target of Karl's pen. In an autobiographical poem entitled "Face Value," one wry stanza warns:

> "I learned one thing right away
> and that is:
> Never trust an ugly plastic surgeon"

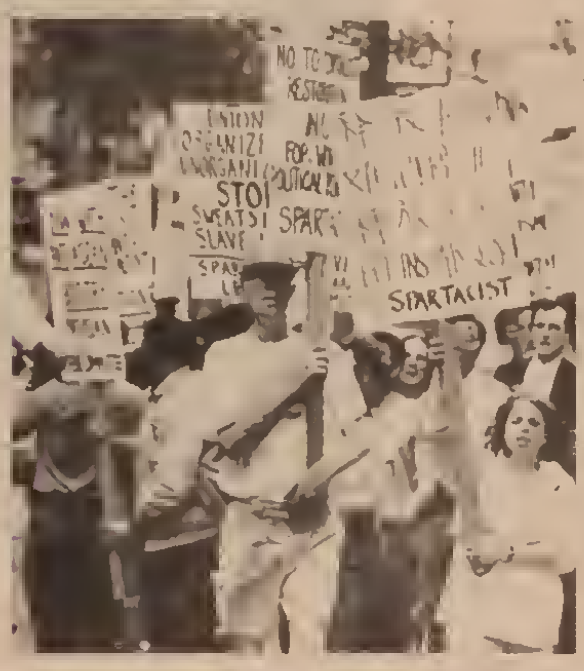
In his 1993 application for membership, among the factors Karl cited which impelled him toward Trotskyism were his own "exposure to the staggering inequities of a health care system geared entirely toward the generation of profit" as well as "the devastating consequences of health care (or rather, the lack thereof) as it is fomented under capitalism, especially in Latin America." Having recently returned from distributing Spartacist literature at a Washington, D.C. march protesting the ban on gays in the military, he added:

> "As a simple democratic demand, I have no argument with the current campaign by gay men and lesbians for 'fair' treatment by the American military establishment. What is needed, however, and so far sorely lacking, is a revolutionary class perspective and a fundamental opposition to militarism.
>
> "I am neither a lifestylist nor a sectoralist; I believe implicitly that for gays and lesbians and all other subgroups of the oppressed, the key to genuine liberation lies not in each group pursuing its own particular cause, but in genuine class struggle across racial lines and the joining together of all the oppressed in opposition to the capitalist system and its racist, homophobic and misogynistic underpinnings.
>
> "Especially in light of the AIDS crisis and an ominous upsurge in police-sanctioned gay-bashing, I find it extremely disheartening that thousands of gay men and lesbians have made a fetish out of bourgeois acceptability and, for lack of any sense of class perspective, have offered themselves up as potential cannon fodder in defense of the capitalist system."

In 1995 Karl's battle with PCP pneumonia, one of the opportunistic infections associated with the AIDS virus, caused him to feel unable to sustain his membership in the Spartacist League, but he remained a loyal sympathizer. As always, he continued to work creatively and write compellingly. In a letter published in the *New York Times Magazine* (1 December 1996) in response to a piece entitled "When Plagues End," about new AIDS drug therapies which have increased the rate of survival, Karl noted:

> "The prospect of health regained and life extended may be exhilarating for some, but for others it is genuinely confusing, even terrifying. For those of us who have tested positive for 10 years or more and who are now in our late 30's or older, the temptation to celebrate is undercut by the sheer difficulty of starting life over from scratch.
>
> "The new developments are deeply gratifying, but for many of us, a persistent air of skepticism remains. It's hard to dance in the streets when your feet have gone numb."

We extend our condolences to his family and many friends, and especially to Karl's companion, Michael, who worked very hard to make sure Karl got the best medical care possible. It was also Mike who first encouraged Karl to study Trotskyism, and who supported his decision to become a revolutionary. Karl will be keenly missed by all who had the fortune to know and work with him. In continuing the struggle for world socialist revolution we honor his memory. A memorial meeting is planned for the end of July.



WV Photo

Left: Karl at 1993 New York City Spartacist protest against mass arrest of Chinese immigrants. Right: Painting by Karl, a talented writer and artist.

the different regions of the globe, as proponents of the "global economy" theory argue. India was a British colony for almost 200 years and Algeria a French colony for over 100 years. Yet during this period the economic gap between Britain and India and between France and Algeria widened rather than narrowed.

We do not believe that capitalist imperialism in the late 20th century has changed in this regard. We maintain that for both political and economic reasons the present advanced capitalist (i.e., imperialist) countries will preserve the core of their industrial base. To use conventional terminology, countries that are now part of the "First World" will not descend into the "Third World." And countries now in the Third World will not ascend into the First World. Thus we fundamentally disagree with the view of the prominent American liberal economist Paul Samuelson, whom we quoted in Part One, that "the billions of people who live in East Asia and Latin America" will "qualify for good, modern jobs."

Niall C. cites Lenin's observation in *Imperialism* that the number of industrial workers in Britain had declined in the decade or so before World War I. The main reason for that decline was the rapid growth (which we noted in Part Two) of new, competing imperialist powers: Germany, the United States and, to a lesser extent, Japan. In fact, Chapter I of Lenin's *Imperialism*, on "Concentration of Production and Monopolies," focuses precisely on the rapid industrial growth of Germany and the United States in the pre-1914 period.

However, Brazil and South Korea cannot now replicate the experience of the U.S. and Japan in the late 19th and early 20th centuries in this regard and achieve a comparable level of overall economic development and political-military strength. To maintain otherwise ***logically leads to the conclusion that imperialism is historically progressive***, at least in the form of industrial investment in backward countries. Such a view is implicit in the Northite view of "globalization." Hence the Northites take an ***abstentionist*** position on the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), which institutionalizes and intensifies the exploitation of Mexico by Wall Street financiers and U.S. industrialists.

It is quite possible that at the core of our differences with Niall C. is the relationship between the market and the state in the world capitalist system. Classic bourgeois economic doctrine, best represented by Adam Smith, held that economic conditions should be governed by market relations among private entities. State intervention which prevented profit-maximization by private entrepreneurs (e.g., the laws prohibiting American colonists from trading with any country other than Britain) was deemed to be an arbitrary and harmful violation of "natural" economic law. Classic bourgeois economists restricted the role of the state to protecting private property from the lower classes at home and foreign rivals abroad.

The doctrine of "laissez faire," in which the state is restricted to the role of enforcing the rules of the game of private entrepreneurs, never remotely conformed to the realities of world capitalism. The important conflicts of economic interest generated by capitalist relations of production are ultimately resolved at ***the political level***, in the final analysis by war and revolution.

Two interimperialist world wars this century are testament to that. Imagine that Germany had won either of those wars. The subsequent geographical distribution of industrial production, the ownership of strategically key natural resources, the structure of financial flows throughout the world, international monetary arrangements, etc. would be ***radically different*** today. Take, for example, the world oil market. Saudi Arabia has two-thirds or more of the world's easily accessible reserves of crude oil. Saudi oil is extracted and marketed by four U.S. companies (the ARAMCO consortium). Had Germany won World War I, German rather than American oil companies would almost certainly have gained control of the Persian Gulf oil fields in the 1920s and '30s.

A central theme of Lenin's *Imperialism* is the qualitative increase in the militarization of the advanced capitalist countries. This militarization would be regarded as irrational and wasteful by bankers and industrialists unless it was vital to their interests—as, indeed, it is. To paraphrase Karl von Clausewitz, war is economic competition by other means. ■

Sex, Race and the Military

Stone/Sygma

For 20 years, cops, courts, clergy and Congress have waged a war on privacy which seemingly knows no bounds. They have driven gay teachers out of the schools, threatened teenage mothers with getting thrown off welfare for engaging in "illicit sex," sent childcare workers to prison for years on the basis of concocted tales of satanic abuse, and constricted the right to abortion from the day it was granted in 1973. But the latest sex witchhunt has reached into that holy preserve, the top command of the U.S. imperialist armed forces, as an escalating series of sex scandals has rocked the military.

The Pentagon has moved quickly to implement damage control. No doubt the number of high-ranking career officers affected by this nasty and vindictive prying will be minimized, while the victimization and harassment of the lower ranks of the military—especially women enlistees, black non-commissioned officers and "nondesirables" like gays—will be intensified.

Day after day over the last few months, the media have been filled with lurid tales of coerced sex, sodomy, lies, official corruption and malfeasance in the armed forces. Amid tearful confessions and ill-conceived investigations gone wildly awry, the military has reeled from allegations of serious crimes like rape at Aberdeen Proving Ground to the witchhunt against female B-52 pilot Kelly Flinn on trivial charges of adultery. The latest case to emerge is that of a 27-year-old Air Force second lieutenant who faces a court-martial for "fraternizing" with his wife because she was an airman at the time they fell in love. And while the Pentagon pushes self-promoting lies that the armed forces are the place where blacks can "get ahead," reports of official discrimination against blacks and the growth of fascist white-supremacist groups in armed forces units are also on the rise.

As socialists fighting for the abolition of the capitalist system of exploitation, we stand in the tradition of militant Marxist opposition to the imperialist war machine. In the words of German revolutionary socialist Karl Liebknecht, who was imprisoned for organizing proletarian opposition to World War I, the attitude of communists toward the bourgeois army is: "Not one man, not one penny!" The purpose of the U.S. armed forces—which, along with the police, courts and prison system make up the core of the capitalist state—is to defend the interests of Wall Street around the world. Millions of dark-skinned "Third World" people have suffered and died at the hands of the Pentagon. From the atom-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in World War II to the terror-bombing of Vietnam in the 1960s and '70s and the vicious war against Iraq in 1991, U.S. imperialism and its war machine are the enemy of workers and the oppressed everywhere.

But just as we fight racial and sexual oppression in society as a whole, so we oppose it in the armed forces. We oppose the witchhunting of military personnel for consensual sexual acts. Gays and lesbians should have the simple democratic right to be in the military, free of the systematic harassment—including vindictive and terrifying interrogations, jail time and dishonorable discharges denying them veterans benefits—to which they have been subjected for decades (see Randy Shilts, *Conduct Unbecoming: Gays & Lesbians in the U.S. Military* [1993]). Kelly Flinn's personal life is not the Air Force's business, and should have no bearing on her position as a pilot. Effective consent should determine sexual relations in all areas of society—not the age, sex or military rank of the people involved.

Armed Forces Mirror Capitalist Bigotry

Leon Trotsky, co-leader with V. I. Lenin of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution and founder of the Red Army, noted in his *History of the Russian Revolution* (1930): "An army is always a copy of the society it serves—with this difference, that it gives social relations a concentrated character, carrying both their positive and negative features to an extreme." Mirroring their oppression in society as a whole, women are second-class citizens in the military. For example, military hospitals have long been banned from carrying out abortions. Fostered by the capitalist government, racist terror, gay-bashing and anti-woman attacks are on the rise throughout American society. The bourgeoisie's reactionary "family values" crusade to reinforce the subjugation of women finds its reflection, not surprisingly, within the military.

The bourgeoisie's anti-sex witchhunt and the increased emphasis on religion is in large part aimed at social regimentation of the population as the ruling class prepares for increased interimperialist rivalry. Likewise, the Pentagon has been cracking down with the intent of maintaining order and discipline over an increasingly minority and female rank and file. The Pentagon brass have always made it clear they would prefer an all-male army and, until the late 1940s, the military was rigidly segregated, with blacks by and large excluded from combat duty because of the bourgeoisie's overriding fear of "Negroes with guns." This changed with the Korean War of 1950-53, and particularly since the abolition of the draft in 1974 in the wake of widespread opposition to Washington's dirty imperialist war in Vietnam, the military has become increasingly dependent on the enlistment of women and blacks.

In this era of union-busting and wage cuts, women, blacks and Hispanics join the military because they need a job and to get some skills training. The armed forces are 27 percent black, double the proportion of blacks in the population overall, while women now make up some 20 percent of recruits. And nearly half of all women in the armed forces are black. While the enlisted ranks are drawn from the working class, poor and minorities, the officer corps is carefully groomed at prestigious academies like The Citadel and West Point. The purpose of military regulations against "fraternization" is to preserve the *class* divide between the working-class enlistees and noncoms and the elite, petty-bourgeois officer corps. In the course of a revolutionary upsurge, Marxists would seek to split the army along class lines, winning the ranks of the military to the side of the proletariat.

The hallmark of American capitalism is the profound, systematic oppression of black people. As we noted in our pamphlet "Black Soldiers in the Jim Crow Military" (*Black History and the Class Struggle* No. 4, February 1987): "From colonial times up through the end of formal Jim Crow segregation, the capitalist rulers of America had recourse to black troops only in case of dire necessity." While the armed forces are today no longer officially segregated, the virulent racism which permeates this society continues to riddle the military. In recent years, there has been a dramatic decrease in minority participation in combat units like infantry, armor and artillery. This has especially been the case in the elite Special Operations forces, which have been a particular target for recruitment by white-supremacist groups.

The December 1995 murder of a black couple, Michael James and Jackie Burden, in Fayetteville, North Carolina by three soldiers who were part of a nest of Nazi skinheads at Fort Bragg threw a spotlight on racist terrorists within the Army. A recent report on CBS's *48 Hours* (26 June) made it clear that both the Army and the FBI knew long before that the killers were open fascists, who paraded provocatively with swastikas and skinhead regalia, and that one of them was building a bomb in preparation for a "racial holy war." An article in *Covert-Action* (June 1996), reporting on a U.S. Army "Task Force on Extremist Activities" set up after the Fayetteville murder, noted that "far-right outreach among GIs is not isolated to a few cases."

The intersection of racist terror and anti-woman bigotry in the armed forces is symbolized by The Citadel in Charleston, South Carolina, one of the two remaining state-supported military institutions in the South dating from before the Civil War. The Confederate flag of chattel slavery is prominently flown, yearbooks depict cadets in KKK robes, attending mock lynchings or posing with swastikas. In 1992, a black cadet was shot and almost killed by a racist cadet after the school administration agreed to no longer fly the Confederate flag at sporting events. More recently, Jeanie Mentavlos, a woman cadet who was driven out of The Citadel last year by a campaign of sadistic attacks, described how she was hounded by cadets who had an "obsession for the K.K.K." (*New York Times*, 8 June).

Blankish/KRT

Discharged B-52 pilot Kelly Flinn.

The Tailhook scandal a few years back, where drunken Navy pilots at a convention mauled any woman around, was unique only in that it got into the papers. In a case that made headlines all over the world, last year two Marines and a sailor were convicted of the abduction and rape of a 12-year-old Okinawan schoolgirl. The incident escalated imperialist tensions between the U.S and Japan, and uneasiness in Washington peaked as a series of mass demonstrations culminated in a rally of 85,000 Okinawans calling for the withdrawal of U.S. bases there.

Aberdeen and Military "Justice"

When over 50 female trainees charged drill sergeants and instructors at the

WV Photo

Marchers protest against ban on gays in U.S. military, Washington, D.C., 1993. While opposing bigotry and discrimination in all arenas of society, including the military, communists say: Not one man, not one penny for capitalist state's armed forces!

Aberdeen Proving Ground in Maryland with systematic sexual abuse, harassment and even rape, it became national news last November. In a survey conducted by the Pentagon in 1996, more than half of the 47,000 women recruits who responded said they had been subjected to some form of sexual harassment over the last year, from offensive remarks to rape. Many said they had been too afraid of retaliation to report the abuse.

But what actually happened at Aberdeen is not very clear. Most of the men under suspicion are black, while their alleged victims are primarily white. The NAACP has called for an "independent" probe of the Army's investigation. Appearing at an NAACP press conference, five of the women trainees said that investigators had tried to bully them into making accusations of rape over acts that actually involved consensual sex. Kathryn Leming, a private who has since left the Army, said, "They pushed me and pushed me until basically they tried to make me say 'rape'." So far, only one staff sergeant has been convicted on the rape charge, and several of the women he was convicted of raping "testified that they did not resist his advances and did not tell him to stop" (*Washington Post*, 28 May)! That blacks are being singled out for investigation at Aberdeen is highly suspicious. The only fact that is certain here is that the military cannot conduct a fair trial.

Drill sergeants are inhuman and brutal, as anyone who has ever been to boot camp knows. As liberal satirist Russell Baker noted in his column in the *New York Times* (7 June): "The military is not a Boy Scout Camporee. It is teaching young people to kill other young people, a work that does not prosper when men are expected to behave like gentlemen and women like ladies." That enlisted women would be subject to demeaning sexual abuse and coercion in the armed forces, where the power of superiors over their subordinates is far more pronounced than in the civilian workplace, is a direct outcome of the nature of the institution. In the words of a former Pentagon official: "You can't cultivate the necessary commitment to physical violence and fully protect against the risk of harassment. Military life may *correctly* foster the attitudes that tend toward rape" (*New York Times Magazine*, 22 June).

Under military law, which is even harsher, more arbitrary and less subject to review than the bourgeoisie's civilian court system, even consensual sex between officers and enlisted personnel is considered a crime. We don't know what actually happened at the Aberdeen Proving Ground and, more generally, as we wrote in "The 'Date Rape' Issue: Feminist Hysteria, Anti-Sex Witchhunt" (*Women and Revolution* No. 43, Winter 1993-Spring 1994):

> "Because it's the circumstances of a sexual encounter that determine whether it is a crime or an act of voluntary sexual intercourse, ambiguities about consensuality do and must occur, particularly when the people know each other. Consent is *always* colored by the society we live in.... And given the tangle of race, sex and class in this bigoted society, relationships can often be emotionally exploitative and unequal."

AP

U.S. troops terrorize people of Panama during 1989 imperialist invasion.

Down With the Anti-Sex Witchhunt!

Mingled with these ambiguous scandals are stories of persecution by the "pajama police" of men and women of all ranks for clearly consensual sexual acts. The most prominent case was the drumming out of the Air Force of Lt. Kelly Flinn, the first woman B-52 pilot, on charges including adultery, fraternization and "conduct unbecoming an officer and a gentleman." Facing up to nine and a half years in prison if convicted by a court-martial, Flinn was effectively forced to resign and to accept a less than honorable discharge from the Air Force. She has to repay some $18,000 in fees for her education at the Air Force Academy—all because she got caught having an affair with a married man.

Testifying at a Senate hearing, Air Force Chief of Staff General Ronald Fogleman complained, to widespread disbelief, that "the adultery thing" was not the big issue; rather, he said, "This *is* an issue about an officer entrusted to fly nuclear weapons who disobeyed an order, who lied." So Kelly Flinn can't drop bombs on innocent civilians, murdering hundreds of thousands on command for U.S. imperialism, because she disobeyed an order—to stay 100 feet away from her boyfriend—and lied about having an affair!

Flinn was made an example of in part by the "old boys" in certain inner circles of the Pentagon who don't like women, gays and blacks in the military. But it backfired on them. Anonymous tipsters started turning in colonels, captains—goodness, even admirals!—for past peccadilloes. By the end of May, officers under investigation included Admiral R.M. Mitchell Jr., relieved of duty as commander of the Navy's supply system for allegedly repeatedly propositioning a subordinate and creating a "hostile working environment." The commander at Aberdeen, Major General John E. Longhouser, was forced into retirement at reduced rank because of a past "adulterous" affair. Another who came under scrutiny was the Army's top legal authority, William Coleman III, who allegedly "told offensive sexual jokes in public, listened to rap music with offensive lyrics and on one occasion touched a subordinate in an offensive manner at an office luncheon" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 31 May).

Keystone

Marxists joined courageous fighters for democratic rights like writer Emile Zola in defense of French army officer Alfred Dreyfus, victim of anti-Semitic frame-up in late 19th century.

When news reports of an affair 13 years ago ended the career of General Joseph W. Ralston, Clinton's nominee to head the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the embarrassment permeated all the way to the White House. Newspaper cartoonists had a field day, Russell Baker conducted an imaginary interview chastising Julius Caesar for his extramarital affairs, and howls of laughter echoed around the world. The U.S.'s puritanical prurience was seriously out of control. As one French soldier quipped to a *New York Times* (7 June) reporter, "If we delved into sexual habits, there would be no more French Army!" Indeed, by the standards invoked under the present anti-sex witchhunt, such World War II icons as Generals Dwight D. Eisenhower and Douglas MacArthur—who were both well known to have had mistresses—would have been drummed out of the service.

Democratic Rights and the Imperialist Military

Behind the country's anti-sex social climate is the aim of regimenting the population behind the "traditional" bourgeois values of women in the kitchen, obedient children praying in school, hard-working dads sacrificing for the family. The institution of the family, after all, is the main source of the oppression of women under capitalism. And these retrograde "values" are hypocritically exaggerated in the military. While "adultery" remains a misdemeanor and even a felony in many states, prosecutions are rare. The Air Force, however, has court-martialed more than 70 people for adultery since 1996, while hundreds more were forced out, stripped of their duties, fined or otherwise penalized. A 41-year-old lieutenant colonel, Karen Tew, committed suicide in March after pleading guilty to having an affair with an enlisted man.

After initially promising to reverse the military's ban against gays and lesbians during his 1992 election campaign, Clinton quickly backed down and proclaimed a "don't ask, don't tell" policy. In fact, military investigators are now officially directed to interview family members, close friends, doctors and psychologists about servicemen under investigation for homosexuality! Aggressive harassment of gays has escalated, and dismissals for homosexuality have climbed 42 percent. In 1996 alone, there were more than 800 discharges for homosexuality. The Servicemembers Legal Defense Network, a gay rights group, has documented that a disproportionately large number of those discharged for homosexual activity—29 percent—are women, noting that "women frequently are accused of being lesbian in retaliation for rebuffing sexual advances by men or reporting sexual abuse" (*Washington Post*, 14 May).

The stench of hypocrisy from the military brass is stifling. For years, boxes of condoms were left on the quarterdecks for sailors, married or not, on shore leave. Brothels ring military bases around the world; soldiers and sailors—many of whom are teenagers under the sway of adolescent hormones—are separated for months and by continents from their families and friends. Minot, North Dakota, where Kelly Flinn was stationed, is in the middle of nowhere. There is little there besides the air base and a train station, where prostitutes traveling up from Minneapolis regularly disembark.

Flinn's case was so outrageous that many congressmen openly called on the Air Force to grant her an honorable discharge. These bourgeois politicians want to "clean up" the military's image, in

continued on page 7

VAAP

Heroic Soviet women pilots known as "Night Witches" flew more than 24,000 sorties against Nazi targets in World War II.

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Hong Kong...

(continued from page 1)

Nanjing (Nanking), the first of a number of "unequal treaties" ceding huge swaths of China, including imperialist-controlled "concessions" in major cities, to foreign rule. The treaty concluded the first Opium War between Britain and China, which had been touched off when a Qing Dynasty official burned hundreds of tons of opium imported into the country by Britain from its Indian colony. Untold numbers of Chinese wasted away as "perfidious Albion" created a demand for the product as a means of paying for Chinese exports like tea and silks.

When China began to resist this deadly triangle trade, the British sailed their gunboats into the country, defeating the weak Qing state. Britain later forced China to cede other areas which are now part of Hong Kong. While British trading firms like Jardine Matheson made their killing in opium trafficking, American capitalist profiteers like Warren Delano, grandfather of future Democratic "New Deal" president Franklin Delano Roosevelt, also grew rich.

A series of peasant revolts broke out following China's defeat by Britain, most notably the Taiping Rebellion beginning in 1851 which held power in parts of central and southern China for over a decade. The Taipings challenged China's Confucian heritage as part of a general radical-egalitarian program outlawing private property and calling for land to be equally divided among men and women. In an 1853 *New York Daily-Tribune* article titled "Revolution in China and in Europe," Karl Marx hailed the revolt's potential to "throw the spark into the overloaded mine [bomb] of the present industrial system" and touch off political revolutions in Europe (see "China: 'Free Market' Misery Targets Women," *Women and Revolution* No. 45, Winter-Spring 1996). Britain and other Western imperialists supplied arms to the Qing rulers to subdue the rebels, who were finally overcome in 1864.

Colonial rule in Hong Kong as elsewhere was marked by extreme exploitation and brutal, racist subjugation of the native population. This was typified by a sign in Shanghai's British concession which read, "No dogs or Chinese allowed." Even wealthy Hong Kong Chinese were barred from the colony's social clubs, while the mass of the population lived in squalid slums and slaved away as dirt-poor laborers under the whip of Sikh policemen recruited from the British-controlled Punjab.

Hong Kong featured prominently in the struggles of the nascent Chinese proletariat. While there had been previous instances of "coolie" strikes and other protests, the first serious challenge to British rule came after the founding of the Chinese Communist Party in 1921. The following year, a Communist-led seamen's strike crippled Hong Kong's economic life. Three years later, when British troops gunned down anti-imperialist protesters in Shanghai, the Hong Kong-Canton strike committee, also led by Communists, responded with a general strike in the colony—supported by a boycott of British goods—that lasted over a year.

These events were part of a revolutionary upheaval against imperialist and warlord rule in China. But the opportunity for workers revolution was betrayed by Stalin's Communist International, which ordered the young CCP to liquidate into Chiang's bourgeois-nationalist Guomindang, which was labeled a "bloc of four classes." The Chinese workers paid for this policy with their blood in the April 1927 Shanghai massacre, as Chiang's forces, in league with criminal gangs, slaughtered tens of thousands of Communists there and in other cities.

Mao took leadership of the CCP in the years following this debacle, as the party broke from its proletarian base and undertook peasant-guerrilla warfare, while making repeated overtures to Chiang for a coalition government. In the civil war which followed Japan's defeat in World War II, Mao's PLA swept aside the disintegrating Guomindang forces, marching into key cities in 1949. But Mao ordered his forces to stop just short of the Shenzhen River separating Hong Kong from the mainland. In return, Britain was one of the first countries to recognize the People's Republic of China. In 1959, Mao declared: "It is better to keep Hong Kong the way it is.... Its present status is still useful to us." In subsequent years, Hong Kong went on to become a key base for the re-emergence of the Chinese bourgeoisie as a power in East Asia, including the Chinese mainland.

Labor Defender

Demonstration in support of 1922 Hong Kong seamen's strike against despised British colonial rulers.

End of the Road for Chinese Stalinism

From the outset, Maoist rule was modeled on the Soviet Stalinist bureaucratic regime which issued out of the 1923-24 political counterrevolution that destroyed Lenin and Trotsky's Bolshevik Party and replaced the program of world socialist revolution with the nationalist dogma of "socialism in one country." The bankruptcy of this anti-Marxist schema was proved once and for all with the final undoing of the October Revolution in 1991-92, after decades of Stalinist misrule. Reactionary and utopian under Russian conditions, this nationalist schema was all the more so when applied to an even more backward China, with its huge peasant hinterland.

The Chinese bourgeoisie was not really crushed by the 1949 Revolution but was expelled to Taiwan, Hong Kong and elsewhere, keeping its cohesion as a class and maintaining family connections back home. In recent years, Chinese capital has displaced Japanese as the largest investor in East Asia, with Hong Kong and Singapore serving as banking, trading and shipping hubs. Hong Kong has the busiest container port in the world and holds some $60 billion in foreign currency reserves. The development of Hong Kong into one of the world's leading ports stems from its position as the key trading link between the Stalinists' "socialist market economy" and the capitalist world.

Hulton Getty

British "gunboat diplomacy" in 1839. War to defend opium trade forced decrepit Qing Dynasty to cede Hong Kong to colonial rule.

Since the inception of Deng's "market reforms" in 1978, Chinese capital has flowed into the mainland's capitalist "special economic zones" (SEZs). Hong Kong accounts for 60 percent of all foreign investment in China, some of it originating in Taiwan, which until recently was barred from direct investment in China. The Hong Kong bourgeoisie has now transferred the bulk of its manufacturing operations to the mainland, paying a fraction of the wages they formerly did. Concentrated in the Pearl River delta region around Guangzhou (Canton)—which is closely linked to Hong Kong by language and culture—some five million workers today slave away in these plants.

"Communist" state and military officials have also used Hong Kong as a conduit for enriching themselves. Many state agencies have established dummy corporations in Hong Kong, through which they process looted state assets, funneling the proceeds back into the mainland to set up factories run on a capitalist basis. The PLA, which runs a mammoth network of profit-making hotels and other businesses on the mainland, is reputed to be the largest single investor in Hong Kong, while China's State Council controls the $10 billion Citic conglomerate.

All of this points to the looming danger of a counterrevolutionary breakup of China and the re-emergence of regional warlordism. The Jiang Zemin regime promotes reactionary Chinese nationalism and even backward Confucian values as a means to provide some ideological glue in an increasingly fractured society. Jiang has recently talked of accelerating the liquidation of "unprofitable" state-owned firms. The upcoming 15th National Congress of the CCP may be an arena for a final struggle between the sclerotic "old guard" and those representing younger, openly pro-capitalist elements derisively known as *taizi* (princes).

The utterly venal Beijing bureaucracy has shed any pretense of upholding egalitarian socialist ideals. The heirs of Mao and Deng may dream of "peacefully" transforming themselves into a new capitalist class. But the restoration of capitalism in China would require the shattering of the current state apparatus and the consolidation of a new, counterrevolutionary bourgeois regime, which would be dominated by the Chinese bourgeoisie now based offshore. It would also unleash heightened competition among the imperialist powers, centrally the U.S. and Japan, for dominance of the region.

For a Leninist-Trotskyist Party!

China has gone pretty far down the road toward capitalist restoration. To defeat the forces of capitalist counterrevolution requires the mobilization of the Chinese masses in a proletarian political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracy. Even the Western bourgeois press reports widespread opposition among Chinese working people to the ravages of "market reforms." If the Chinese proletariat is not to succumb to a catastrophic fate even worse than that which has befallen the working masses of East Europe and the former Soviet Union, what is urgently needed is to forge a Trotskyist party firmly based on a program of proletarian internationalism to lead the Chinese workers, and behind them the peasant masses, in struggle.

The numerous reformist and centrist groups throughout the world falsely claiming the mantle of Trotskyism either support the forces of counterrevolution in the name of "democracy" and/or take a defeatist position that capitalist restoration is inevitable in China or even that it has already taken place. For example, the Hong Kong group around *October Review*, which is linked to the United Secretariat (USec), condemns the Beijing Stalinists for excluding "independents and Democratic parties" from the new Hong Kong government. Just as the USec backed counterrevolutionary forces from Solidarność in Poland to Boris Yeltsin in Russia, in Hong Kong they embrace "Democratic" parties which are openly bourgeois, anti-communist mouthpieces for imperialism. More generally, *October Review* has hailed all manner of Chinese "dissidents" including openly

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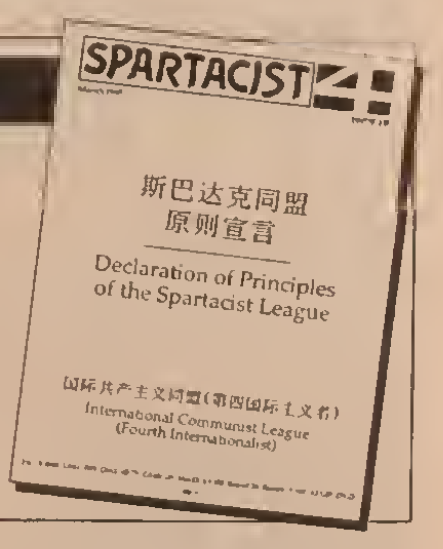

pro-capitalist elements.

Typical of those pseudo-Trotskyists who push a *defeatist*, and therefore implicitly pro-imperialist, perspective in China is the British Workers Power group and its League for a Revolutionary Communist International, whose *Trotskyist International* (July-December 1997) claims that "in China, as in Eastern Europe, there are no grounds for expecting workers to mobilise in defence of what remains of post-capitalist property relations that were created and imposed on them by an essentially rural-based Stalinist bureaucracy." Indeed, throughout the upheavals in East Europe and the USSR in 1989-92, Workers Power either openly backed the forces of counterrevolution—as in Poland and Russia—or preached this defeatist line.

When the Stalinist regime in East Germany (DDR) collapsed in 1989-90, Workers Power responded by calling for the removal of the Soviet Army—a demand directly echoing the NATO imperialists—and for a "constituent assembly for the two Germanys," i.e., a *capitalist* government which would necessarily have subordinated the DDR to the West German Fourth Reich. In contrast, we mobilized our forces internationally to intervene in the DDR in the struggle for a political revolution to stop the capitalist annexation of East Germany and for socialist revolution in the West—for a "Red Germany of Workers Councils!" In January 1990, a quarter million working people turned out in East Berlin's Treptow Park to protest the fascist desecration of a Soviet war memorial. This united-front demonstration was initiated by our comrades and taken up by the SED, the then-ruling Stalinist party.

Counterrevolution in East Europe and the former Soviet Union was conditioned by widespread illusions that capitalist restoration would quickly bring about a rise in living standards comparable to that of West Europe and North America. But Chinese working people have already experienced the "magic of the marketplace" and know that they will not be among its winners. The SEZs have seen the rise of a young proletariat recently displaced from the countryside, who labor under hellish conditions reminiscent of early 19th-century West European capitalism.

Economist

Argus

Laborers from countryside at Guangzhou (Canton) railway station. Fleeing rural poverty, masses of peasants seek work in capitalist enterprises such as Shanghai Volkswagen plant (right).

And the past few years have seen fierce battles, particularly by workers in state industry, who are increasingly on the firing line. An article in the *Far Eastern Economic Review* (26 June) reported on a recent example which occurred in March in the city of Nanchong, located in impoverished Sichuan province, thousands of miles from the booming southeast coastal regions. Employees of the city's largest silk factory took the plant manager hostage and paraded him through the streets to demand six months' back pay. Fearing the potential for wider unrest with the Hong Kong handover looming, the central government quickly intervened to pay the workers and arrest the manager for "economic crimes."

There have also been repeated demonstrations and strikes by workers in money-losing state plants in China's aging northeastern industrial belt (the old Manchuria). Many of these workers express nostalgia for the time of Mao Zedong, when the CCP stood, at least on paper, for some sort of "socialism." One, a worker in an electrical machinery plant in the northeastern city of Shenyang—who moonlights as a cab driver since his plant hasn't paid him regularly in three years—told *Time* magazine (30 June), that before Deng "we would work hard because the factory would take care of us. Now if they do not pay us, we have nothing at all." He added that under Mao "social welfare came first. Now, as long as you make money, that's all that counts."

This type of sentiment was evident during the tumultuous events centered in Tiananmen Square in May-June 1989. Students and workers massed in Tiananmen to protest the rampant corruption of the ruling circles and their families and the denial of basic democratic rights. The mass protests, which spread throughout China, provoked a near-terminal crisis for the Stalinist regime. While students repeatedly broke out singing the socialist workers' anthem, the *Internationale*, workers marched into Tiananmen holding pictures of Mao and Zhou Enlai.

The idea that Mao represented any kind of communism is an illusion. Mao's messianic nationalism was no more capable of charting the road to a socialist society of abundance than was Deng's "socialist market economy." Both denied the need for overthrowing capitalist rule in Japan and other industrial centers, which is necessary to provide the means to modernize and develop China. The struggle to build an authentically communist vanguard party in China today requires a struggle against the nostalgic idealization of the Mao era and the Stalinists' nationalist perversion of communism.

Purely economic struggles cannot defeat the growing forces of counterrevolution. What is needed is a political struggle to sweep away the hated Stalinist bureaucracy and create a China ruled by workers, soldiers and peasants councils and guided by a perspective of international socialist revolution. With China rapidly approaching the brink of counterrevolution, this makes all the more urgent the struggle to forge the Leninist-Trotskyist party necessary to lead China's workers and poor peasant masses to a socialist future. ■

AP

Women workers at state-owned shoe factory in Tianjin. "Iron rice bowl" of guaranteed jobs, housing and benefits faces imminent destruction as Stalinists deepen pro-capitalist "market reforms."

Sex, Race and the Military...

(continued from page 5)

order to preserve it as an efficient fighting force for U.S. imperialism.

Many feminist groups have protested the abuse of women soldiers and demanded that women be accepted into combat posts alongside men and other areas of the military from which women are currently excluded. But far from seeking to fight hypocrisy and discrimination, the feminists' only quarrel with capitalist society is that it denies them full access to the old boys' club of ruling-class power, particularly at the very top, like the Pentagon War Room. Bourgeois feminists were among the loudest in screaming for imperialist military intervention on the side of the U.S.-sponsored Bosnian Muslims in the communalist civil wars in the former Yugoslavia, grotesquely appealing to the Pentagon to "save" Bosnian women from reported mass rapes and other atrocities. The National Organization for Women (NOW) has also called for economic sanctions by the International Monetary Fund against Serbia. In the U.S., NOW actively supports the anti-sex witchhunt by, for example, pushing for censorship of pornography, thus bolstering the capitalist rulers' assault on civil liberties and the "family values" anti-woman crusade.

It takes a Marxist understanding of capitalist class society to address the complexities of race, sex and class in the bourgeois military. Communists oppose the bourgeoisie's armed forces as the core of the capitalist state—while defending even high-ranking military officers from state persecution for private sexual acts. We protest all attempts by the bourgeois state to legislate private sexual norms. Even officers like General Ralston, who flew over 100 terror-bombing missions in Vietnam, deserve the right to conduct their personal lives without the sex cops' supervision.

The "Dreyfus Affair" of the 1890s in France became a key test for socialists on the question of democratic rights. We stand with those who defended Captain Alfred Dreyfus, a Jewish career officer who was framed up on espionage charges and sent to Devil's Island in a frenzy of vindictive anti-Semitism. The Dreyfus Affair brought France to the brink of civil war between the bourgeois right—spearheaded by the officer caste and Catholic hierarchy—and the radical bourgeoisie, and it split the socialist-led workers movement between those who would not defend him because he was an officer and those who saw democratic rights as indivisible.

The proletarian vanguard party strives to act as a tribune of the people. As part of the struggle to sweep away this oppressive class society and the machinery of mass murder which is aimed at bloodily suppressing any challenge to bourgeois rule, we seek to mobilize the working class in opposition to all manifestations of racial, sexual and national discrimination.

Our aim is the proletarian seizure of state power. Only workers revolution can open the road to full equality for women, blacks and all the oppressed and exploited. While under capitalist rule "military culture" is synonymous with vile racism and grotesque piggishness, the Red Army of a future revolutionary workers state will be a crucible for instilling egalitarian values and an instrument for the liberation of all humanity. ■

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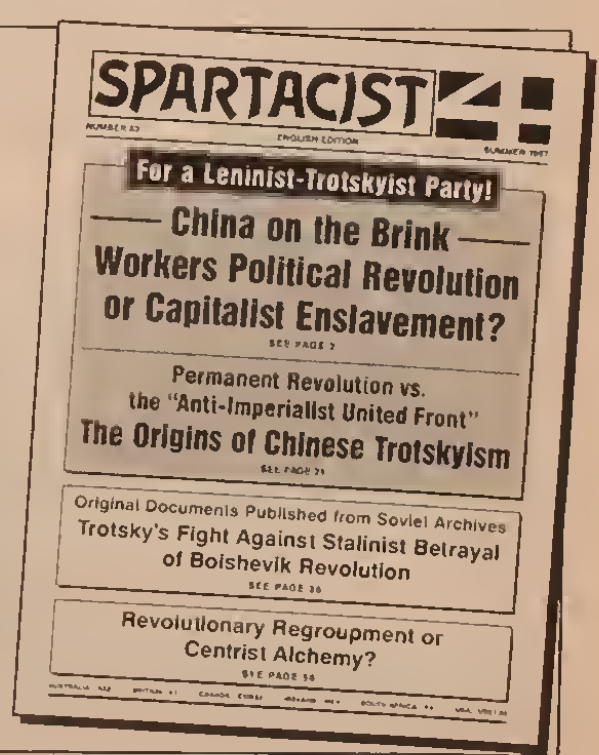

Eyewitness Report at Spartacist Educational

South Africa and Permanent Revolution

William Mabala

Kendridge Mathabathe

ANC-led nationalist popular-front government upholds neo-apartheid capitalism. Left: Trade unionists protest government economic policies benefitting white capitalist exploiters. Right: Squatters in impoverished black shantytown.

We publish below an edited transcript of a presentation by Spartacist League Central Committee member Don Alexander at an SL West Coast regional educational held in Oakland on May 10.

A few of us from the International Communist League recently visited our comrades in South Africa for two weeks. We also talked to various revolutionary-minded workers and students in Johannesburg and Cape Town. This was my second trip there, and it's even easier now to see why imperialism, particularly U.S. imperialism, is quite satisfied with what's going on there. The bourgeois-nationalist regime of President Nelson Mandela has created what he's called "an investor-friendly environment."

The capitalist government in South Africa is a nationalist popular front. It is based upon a tripartite, a three-cornered, alliance between the bourgeois-nationalist African National Congress (ANC), the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) and the reformist South African Communist Party (SACP), whose cadre occupy key positions within the COSATU union federation and also have a significant base of support among politically advanced black workers. There have been profound changes in the political superstructure.

Rigid apartheid has been eliminated and a black capitalist class is being formed. Radio and TV broadcasting are filled with all the crap about the "rainbow nation," about "we are one people." Even beer commercials are couched in terms of building a "rainhow nation." But what exists is neo-apartheid capitalism, a system of brutal superexploitation of black labor, which of course is an expression of the fact that the real power lies in the hands of the white capitalist class—the mining magnates and the Johannesburg stockbrokers—backed up by their courts and police and army.

Black life is even cheaper in South Africa than it is here. We saw white bosses pushing black workers around, and in some cases, literally trying to run them over with their vehicles. White flight and black misery are pervasive. Previously, blacks could only be in Johannesburg from 6 a.m. to 6 p.m. Now the city has been abandoned by the mainly English-derived whites, who have either fled the country altogether or to the north of the city, to create new all-white bastions. The stores in Johannesburg have moved to northern suburban strip malls. All taxis from Johannesburg to black Soweto, which is about a 30-minute drive to the south, stop at 7 p.m., so all political events end early. Everyone takes taxis or minivans, which are packed with black workers. There's a lot of desperate poverty. Even if you could afford to own a car, cars are commonly stolen if left on the street. Also, the only people walking along the roads are blacks. We very rarely saw a uniformed policeman, but there are private security guards everywhere.

Soweto sprawls across rolling hills as far as the eye can see. It is divided into townships, some better than others. There are no stores for miles. Mostly we saw endless stretches of small brick houses with outdoor plumbing, dirt roads, no street signs or street numbers. Interspersed is the so-called informal housing for squatters, corrugated metal and board shacks with no facilities whatsoever. Even the squatters are expected to pay for utilities. There are also workers' barracks.

This regime is a very brutal capitalist regime. While we were there, Mandela's cops were using rubber bullets on students who were protesting against cuts in education subsidies. In the rural areas, blacks, and particularly black women, are steadily being thrown off white-owned land and farms. On one news broadcast, a wealthy white farmer was complaining about these "black spots" that have to be eliminated.

And just before we arrived, there was a revolt in the coloured (mixed-race) El Dorado Park township near Soweto against the attempts of the government to enforce back payment of rent and utilities. It was crushed by the police. Two people were killed and a number of people injured. Their generally supportable demands, however, were combined with a virulently anti-black thrust. The protest was led by a coloured supporter of Inkatha, Buthelezi's Zulu-based tribalist organization. This points very clearly to the fact that in the absence of a fight for proletarian revolution, things can descend into all-sided ethnic and communal warfare, a legacy of the divide-and-rule schemes of British colonialism.

Our description of the current regime as "neo-apartheid" rubs a lot of South African leftists the wrong way, because, after all, they say, "This is a democracy." But neo-apartheid is no abstraction. The brutal misery of blacks, the mass homelessness, the squalid townships, the continued enormous disparities in incomes and education and health care between whites and blacks is a pervasive reality.

ANC Fronts for Racist Capitalist Rule

When we were riding around town in Johannesburg, I kept seeing signs for a "New Africa Investments." And what is this? It turns out that Cyril Ramaphosa, who used to be the head of the National Union of Mineworkers and of the ANC parliamentary delegation in Cape Town, is a big shot in this New Africa Investments. There has been a steady growth in a layer of black millionaires who are now on what is called the "gravy train." And he typifies that layer of former anti-apartheid activists who are now fully fledged black capitalists. While a lot of black workers see this bourgeoisification going on, they are still wedded to nationalism. They must be broken from the belief that there are common interests between workers and the oppressed and the new class of black exploiters.

The South African bourgeoisie also has regional imperialist ambitions. At the moment, Mandela is working with Clinton for an imperialist-orchestrated "peace" in Zaire. When I got back here, I saw in the papers that Hillary Clinton had been a few steps behind us when we visited Cape Town. One of the places she stopped was the University of Cape Town, whose current vice chancellor was Black Consciousness Movement leader Steve Biko's comrade and companion. Now she rails on and on about the "culture of entitlement" that has to be uprooted in South Africa—you know what that means. So she was praised by Hillary Clinton as being a role model for youth around the world. Bishop Desmond Tutu also welcomed Hillary Clinton while she was there. He took time out from his busy schedule in the so-called Truth and Reconciliation Commission, orchestrating the exoneration of the former apartheid regime's racist cutthroats.

The South African government is the enemy of the oppressed and the exploited at home and abroad. Two years ago, they fired thousands of nurses who went out on strike. Their attacks on the working class are assisted by the bureaucrats of COSATU and the National Council of Trade Unions (NACTU), a second union federation associated with the radical

Spartacist

Nurses during September 1995 strike in Soweto chanted slogans denouncing "gravy train" for aspiring black capitalists of Mandela's ANC.

nationalist Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO). The existence of two rival union federations weakens the labor movement. We say that there should be a single industrial union federation in South Africa.

The whole question of how to fight against neo-apartheid capitalism in South Africa is the question of how to build a revolutionary workers party, which would not simply defend the particular interests of the working class but fight to eradicate all forms of national and social oppression. Our perspective for proletarian leadership in the struggle for national and social liberation is encapsulated in the call for a black-centered workers government. Under a black-centered workers government there would be an important role and full democratic rights for coloureds, Indians and those anti-racist whites who accept a government based on the rule of the predominantly black working people.

The party needed to lead this struggle must be based on the Trotskyist program of permanent revolution. Trotsky explained that in countries of belated capitalist development, the democratic demands associated with the bourgeois revolutions of the past—agrarian revolution, political democracy, national independence, etc.—can only be achieved when the working class smashes capitalism and takes power. In this era of history we live in—this epoch of imperialist decay, of wars and revolutions—there is no such thing as a progressive bourgeoisie. The national bourgeoisies in backward capitalist countries are weak, dependent upon and tied to world imperialism.

The program of international socialist revolution is key to the fight for working-class power. Particularly with the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union, U.S. imperialism especially will seek to crush a revolutionary South Africa. Also, proletarian power in South Africa will have to contend with the pressures of the imperialist world market, which can only be conquered through the victory of socialist revolution in the advanced capitalist countries and the institution of worldwide socialist economic planning. A socialist revolution in South Africa cannot remain isolated if it is to succeed and smash imperialist domination. At the same time, a revolution in South Africa would immediately have strategic allies in the imperialist countries, particularly among black workers in the U.S. and the oppressed worldwide. We are fighting to build a world party of socialist revolution and a South African Bolshevik party which is a section of that.

One of the things we had continued debate on in South Africa is the significance of the capitalist counterrevolution which destroyed the Soviet Union. A number of South African leftists said, "Well, that doesn't have anything to do with us." In fact, it has a lot to do with what's going on in South Africa today. It was an enormous defeat for the working class internationally. It showed how the self-serving nationalist lie of "socialism in one country" and decades of Stalinist bureaucratic misrule had succeeded in politically atomizing the Soviet proletariat and destroying its socialist consciousness to the point where there was no working-class resistance to Yeltsin's counterrevolutionary coup in 1991. And with the collapse of the Soviet bureaucratically degenerated workers state, the ANC could no longer maneuver by playing Moscow off against Washington and so on. Instead, the apartheid capitalist rulers and their imperialist backers saw the possibility of using the ANC to defend capitalist rule in South Africa, which was increasingly threatened as a result of the growing power of the black workers movement and mass anti-apartheid struggles.

Today, South Africa is one of the few countries where many working people, many leftists still identify in some way with the struggle for socialism or communism. But reformist prejudices are prevalent, and the point for us is to combat them. One of the clearest examples is that the reformists and centrists are deluded by and push the belief that South Africa is a stable bourgeois democracy and that gradual reforms will eliminate the tremendous class and racial inequalities. This is not so. This is a deadly illusion. The nationalist popular front, backed by the fake left, has disoriented and demobilized the working class in South Africa. That's why there was not a single street protest in response to the acquittal last October of former defense minister Magnus Malan, who organized the 1987 slaughter of 13 black people, mainly women and children. Meanwhile, every day we were there we heard about how white fascist terrorists are raiding arms depots all over the country, getting ready for a showdown.

William Mallala

Teachers union at May 1995 protest in Johannesburg. ANC government has slashed funding for social services and housing.

Bolshevism on the National Question

The strategic tasks in South Africa are to break the working class from nationalism and to split the reformist South African Communist Party, in order to win over the subjectively revolutionary elements to the program of genuine communism. Time and again, we had to cut through this "rainbow nation" crap and the idea of "socialist nation-building." I want to concentrate on some basic points we made to militant workers and leftist youth about this.

de Blois AP

Police fire at squatters being evicted from their homes in Alexandra township outside Johannesburg, May 1996.

We emphasized that the program of proletarian internationalism, of world socialist revolution, was key for the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Trotsky that led the workers revolution in 1917. It was key to smashing the capitalist system and state, and in defeating the imperialist and counterrevolutionary armies during the Russian Civil War of 1918 to 1921. We made the point that revolutionary Marxism is fundamentally counterposed to nationalism, despite the pious pronouncements of the SACP and centrists such as the Workers Organisation for Socialist Action (WOSA). Such organizations are obstacles to building a Leninist vanguard party in that country. And we also stressed that the Trotskyist program of permanent revolution, which was vindicated by the Russian Revolution, is key to the struggle for socialist revolution in South Africa.

The Bolshevik Party was proletarian, revolutionary and internationalist to the core. This was reflected in its program and in the composition of its leadership. It was embodied in its steadfast opposition to all forms of national inequality or privilege and in its support to the right of all nations within the tsarist prison house of peoples, as it was called, to national self-determination—that is, the right to set up independent states. This in no way represented support to bourgeois nationalism. When Lenin argued for support to the Irish Easter Uprising against the British imperialists in 1916, for example, he stood for military support, not political support to Irish nationalism.

Lenin sharply distinguished between the nationalism of oppressor nations and that of oppressed nations, but at no juncture did he argue that nationalism is progressive. Basing itself upon the sanctity of the nation-state, nationalism is a form of capitalist ideology. Lenin fought against splitting the working class into separate parties based on nationality. Following Marx and Engels, who wrote in the *Communist Manifesto* that "the workingmen have no country," Lenin argued that "bourgeois nationalism and proletarian internationalism, these are the two irreconcilably hostile slogans that correspond to the two great class camps throughout the capitalist world and express the two policies, nay the two world outlooks in the national question." Under Lenin, the Bolsheviks emphasized the irreconcilability of nationalism and internationalism. Of course, this was to change in 1924 with the political counterrevolution led by Stalin, who proclaimed the nationalist dogma of building "socialism in one country."

Upholding the democratic right of national self-determination—which required implacable opposition to the chauvinism of one's own bourgeoisie—was the only road to taking the national question off the agenda, to winning the confidence of the oppressed nationalities, to transcending national divisions and bringing about real class unity. Now this was a huge task. The tsarist empire consisted of a vast European and Asian land mass inhabited by a population of extraordinary linguistic and ethnic diversity. This included about 200 more or less distinct peoples and languages; the dominant Great Russian nation made up approximately 43 percent of the population. This agglomeration of diverse peoples was held together by a ruling military and bureaucratic caste, at the head of which stood the "Tsar of all the Russias."

The Bolsheviks' revolutionary internationalism was concretely expressed in the first acts of the revolutionary workers government. A week after the seizure of power, on 15 November 1917 the Bolsheviks issued the Declaration of Rights of the Peoples of Russia. This was followed a few weeks later by a special appeal "To All Muslim Toilers of Russia and the East." The Bolsheviks repudiated the annexationist and Great Russian chauvinist policies pursued by both tsarism and the short-lived bourgeois Provisional Government of Kerensky. They opposed the chauvinist cry for "nation-building" couched in terms of "Russia, one and indivisible." The Bolshevik leadership did *not* maintain that the various nations

continued on page 10

Letters and articles presenting the Marxist position on key questions of debate on the South African left: for revolutionary proletarian opposition to the "neo-apartheid" government of the now bourgeois-nationalist ANC: the debate over a "mass workers party"; the Trotskyist program of permanent revolution vs. the doctrine of "nation-building" in colonial and neocolonial countries.

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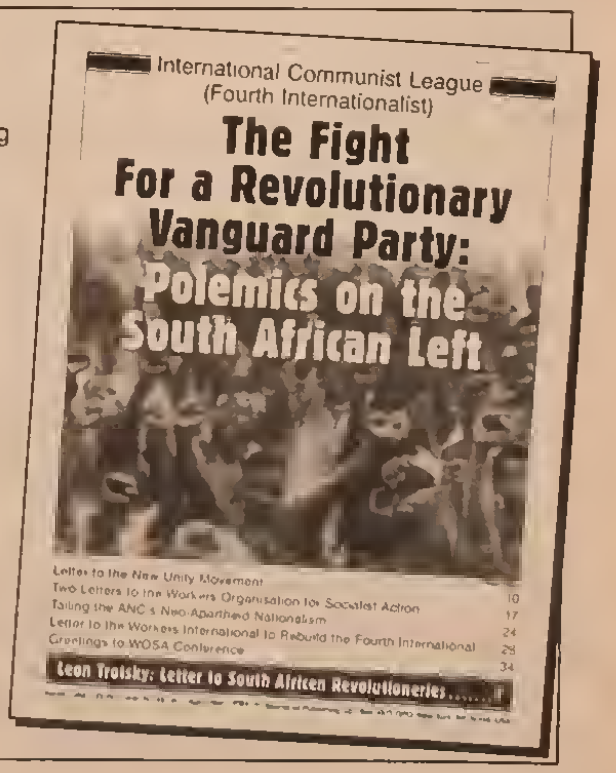

South Africa...

(continued from page 9)

and peoples of the former tsarist empire had to be reorganized within the framework of a *single* federated Soviet workers state. Lenin declared:

> "They tell us that Russia will be partitioned, will fall apart into separate republics, but we have no reason to fear this. However many independent republics there may be, we shall not be afraid. What is important for us is not where the state frontier passes, but that the union of workers of all nations shall be preserved for the struggle with the bourgeoisie of whatever nation."

This was a critical factor in achieving victory in the bitter Civil War and extending workers rule beyond the area where it initially held sway, which was mainly limited to the great cities of northern and central Russia.

Lenin opposed every manifestation of Great Russian chauvinism within the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet state. This was the subject of his last struggle over the national question in the Caucasus. He broke with Stalin over Stalin's arrogant treatment of the Georgian Communists and his attempt to impose a single Transcaucasian republic against their will. Against Stalin, Lenin insisted that the right of self-determination for the constituent workers republics be written into the Soviet constitution. The Bolsheviks recognized the national rights of autonomous republics and regional autonomy for the diverse peoples which were not fully formed nations.

At the same time, the Bolsheviks understood that national self-determination was a democratic demand subordinate to class considerations. They fought against the counterrevolutionary intrigues of various bourgeois nationalists who, hiding behind the slogan of self-determination, made common cause with domestic and imperialist enemies of Soviet power. This was the case in the Ukraine and Georgia during the Civil War.

Dhladhla/AP

South African bourgeoisie has regional imperialist ambitions. Mandela (center) was instrumental in "negotiating" deal between former Zaire (Congo) ruler Mobutu and U.S.-sponsored successor Kabila.

Reuters

February 1997: Cops and troops brutally suppress "coloured" township revolts against government. Leaders of protests pushed anti-black racism. A revolutionary proletarian party would seek to transcend racial and ethnic tensions through class struggle against neo-apartheid capitalist rulers.

Nationalism and the South African Left

We have a new pamphlet on South Africa called *The Fight for a Revolutionary Vanguard Party: Polemics on the South African Left*. In there is a letter we wrote to the New Unity Movement (NUM), which is fairly moribund at this point, where we took up the question of nation-building. Now, it's true that, in part, the support of the NUM and other South African groups to "building a nation" is a reaction to the former white-supremacist apartheid regime and its racist "separate development" schemes, which under the guise of "self-determination" for the various races pushed blacks onto bantustans. This kind of forced retribalization was a key prop to the brutal system of superexploitation of black labor.

But it is impossible to smash imperialist domination with a program that ignores the real ethnic, racial and tribal divisions in South Africa. Time and again, we were told that to recognize the continuing reality of these divisions put us in the camp of the National Party. It's just the opposite: those who talk about nation-building and "national unity" and "non-racial democracy" are in bed with the bourgeois-nationalist ANC and its white capitalist masters.

Capitalism did not create a single South African nation; nor do the diverse peoples currently constitute nations, since they're all integrated into a single capitalist economy. It is not the slogan of "building a nation" that can raise to their feet the (black) African, coloured and Indian toilers to overthrow the Randlords and the black frontmen presiding over the neo-apartheid capitalist regime. Rather it is the program of a black-centered workers government, which expresses the fact that a proletarian revolution in South Africa will also be, in this colonially derived state, a supreme act of national liberation.

In our discussions in Cape Town with organizations like WOSA and the Workers International Vanguard League (WIVL), we were told that our call for a black-centered workers government—that our emphasis on the centrality of black African labor—is divisive, or backhandedly pro-nationalist. On the contrary, it is groups like the WIVL which tail behind coloured nationalism, which is very prevalent in the coloured community in the Western Cape. Look at the work of this group. In the Cape region, they orient toward a vigilante organization called People Against Gangsterism and Drugs (PAGAD), which executes drug dealers. This is a largely Muslim fundamentalist group which deliberately mobilizes anti-African sentiment.

The various organizations I mentioned accept the permanence of the "sacred" territorial boundaries established by the imperialist powers. We don't know what the boundaries of a future workers state in South Africa will be. But we do know that the creation of a "single nation" cannot be established by administrative decree. Under workers rule, regional autonomy will be extended to groups like the Zulus if they demand it, although to advocate such a thing right now would mean unleashing tribalist communal bloodshed by Inkatha, which would be aided and abetted by the white racist enemies of the proletariat. All of this again underlines why South African revolutionaries must study the history of the Russian Revolution. In a country like South Africa, with various pre-national peoples such as the Zulus, and various tribal and language groups, the Bolshevik program for Central Asia has great relevance.

Forge a Bolshevik Party!

The stark racial and class inequalities in South Africa make it particularly clear that there's no middle ground. The alternative to communalist bloodletting and all-sided oppression is a fight for proletarian power and its international extension. With a revolutionary South Africa as its powerhouse, a socialist federation of southern Africa would begin the task of eliminating the extreme poverty and backwardness promoted by imperialist subjugation of this region. What is needed is to forge the internationalist revolutionary party that can lead the working class to power.

To do this it is necessary, as Lenin and Trotsky pointed out, to politically defeat and expel the opportunist betrayers from the labor movement. There's a lot of talk among South African leftists about "unity." Now there's unity, and there's unity. In 1914, Lenin wrote, "Unity is a great thing and a great slogan. But what the workers cause needs is the unity of Marxists, not unity between Marxists and opponents and distorters of Marxism." Only by sharply drawing a line of ideological demarcation between revolutionaries on the one hand and reformists and centrists on the other can politically advanced workers be broken from the open and camouflaged opponents of the dictatorship of the proletariat. That's at the root of our perspective of revolutionary regroupment. In South Africa, you've got a real chummy left, where everybody rubs shoulders and the lines are blurred. A group like ours, which insists upon fighting for the political independence of the working class from its class enemies, jars some nerves and gets some people pissed off. But that's how to go forward.

The reformist Communist Party claims to be fighting for socialism, but really they want to cultivate a "refined" nationalism. Recently, in the pages of the *African Communist*—some people now call it the *African Capitalist*—Phillip Dexter, the SACP Western Cape Provincial Secretary and a Member of Parliament for the ANC, revealed that nationalism has a "transhistorical, sacred" character and warned that "the nation is a strategic resource that the working class ignores at its peril." Now, what revolutionary workers in South Africa ignore at their peril is that Mr. Dexter and the reformist SACP and its tripartite alliance are bitter enemies of class struggle and proletarian revolution. I mentioned the nurses strike, thousands of them fired. The SACP is also the party that smashed a strike by Mercedes-Benz workers a few years ago.

But the SACP's role in implementing the dictates of the capitalist rulers has led to a lot of turmoil at the base of the party. We hear a lot of talk about a rumored left-wing faction, the "Chris Hani faction," named after the young SACP leader who was murdered by a right-winger a few years ago. But what really haunts this party which claims to be the continuator of Leninism is the whole question of Trotskyism, of permanent revolution and proletarian internationalism. We're certainly running across members of their youth group who are interested in this program.

Neville Alexander, a WOSA spokesman who's a very prominent leftist in South Africa, recently argued at a conference in the Western Cape that "we are building a nation." And he remarked that "if the nation does not become the primary identity of the people of South Africa, they will imbibe willy-nilly all manner of ethnic and racial allegiances or sub-identities as their ideological lifeblood." A few years ago WOSA organized a Workers List Party to run against the ANC in the elections. We gave them critical support; despite a lot of reformist demands, which we pointed out at the time, they at least posed as some kind of expression of independent working-class politics and drew a crude class line against the bourgeois-nationalist ANC. But now WOSA, tailing behind the nationalist popular front, condemns the struggle for socialist revolution as "unrealistic." They have increasingly expressed opposition to proletarian internationalism and oriented toward petty-bourgeois nationalists.

There is a great danger of heightened racial and ethnic strife born of brutal poverty and capitalist superexploitation. But what the Bolshevik Revolution showed is that the program of *internationalism* can

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Mozambican refugees scrambie to get across South African border. Nationaiist ANC continues former apartheid regime's deportations of desperate immigrants.

link together diverse peoples for the goal of eradicating national, sexual and class oppression. The fight against all forms of social oppression is one of the defining features of a Leninist vanguard party. The working class must stand at the head of the struggles of all of the downtrodden, fighting for jobs, housing and free quality education for all, for maternity benefits and childcare. You have a lot of nice-sounding resolutions being passed by the ANC. But the government's so-called Reconstruction and Development Programme is a fraud. There's no housing being built—in fact, funding for health care and housing have been halved over the last year.

For Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

We fight for a Bolshevik party in South Africa, composed of the most advanced workers, which will act as a tribune of the people in struggle for all of the oppressed. Such a party will fight for the expropriation of urban land to provide desperately needed housing for urban squatters. It will fight for the expropriation of white agribusiness to provide land for agricultural workers. It will fight for union-based workers defense guards to suppress right-wing terror and intercommunalist slaughter. It will fight for full citizenship rights for all immigrants, who are being scapegoated like crazy right now in South Africa; you've probably heard how the ANC women's league has been running a center for the deportation of immigrants. We seek to build a party that will fight against the special oppression of women and for gay rights, for an end to the bride price (*lobola*) and to the tribalist, patriarchal polygamy system, which the ANC doesn't want to touch with a ten-foot pole.

The fight against the age-old oppression of women is really a critical question in South Africa. We hear a lot about how the African family is a communal-oriented family and so forth and so on. But under capitalism, the family is the main institution in the oppression of women, who are confined to the home or forced to do double shifts—first as workers and then shouldering heavy burdens as domestic slaves. And black women in South Africa really are domestic slaves. Moreover, women workers are relegated to the lowest-paid jobs in the textile, food and service industries and are disproportionately concentrated in what Karl Marx called the industrial reserve army of labor, the unemployed.

During the height of the anti-apartheid revolts a decade and more ago, black working women were in the forefront of the anti-pass campaigns, the stayaways, the strikes, the struggles against evictions of squatters and for the freedom of anti-apartheid political prisoners like Nelson Mandela. Today Nelson Mandela could care less about them. The essence of capitalism, the system of private ownership of the means of production, is the extraction of surplus value from the proletariat, and its "democracy" is a democracy for the rich. The new South African constitution is one of the most liberal ones around. The death penalty has been eliminated, laws have been passed for the protection of gay rights and now for the right to abortion.

Before I get into what the right to abortion means in reality, it's necessary to point out that the previous law, the Abortion and Sterilisation Act passed by the white-supremacist regime in 1975, could in actuality be called a population control act. Women factory workers, for instance, were threatened with losing their jobs unless they submitted to contraceptive injections. Soweto schoolgirls were denied the right to sit for matriculation examinations unless they had contraceptive injections. There were many accounts of women being sterilized or fitted with IUDs without their knowledge. The barriers to a legal abortion were formidable; of course, many white women could go to other countries to get one. During a debate on abortion in 1982, the minister of health at the time was constrained to admit that while 20 legal abortions had been allowed during the preceding year—

Scott Braley/Impact Visuals

Waiting room at day hospital in Duncan Village, East London. Miserable social conditions among oppressed masses can only be overcome through socialist revolution. Those who labor must rule!

20, right!—a quarter of a million South African women had been forced to resort to illegal or back-street abortions.

While abortions are now legal, the health clinics are underfunded and understaffed, and doctors and nurses can refuse to provide abortions. After the law passed in February, I read in the papers there that Johannesburg's general hospital was performing only four a day. There's an acute shortage of nurses, a low-paid job in which women are concentrated. There's also pervasive backwardness, fostered by the reformists and nationalists, who at best pay only lip service to the fight against women's oppression—it was reported that 78 percent of ANC supporters don't support abortion. This patriarchal backwardness consigns women to an inferior, subordinate position. *Lobola*, the bride price, makes African women slaves of their husbands and fathers and subject to a lot of violence. There's a searing indictment of this in the book *African Women*. Black women are considered to be minors no matter how old they are and black rural women have even fewer rights. We intend to build a party which will fight for women's liberation through socialist revolution.

The extreme poverty and oppression shows up in the high cervical cancer rates for black women. Tuberculosis is rampant, as is AIDS. Thousands of children are born to mothers who are HIV-positive. To the extent that occupational health needs are addressed, it's centered on men, who are more likely to be in unions. The vast majority of black women proletarians are domestic or agricultural workers, with no legal protections. But apartheid capitalism's growing dependence on black labor led to the hiring of greater numbers of blacks, including women, in semi-skilled jobs in the 1970s. A 1970 textile industry report announced "the suitability of African women for industrial labor." By 1989, 27 percent of employed black women were in clothing or leather manufacturing, making up more than two-thirds of the industry's labor force. But while there are plenty of "gender commissions" and this and that nice resolution for women's rights, to date COSATU hasn't had a single mobilization to defend abortion. And the union bureaucrats just called off a fake general strike scheduled for May 12, which was supposed to address the crying need for maternity benefits, among other demands.

Fight for New October Revolutions!

This is not surprising. As the labor component of the nationalist popular front, the COSATU bureaucracy's role is to discipline and police the working class. Now they're literally trying to enlist their members in the racist "law and order" hysteria, mobilizing trade unionists to sign up for "community policing" programs to work with the cops, who in fact commit a lot of the crime. There are massive illusions among South African leftists in the "neutrality" of the capitalist state. For example, POPCRU, a police "union," is regarded as part of the labor movement. This is a denial of the fact that the capitalist state and its cops are bloody instruments to maintain the rule of the racist capitalist oppressors.

Der Spiegel

1987 strike at Mercedes-Benz was sold out by "Communist" misleaders.

At bottom, the difference between the International Communist League and the rest of the left in South Africa and elsewhere boils down to the fact that we fight for new October Revolutions. We point out that what is of enduring significance about the Russian Revolution is that it proved that the working-class seizure of state power requires building a Leninist vanguard party fighting against all forms of social oppression. We point out that revolutionary internationalism cannot be combined with even the most "refined" nationalism. If you are a nationalist, you're going to want to keep the chains on somebody, because you accept the poisonous divisions within bourgeois society. And to conclude, and to repeat, Trotsky's program of permanent revolution recognizes that though the socialist revolution may occur in backward capitalist countries, it cannot be completed except through the road of international proletarian revolution, because an isolated socialist revolution more than ever confronts inevitable imperialist intervention and strangulation.

It's our task to build Trotskyist vanguard parties in South Africa, the United States and everywhere else as part of the fight to reforge a democratic-centralist Fourth International as the world party of socialist revolution. And that requires ruthless political combat to expose the reformists and the centrists and to win over and regroup the revolutionary elements who want to fight for authentic communism. That's the kind of programmatic intransigence that the Bolsheviks had and that we have to have, because that's what is needed in order to eliminate the exploitation of the working class by capitalism. ■

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(415) 777-9367

Washington, D.C.
Box 75073
Washington, D.C. 20013
(202) 872-8240

TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA/LIGUE TROTSKYSTE DU CANADA

Toronto
Box 7198, Station A
Toronto, ON M5W 1X8
(416) 593-4138

Montréal
C.P. Les Atriums
B.P. 32066
Montréal, QC H2L 4V5

Vancouver
Box 2717, Main P.O.
Vancouver, BC V6B 3X2
(604) 687-0353

Court Papers Prove They Sued the Union

IG's Brazil Cover-Up: Dirty Hands, Cynical Lies

Six weeks ago, *Workers Vanguard* revealed that the Internationalist Group (IG) of Norden and Negrete and its Brazilian affiliate, the Liga Quarta-Internacionalista do Brasil (LQB) were up to their necks in class treason. While these charlatans postured internationally as opponents of bourgeois state intervention in the Brazilian workers movement, we proved that ***they had sued the municipal workers union in Volta Redonda in the capitalist courts*** (see "Lies, Damned Lies and Anti-Union Lawsuits—IG's Brazil Fraud Exposed," *WV* No. 669, 30 May). Finally, on June 29, the IG and LQB responded by posting some 27 single-spaced pages on the IG's "Web page" on the Internet.

We can appreciate why those with IG on their face might want to now hide behind a computer screen; cyberspace is a convenient medium for hustlers in virtual reality. Among the 27 pages of cover-up was a letter dated June 24—in English and gussied up with fancy color graphics—allegedly sent by the LQB to the ICL (but never received by us via post, fax or e-mail). Postings in English on the Internet will surely not reach the workers of Volta Redonda, most of whom do not even have a telephone, much less a computer with a graphics card. But that's precisely the point: the IG/LQB can't peddle their lies to the workers there—because it is common knowledge in that small industrial city that the LQB sued the municipal workers union.

In an attempt to bury the truth of their shameful lawsuits, the IG and LQB repeatedly throw out filthy slanders that the International Communist League is "a willing accomplice of a very dirty operation" in the service of Artur Fernandes, the political boss who runs the cop-infested SFPMVR municipal workers union, and his centrist advisers, the Liga Bolchevique Internacionalista (LBI). Norden & Co. offer no proof—because there is none. With exquisite chutzpah, they label as "anti-communist" our exposure of the LQB's class betrayal in hauling the union into the bosses' courts. They go on to complain that the amount of attention we have devoted to exposing them as centrist defectors from Trotskyism must mean we are allied with the squalid opponents with whom the LQB has been wrestling for control of the Volta Redonda union. While the ICL, in our previous *WV* article, denounced the pro-cop LBI's hypocrisy in attacking the LQB's anti-union court suits, the IG/LQB never answered the LBI—because to do so would have meant acknowledging those lawsuits!

Trotsky exposed the method of desperate liars whose only response to public exposure is to slander the truth-teller as an ally of the class enemy. In his testimony before the Dewey Commission, against the Stalinist slanders that he was secretly an agent of Hitler and the Japanese Mikado while the public record showed that he had devoted his whole life to the cause of the international proletariat, Trotsky remarked: "One gets the impression that I built a skyscraper to 'camouflage' a dead rat. No, it is not convincing!"

Two, Three, Many Anti-Union Lawsuits

More investigation on our part has yielded further irrefutable evidence that the LQB dragged the SFPMVR union through the bourgeois courts. The lawsuits filed by Geraldo Ribeiro of the LQB against the union, as well as the lawsuits filed by the Artur Fernandes gang against Geraldo Ribeiro, are available for public review in the municipal courthouse in Volta Redonda. A *Workers Vanguard* reporter read through the foot-thick file of cases.

There were a total of six lawsuits documented in these files. The first one and the last two were initiated by Fernandes & Co. The other three were filed by Ribeiro against the SFPMVR—case number 30.831, filed on 15 July 1996; case number 30.832, filed on 8 August 1996; and case number 30.833, filed on 26 July 1996.

Yet the IG incredibly asserts: "The LQB and union president Ribeiro have not sued the union." The Nordeniles also trot out a 30 January 1997 declaration by Ribeiro that "We reject any interference by the bosses' 'justice' system in the labor movement. The union belongs to the workers, not the bosses! They are the ones who decide!" For all its bluster, the IG in fact acknowledges the existence of the two lawsuits by Ribeiro we exposed in our earlier article—while *concealing the third* we just uncovered. Straining credulity beyond the breaking point, the IG ludicrously "explains" that the two lawsuits they acknowledge had been a "mistake," claiming: "Without his knowledge, they had been filed with the union listed as the defendant, something Ribeiro never would have permitted. When he learned of this, Ribeiro immediately gave instructions that these cases be withdrawn, which they were, despite the vociferous objections of the lawyers, who do not share the LQB's views."

The files in the courthouse prove the IG and LQB are lying. Ribeiro gave his lawyers written permission to act on his behalf. The files include "power of attorney" documents signed by him on July 7 for the July 15 suit, on August 6 for the August 8 suit, and on July 29 for the July 26 suit. (The sequence of case numbers and dates is peculiar, but reality is often less orderly than seamless lies.) Additionally, Ribeiro's signature appears on three other documents, one for each of the three suits, requesting that the state pay his court fees. But what is further revealed in the court files is most damning of all, and most damaging to the union. In order to back up Ribeiro's claim that the capitalist state should recognize him as the legitimate leader of the municipal workers union, ***he submitted union bank statements, account books, stotutes and minutes of union meetings to the bourgeois court*** as "evidence"! So much for the IG's lame claim that Ribeiro didn't know what his lawyers were doing—how could his lawyers get their hands on the union's financial records and other sensitive internal materials and append them to Ribeiro's lawsuits unless he himself turned them over to the lawyers?

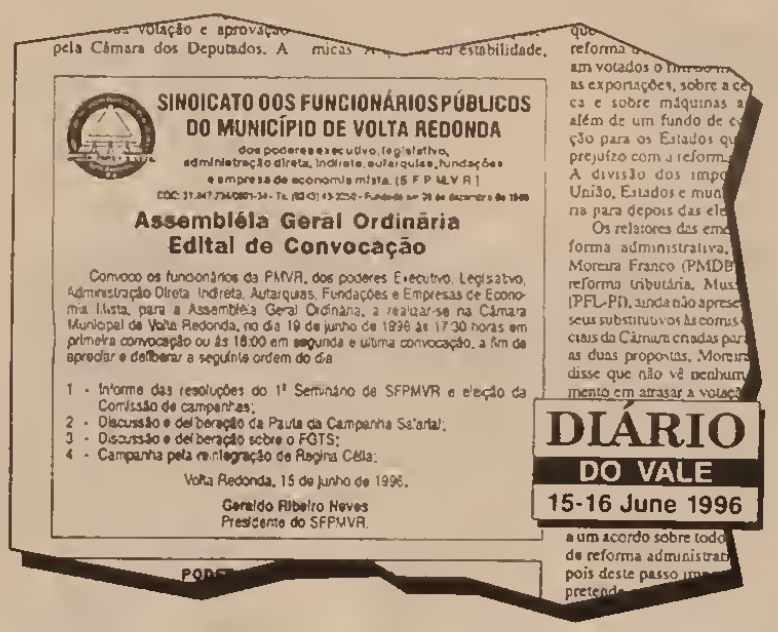
In February 1996, when the ICL had fraternal relations with the LQB (then Luta Metalúrgica—LM), we sent them books and archival material on the American Trotskyists' struggle against state intervention and the frame-up of militants in the Minneapolis Teamsters union in the 1930s. Seeking to convey a political understanding of the Marxist principle of proletarian class independence, an ICL representative in Volta Redonda translated much of this material into Portuguese, including an article from the Minneapolis Teamsters' *Northwest Organizer* (4 August 1938). This article denounced stool pigeons who give union account books and minutes to the courts: "A union has the same intransigeant objection to permitting the enemy to scrutinize its documents, plans, books, etc., as does the United States Government have to a potential enemy scrutinizing its industrial and military resources and plans."

Ribeiro not only invited the class enemy to scrutinize the SFPMVR's internal documents, he also appealed to the capitalist state to determine who should be the legitimate representative of the municipal workers. Among the internal union issues Ribeiro called on the court to adjudicate in case 30.832 are:

> "c. The carrying out of the request for declaring the validity of the Extraordinary General Assembly called by the membership and held on the 25 of July of 1996, where the Author's [Geraldo's] return to the presidency of the SFPMVR was decided, and the consequent unblocking of the Union's bank account, as well as the penalty of suspension applied to the dissident directorship, decided in the same Assembly.
>
> "d. The carrying out of the request for declaring null the Assembly held by the dissident directorship on 29 July of 1996, for the fact that the directors that held that travesty of an Assembly were suspended from their posts in the 25 July of 1996 Assembly, thus not having legitimacy to call, hold or deliberate in an Assembly, even because the matters dealt with were taken up at the previous [Assembly]."

This lawsuit was filed on 8 August 1996—some *two weeks after* Ribeiro allegedly wrote a 26 July 1996 unpublished letter, filled with fine words against government intervention in the union movement, to the Volta Redonda paper *Diário do Vale*. This "letter" is the "evidence" with which the IG/LQB "refutes" our exposé! When our comrades spoke to LQB leader Cerezo in person in Volta Redonda on May 3 this year, he told us that Ribeiro had written such a letter but Cerezo "couldn't find it." Neither the IG nor the LQB has ever published this letter to *Diário do Vale*. More importantly, neither has the LQB issued *any* propaganda directed to the working class in Volta Redonda in response to the many articles in the bourgeois press in July and August 1996 reporting on Ribeiro's lawsuits against the union.

The silence of the LQB in Volta Redonda speaks loudly to their guilt,


SINDICATO DOS FUNCIONÁRIOS PÚBLICOS DO MUNICÍPIO DE VOLTA REDONDA

dos poderes executivo, legislativo, administração direta, indireta, autarquias, fundações e empresas de economia mista. (S F P M V R)

Assembléia Geral Ordinária
Edital de Convocação

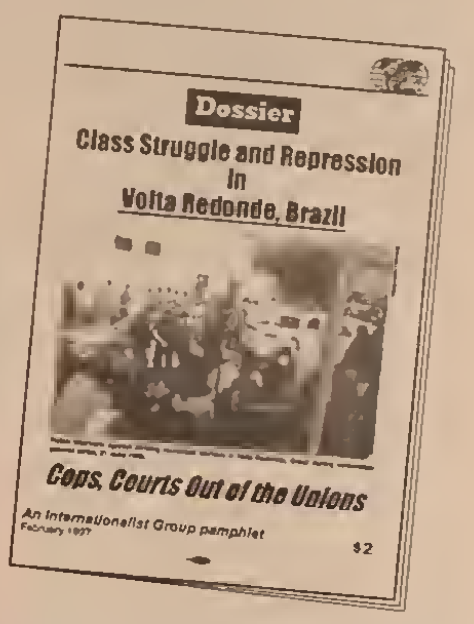
Convoco os funcionários da PMVR, dos poderes Executivo, Legislativo, Administração Direta, Indireta, Autarquias, Fundações e Empresas de Economia Mista, para a Assembléia Geral Ordinária, a realizar-se na Câmara Municipal de Volta Redonda, no dia 19 de junho de 1996 às 17:30 horas em primeira convocação ou às 18:00 em segunda e última convocação, a fim de apreciar e deliberar a seguinte ordem do dia

1 - Informe das resoluções do 1º Seminário de SFPMVR e eleição da Comissão de campanhas;
2 - Discussão e deliberação da Pauta da Campanha Salarial;
3 - Discussão e deliberação sobre o FGTS;
4 - Campanha pela reintegração de Regina Célia;

Volta Redonda, 15 de junho de 1996.

Geraldo Ribeiro Neves
Presidente do SFPMVR

DIÁRIO DO VALE
15-16 June 1996



IG/LQB claim 19 June 1996 Volta Redonda union meeting was called to oust cops from union. But public call for meeting, signed by LQB's Geraldo Ribeiro, lists only four agenda points: "resolutions of the 1st seminary" and "election of the campaign commission," "wage campaign," "guarantee fund for time worked" and "campaign for the reintegration of Regina Célia." Nothing about cops! IG "Dossier" lies about "victory" against cops, conceals class betrayal by LQB in suing the union in capitalist courts.

opportunism and utter contempt for workers who believed they were a leftist alternative. Their actions confirm that the ICL's break in fraternal relations with the LQB in June 1996 was both principled and necessary. The LQB was concerned only with maintaining control of a union in which it had no members at the time (Ribeiro was made a member of the LQB after the break with the ICL). The Ribeiro faction in the union was every bit as squalid as the pro-cop faction led by Artur Fernandes (himself a former LM protégé), and every bit as willing to appeal directly to the class enemy, the bourgeois state.

The Silence of the IGs

The IG and LQB claim that Geraldo Ribeiro withdrew these suits as soon as he learned of them. Not possible. The court records show that Ribeiro did indeed file a withdrawal of all three of his lawsuits—on 17 February 1997—***seven months after he filed the first lawsuit!*** As the municipal workers union was being dragged through the bourgeois courts by the LQB on the one hand and the pro-cop Artur Fernandes grouping on the other, the IG ran an international diversion—an appeal for "solidarity" to demand the cops and courts keep their hands off the SFPMVR and its president,

Ribeiro. This charade culminated with the February 1997 publication of an IG "Dossier" on the LQB's struggle in the municipal workers union.

The IG's "Dossier" was nothing but international camouflage to cover up for their collaborators' crossing the class line in Brazil. It contained not even a mention of the LQB's anti-union lawsuits. The IG did not even deem Ribeiro's 26 July 1996 letter to *Diário do Vale* "fit to print." Indeed, not one word of the lawsuits passed the IG's lips until *after Workers Vanguard* reported the facts that our comrades had uncovered in Brazil. Nor has the IG's "Dossier" ever been translated or circulated in Brazil.

In its latest literary sally, the IG repeats its timeworn refrain that the ICL "fled from the class battle" in Brazil. While constantly contradicting themselves over the date that the cops were allegedly thrown out of the SFPMVR union, Norden & Co. continue to insist that we broke fraternal relations with the LQB the day before a 19 June 1996 union meeting where the cops were to be thrown out and that we "had to know" about that meeting. Well, now we do know. Reprinted here is the public advertisement for that union meeting: there is *no mention* of removing the cops from the union. Workers were not publicly mobilized for that purpose, and in fact it didn't happen.

We challenge the IG to open the books, to publish all the pertinent materials! We've publicized every piece of hard evidence we could get our hands on. But the IG and their LQB bloc partners have access to further documentation. The lawsuits reviewed by our reporter in the Volta Redonda courthouse are available for public viewing but may not be photocopied except by the parties involved—the Fernandes faction, the LQB faction or attorneys for either side. Why doesn't the IG publish the lawsuits filed and withdrawn (seven months later) by their fraternal group in Brazil? And while they're at it, why not publish the full transcripts of the 16 June 1996 meeting between the ICL and LQB which they have on tape? Those transcripts would show that no member of the LQB ever mentioned that day that a union meeting to expel the cops was imminent—because it wasn't.

The ICL has done a service to the international workers movement by exposing the IG/LQB as the unscrupulous and dangerous hustlers they are. Our investigation began when we responded to the LQB's appeal for international solidarity by requesting that they provide us with documentation regarding the situation in the municipal workers union so that we could defend them and bring their case to others to defend. We were prepared to defend them despite our evident political differences. This essential definition of nonsectarian class-struggle defense is vitiated by the IG/LQB. Norden and his cohorts do not believe you can criticize those whom you defend nor can you defend those you criticize. We stand on the traditions of James P. Cannon's International Labor Defense, which are carried forward today by the Partisan Defense Committee. We endeavor to bring any case or cause in the interest of the whole of the working people to the attention of workers around the world. But the LQB refused to provide us with any information. Now we know why.

Opportunism, the Party Question and the State

We strive at all times for theoretical and programmatic clarity, bringing key political debates out in the open so the most conscious workers can reach a higher understanding of their own interests. But because of their amorphousness and their attraction to groupings to their right, centrists despise our insistence on clarity of position and purity of principles. They don't like being called by their right name, so they seek to conceal their opportunist maneuvering from the workers. The fake leftists cover up their actions with false and vicious attacks on the communist ICL, while denouncing us for our alleged "sectarianism" and "passive propagandism."

The ICL has made available to the public the documentary record of our fraternal relations with Luta Metalúrgica. Our trilingual (English, Spanish and Portuguese) *International Bulletin* No. 41, "The Fight for a Trotskyist Party in Brazil," is the documentary record of correspondence between the ICL and LM from the time of an authoritative ICL gathering in January 1996—in which an LM leader participated—through the break in fraternal relations on 17 June 1996. Also publicly available in several languages is *International Bulletin* No. 38, "Norden's 'Group': Shamefaced Defectors from Trotskyism."

These materials make clear that it was the Norden group who "fled the struggle"—the struggle to forge a Trotskyist international. Declining the opportunity to form a faction and fight to change the party's program and perspectives, a right uniquely and explicitly laid out in our organizational rules, Norden & Co. ran a wrecking operation inside the party, engineered their own expulsions and now run a wrecking operation against us from outside the party. Meanwhile, their impressionism and attraction to alien political formations—adaptations to the pressures of bourgeois society which were held in check through internal democratic-centralist party struggle—are now running free. The Norden group has demonstrated that it is willing to sacrifice the most fundamental principles of Marxism at the first whiff of an "opportunity."

The *party question* was the common denominator to all our fights with the Norden group and the Brazilian LQB. The Nordenites resisted our struggle to transform the LQB into the nucleus of a Trotskyist party and they capitulated to the LQB's fake "mass" work, trade-union opportunism and centrist amorphousness. In contrast, after a sufficiently lengthy period of testing our apparent programmatic agreement, including with ICL representatives on site in Brazil, the ICL broke fraternal relations with LM because their ingrained trade-union opportunism was *counterposed* to forging a Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard party.

Why did the LQB seek to control a cop-infested union? Why did they pick an ex-cop, Ribeiro, and a pro-cop thug, Fernandes, to head the amorphous and unprincipled bloc—the Municiparios em Luta (MEL) which won control of the union? Why did their left-sounding campaign propaganda (which was barely distributed anyway) *not* call for the separation of the cops from the union the LQB sought to lead?

The ICL did not know of the presence of cops in the municipal workers union until the issue came up in informal discussion at our January 1996 international gathering. If we had known that this was how LM operated, *there would have been no fraternal relations*. As Norden and his protégé Negrete, then leading members of the ICL, were quite exclusively in control of our contact with the LQB prior to January 1996, the question must be asked, *did they know about the cops and keep that secret from the party?* When we did learn of it, we pressed for the LQB to bring its actions into accordance with the program with which it professed agreement and to fight for separation of the cops from the union. Then their amorphous MEL bloc blew apart, with Artur Fernandes emerging from their "own" camp as their chief witchhunter. The LQB and the Norden group virulently opposed the ICL's insistence that a leading LQB member step down from his unelected post as "adviser" to this union in which the LQB had no members and begin a communist policy of work *directed at the base* of the unions, including with a *party press*.

The IG repeatedly denounces the pro-cop Fernandes while quoting the MEL's election program that the police are "the armed fist of the bourgeoisie," saying that LM agreed to the ICL's urgings to fight to oust the cops from the union. The IG now points to that quote to bolster the LQB's supposed anti-cop credentials. Yet they carefully conceal the crucial fact that Fernandes was part of the MEL slate that the LM/LQB engineered, just as they now attempt to conceal Ribeiro's taking the union to court. At the time, the MEL counted on the cop vote in the union to get elected—that's why they refused to raise opposition to the police within *their* union in the first place. Having taken up this fight, they then tried to use it as a factional club against their rivals for the union presidency. This crass opportunism to gain control of unions from the top is the same game the rest of the centrists play in Brazil.

The entire subsequent trajectory of the LQB was predictable, and we did predict it. We warned where their unprincipled combinationism at the top of the union and their recourse to bureaucratic methods against their opponents in the union could lead. In a 23 February 1996 letter to them, we wrote:

> "Our enemies cannot be fought with the bosses' methods of back-room deals and intrigues. We know of no other way than to lay your case clearly before the workers and fight openly for your views. To proceed otherwise could damage your organization and the union itself, and confuse the workers for a long time to come.
>
> "We are for clear political struggle between the different parties and their counterposed programs, without threats of expulsion or exclusion, which could potentially set the stage for more direct state intervention in the union under the fig leaf of restoring 'democracy'. The very powerful Teamsters union in the United States, and before it the Mine Workers union have been reduced to a shadow of their former strength through precisely this kind of government intervention, abetted by the fake left."

Today the LQB and the IG stand exposed for abetting such state intervention in the Brazilian union movement. Until we exposed the lies retailed in the IG's "Dossier," they insisted that the cops had been thrown out of the SFPMVR and that Ribeiro was the union president. Now they've changed their tune and describe the SFPMVR under Artur Fernandes as a "court-rigged outfit." Indeed it is, and they helped make it that way. Ever legends in their own minds, Norden and Negrete continue to maintain that what happened in the Volta Redonda union is a "victory." They dismiss the *facts* that Fernandes is in charge of the SFPMVR, that Ribeiro has been booted out as president, that the cops remain in the union, that the capitalist courts have been allowed to meddle in the union's affairs—by insisting that the sentiment of the ranks goes in the opposite direction, that "the will of the workers" (as somehow determined by the IG/LQB) is decisive.

Norden & Co. have trampled on the elementary Marxist principle that the capitalist state has no business intervening in the labor movement. At bottom, they deny that the workers (even the most "willing"!) need a Leninist party—to bring revolutionary class consciousness *from without* in order to transform the proletariat from a class *in* itself to a class *for* itself, fighting for its own class rule, *a workers state*.

A little opportunism is a dangerous thing. As Trotsky wrote in his incisive 1931 essay, "The Mistakes of Rightist Elements of the Communist League on the Trade Union Question":

> "If the theoretical structure of the political economy of Marxism rests entirely upon the conception of *value* as materialized labor, the revolutionary policy of Marxism rests upon the conception of the *party* as the vanguard of the proletariat.
>
> "Whatever may be the social sources and political causes of opportunistic mistakes and deviations, they are always reduced ideologically to an erroneous understanding of the revolutionary party, of its relation to other proletarian organizations and to the class as a whole....
>
> "One of the psychological sources of opportunism is a superficial impatience, a lack of confidence in the gradual growth of the party's influence, the desire to win the masses by organizational maneuvers or personal diplomacy. Out of this springs the policy of combinations behind the scenes, the policy of silence, of hushing up, of self-renunciation, of adaptation to the ideas and slogans of others; and finally, the complete passage to the positions of opportunism. The subordination of the CP to the Kuomintang in China, the creation of workers' and peasants' parties in India, the subordination of the British party to the Minority Movement, etc., etc.—in all these phenomena we see the same method of bureaucratic combinationism which commences with a superficial revolutionary impatience and finishes with opportunist treason."

In our previous article, "IG's Brazil Fraud Exposed," we stated: "The IG cannot simultaneously stand by the verbal affirmation of class principle *in* their 'Dossier' and by the class betrayal carried out by their comrades in Volta Redonda." The IG has consciously chosen the latter, proving that their flight from the ICL was not a casual journey. It was based on deep revisionism and hostility to the revolutionary Marxist program and party. ■

Special ICL Bulletins

No. 41:
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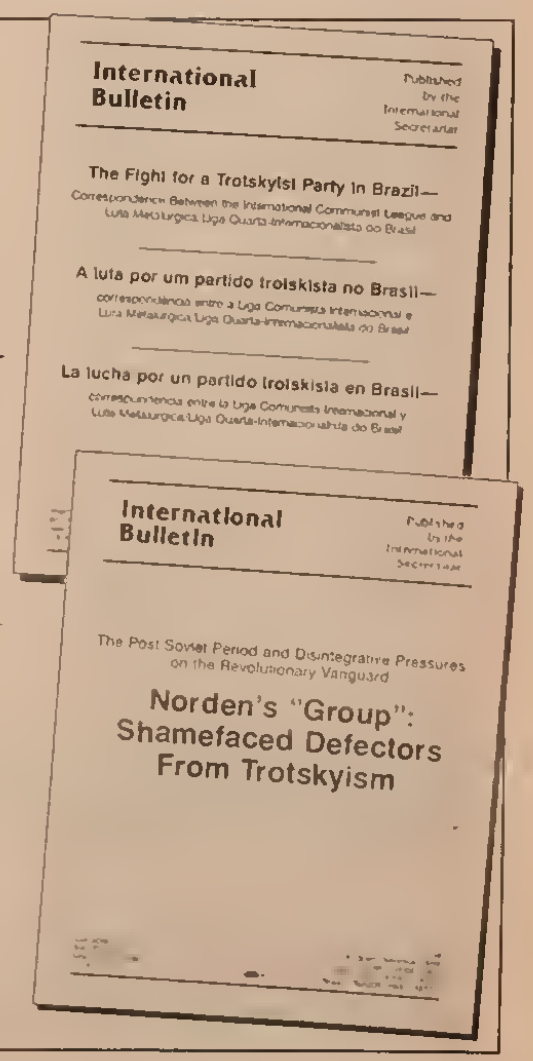

Mumia Abu-Jamal...

(continued from page 16)

> a victim of this ongoing collusion....
> "I urge you, I appeal to you all to use that same strength that enabled you to support me for almost three decades, and direct it towards Mumia's struggle."

Sabo's Kangaroo Court

As at earlier Jamal hearings, dozens of people turned out to show support for Mumia, many of whom were forced to stay outside in the hallway while the cops were given half of the public courtroom area. As he entered the court, Mumia smiled and waved at his family and supporters through the glass wall separating him from the public benches.

Sabo again lived up to his reputation as a "prosecutor in robes," admitting every witness the prosecution wanted while rejecting crucial witnesses for the defense. When Veronica Jones appeared at a hearing before Sabo last fall to reveal that she had been pressured by the cops into lying against Jamal at the 1982 trial, she was dragged off the stand to jail. This pattern of vindictive state harassment against witnesses for Jamal continued against Jenkins, who was brought to court from prison. ***Only after*** announcing that she intended to testify on Jamal's behalf was she arrested on felony charges stemming from a months-old incident in which she had cooperated with the police. Despite this intimidation, Pamela Jenkins stood fast in her testimony at the hearing. Asked why she had now come forward in Jamal's case, an act which could only put her in greater danger of police retribution, particularly while imprisoned, Jenkins responded: "I'm not going to sit back and let an innocent man go to jail."

Jenkins spoke of her affair with Thomas Ryan, one of the cops convicted in the 39th District scandal, which started when she was a young teenager. Describing her lengthy period of cooperation with him as an informer, Jenkins testified that Ryan and other cops had pressured her to say she'd seen Jamal shoot Faulkner. In a written statement submitted earlier this spring, Jenkins recounted that Cynthia White said "that the police were trying to get her to say something about the shooting." On the stand, Jenkins said that after the shooting, White had told her that "she was in fear for her life from the police." Jenkins added that she had seen White earlier this year at a North Philadelphia crack house. When White saw Jenkins she "acted like she saw a ghost" and fled.

Manipulation and coercion of prostitutes to abet cop payoff schemes and to act as "witnesses" in frame-up operations is standard operating procedure for the Philly cops, and for cops everywhere. The 1995 corruption investigation was one of a series of scandals that have rocked the Philadelphia Police Department since 1979. A legal brief submitted by Jamal's attorneys before the hearing stated: "Jamal will present evidence illuminating the sordid interconnection of police corruption and prostitution in Philadelphia's center city area in the early 1980's, a connection which led to federal convictions of over 30 officers." But Sabo and the D.A. kept any of this evidence from coming to light in the courtroom.

Seeking to discredit Jenkins' testimony, the prosecution submitted purportedly "conclusive" proof that Cynthia White had died in September 1992, claiming that the body of a black woman found in an abandoned building in Camden, New Jersey had been identified as her. Jamal's investigators were ready to produce not only official documents contradicting the D.A.'s "evidence" but also numerous interviews with people who had seen White as recently as early 1997 and positively identified her from photos. But Sabo refused to allow any of these witnesses to take the stand.

The hearing adjourned on June 30. The D.A. then got Sabo to reopen the hearing to present yet more witnesses from the offices of the New Jersey prosecutor and the state troopers to "prove" what had supposedly already been conclusively shown—that Cynthia White was dead.

WV Photo

Jamal witnesses Pamela Jenkins and Veronica Jones, flanked by attorneys Rachel Wolkenstein and Leonard Weinglass, at March 10 press conference in Philadelphia.

But the new prosecution "evidence" was shown to be far from conclusive. Fingerprints are decisive for identifying a dead body. Yet, under cross-examination by Jamal lead attorney Leonard Weinglass, one of the D.A.'s witnesses admitted that the New Jersey fingerprint classification codes which they claimed matched the dead body in Camden *did not match* Philadelphia police and FBI fingerprint records for White. And even the D.A.'s investigators admitted that they continued looking for White during the last two years, despite the New Jersey death report.

Former cop and convicted felon Thomas Ryan, fresh from jail for his role in the 39th District case, tried to rebut Jenkins' testimony about their relationship. Jenkins said that she had first met Ryan well before the Faulkner shooting, by which time she had already become his girlfriend. In a different 1986 court case, Ryan had acknowledged having known Jenkins for five years, i.e., since 1981. At the Jamal hearing, Ryan asserted having "had no recollection" of when he had come to know Jenkins until the prosecution "refreshed" his memory that he had first met her only in 1982!

While on the stand, Jenkins also testified that Ryan had named other cops who were on the scene the night of Faulkner's killing. Jamal's attorneys have for years sought and been denied records of other police personnel who were there the night Faulkner was shot and who might have evidence regarding what happened. Lawrence Boston, a former cop who walked a beat near the area in December 1981, verified that plainclothes police were routinely to be found in that vicinity into the early morning hours. Boston, who said he had been a close friend of Faulkner, was one of the officers who Jenkins had heard was on site that night. But when questioned as to his exact whereabouts at the time of the shooting, Boston would only say, "I should have been in bed."

Another witness, Marcus Cannon, was also in the vicinity of Faulkner's shooting. Cannon saw two white men, acting as though they were part of the lumpen scene in that red-light district, leap into action the moment shots exploded, drawing weapons and running toward the sounds of the gunfire. But Cannon never got to present this striking new evidence at the hearing. Sabo refused to allow him on the witness stand.

The Capitalist Injustice System

The state's drive to execute Mumia Abu-Jamal comes amid an intensification of racist repression across the board. In the last few years the rate of executions around the country has skyrocketed, with this year headed toward a 60-year record. During Clinton's tenure in the White House, federal death penalty statutes have been vastly expanded, while the right of *habeas corpus* appeals in the federal courts—particularly crucial in death penalty cases—has effectively been gutted. At the same time, tens of thousands more cops have been put on the streets to rampage through the nation's ghettos and barrios, where they often carry out summary executions by simply gunning down black and Hispanic youth.

Most recently, among a series of sinister and reactionary decisions, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that "preventive detention"—without even the pretense of due process—is the law of the land. Last month, the Court upheld a Kansas statute permitting states to keep "sex offenders" and anyone deemed "mentally abnormal" incarcerated in mental hospitals after their prison terms are up. This kind of preventive detention is usually associated with colonial-type repression by occupation forces in places like Northern Ireland or the Palestinian Occupied Territories. In fact, hundreds of prisoners completing their sentences in the U.S. have already been thrown in mental hospitals and more states are racing to enact new legislation in the wake of the Court's ruling.

The recent conviction of Timothy McVeigh for the heinous 1995 bombing of the Oklahoma City federal building was seized on by the bourgeois media—amid widespread howls for "vengeance"—to catapult the question of the death penalty to center stage, as the three major weekly news magazines carried cover stories asking, "Should He Die?" McVeigh has now become one of only two whites among the 13 prisoners currently on federal death row. And blacks and Hispanics form a vastly disproportionate majority of the burgeoning population of more than 3,300 on state death rows around the country. Death sentences have been carried out at the rate of well over one a week this year, with double and even triple executions rating barely a mention in the bourgeois press.

As Marxists we stand unequivocally opposed on principle to the death penalty. Capital punishment is nothing but institutionalized murder by the racist capitalist state. Stephen Bright, director of the Southern Center for Human Rights, noted: "It is the cases that don't make it on the radar screen that are really at issue. Those involve the defendants, overwhelmingly black and poor, who are represented by lawyers who fall asleep during the trial, who turn up drunk or who do not get a penny for expert witnesses."

The case of Mumia Abu-Jamal is symbolic of what the racist death penalty is all about, the ultimate weapon in an entire apparatus of repression wielded by the capitalist class with the aim of intimidating and terrorizing working people and minorities. He is a black fighter who never capitulated, an eloquent and unquenchable voice for justice and humanity, a symbol of resistance to this racist system—and for those reasons he has been hounded by the capitalist state since he was a youth and today sits in prison facing the death chamber. Every resource must be strained to secure his freedom, as part of the fight for a workers revolution to sweep away this whole system of exploitation, oppression and "legal" murder. Free Mumia! Abolish the racist death penalty! ■

Trotskyist League Educational

China on the Brink: For Workers Political Revolution Against Capitalist Enslavement

Permanent Revolution and the Origins of Chinese Trotskyism

Speaker: Sean Jacobsen, TL, Spartacus Youth Club

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$.50 (16 pages)

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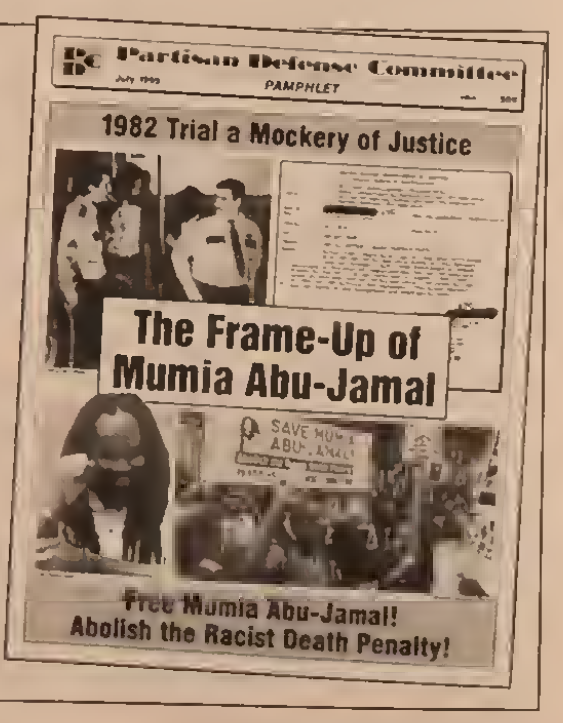


From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal

The System vs. Geronimo: Why?

Much of the national media made much of the recent reversal of the murder conviction of former Black Panther official Geronimo ji Jaga (né E. G. Pratt), after almost three decades in California hellholes.

Few accounts explained *why* Geronimo was caged, and why the state fought so long and hard to keep him there, even using foul and unfair means to do so.

This writer, who knew Geronimo in his youth, will attempt to do so.

Why would the state of California and the FBI knowingly convict a man of a murder that they knew he didn't commit?

The answer to this conundrum lies less in the realm of the "law" than in the area of politics.

Geronimo's "offense" had nothing to do with murder and everything to do with his political beliefs *and activities*; he was a Black Panther, and a revolutionary, and therefore, he was a target to be "neutralized," in FBI terms.

In December 1969, the Southern California chapter of the Black Panther Party was attacked by the heavily armed LAPD. Geronimo, as the office's Defense Minister, heavily insulated the office against government attack, and a gun-battle ensued, lasting up to ten hours of urban war.

When the smoke cleared, every Panther emerged alive, thanks to Geronimo's skilled defense work, and military expertise.

Although several Panthers were later beaten by cops (the chapter's Culture Minister had his right hand, his drawing—as in art—hand, broken) none suffered life-threatening wounds, despite hours of being under heavy police automatic fire and bombing by grenades.

Geronimo, who learned the art of war in the rice paddies of Vietnam, had brought the war—this time *for Black liberation*—home, and the state marked him from that day forward.

For his armed defense of the Black Nation (through the Black Panther Party) Geronimo would be hunted, framed and caged in a cruel succession of state gulags for almost 30 years, while an FBI/LAPD/L.A. D.A. (District Attorney) snitch would be massaged into positions of power, prominence and influence over the Black community of L.A.

As a Black ex-sheriff, Julius "Julio" Butler knew people in the region's cop community, and used that knowledge to his advantage, as a smart snitch would. Despite felony convictions, the D.A.'s office armed him, and by treating old cases as misdemeanors, opened the doors to law school where Butler won a law degree. Thus equipped, this paid FBI/LAPD/L.A. D.A. informant, standing on the caged back of Geronimo, ascended the leadership of the L.A. African-American community as he was named a deacon of one of the city's most respected Black churches.

As he rose, the state's judiciary and political establishment stomped on Geronimo again and again and again and again and again—denying him parole, denying post-conviction petitions, denying his *habeas* writs, setting him up on bogus prison charges, time and time again.

By caging this revolutionary, the state killed *three* birds with one stone: 1) the government deprived the Black community of one of its most militant (and militarily skilled) fighters; 2) the government put in place of Black prominence a paid informant; and, 3) the government fractured and dissipated emerging white, progressive support by falsely tying the murder of a Santa Monica schoolteacher to a known Black Panther, like Geronimo.

It also used the growing paranoia of the late Dr. Huey P. Newton to prevent crucial support from coming to Geronimo's aid in his darkest hour of need.

In a demonstration of admirable, albeit misguided, discipline, almost a dozen Panthers stood by silently while Geronimo was railroaded, as they were under orders from the Supreme Commander to not assist a man who, Huey feared, had defected to the more militant East Coast wing of the Black Panther Party. It would take decades for them to realize that the East Coast-West Coast split was itself fomented by agents and operatives of the FBI, and finally, like ripe plums, they fell into line, and testified, decades later, to knowing Geronimo was innocent of the Santa Monica murder, as he was some 400 miles away, in Oakland, at the time.

It is easy for us to now celebrate Geronimo's return as a signal victory, and it is. But, we must not stop there.

We must also acknowledge it was a victory for the state which unjustly stole 27 years—half the life—of a man who rightly defended his people from unjust attack. For 30 years *the government created a Black "leader"* it could work with (a snitch *and* a lawyer!).

For almost three decades the state wiped the field clear of revolutionaries, and allowed gangsters (like Freeway Ricky Ross) to thrive, thus lobotomizing an entire Black generation with a cruel, new form of chemical warfare (until they got tired of them and set *them* up!).

Because of their efforts, the Black Panther Party is no more. So who won, who lost?

Because of their unprincipled, foul methods, most Black folks hear the word "revolutionary" and think it's a new kind of fabric softener.

Because of their utilization of the law as a tool of white supremacy and as an instrument of crime countless revolutionaries, like Ruchell Magee ("Cinque"), Hugo "Yogi" Pinell, E. Mondo Langa, Delbert, Merle, Phil, Janine, Ed, Janet, Mike, Deb and Chuck Africa, Russell "Maroon" Shoats, Leonard Peltier, Dr. Mutulu Shakur...and on and on, languish in American gulags.

For many of them, their trials were about as "fair" as Geronimo's, with "witnesses" just as tainted, and "evidence" just as twisted.

So, it is true that Geronimo won a powerful victory.

It is also true that Black America (and, as in Bro. Leonard's case, Native America) suffered, and continues to suffer, a grievous loss, until all political prisoners, and prisoners of war, are free.

28 June 1997

© 1997 by Mumia Abu-Jamal

To join the fight to free Mumia and for the latest updates on his case, contact the Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013-0099; phone (212) 406-4252. E-mail: 75057.3201@compuserve.com. Urgently needed contribution for Mumia's defense, which are tax-deductible, should be made payable to the Bill of Rights Foundation, earmarked "Mumia Abu-Jamal Legal Defense," and sent to the Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, 163 Amsterdam Avenue, No. 115, New York, NY 10023-5001. If you wish to correspond with Jamal, you can write to: Mumia Abu-Jamal, AM8335, SCI Greene, 1040 E. Roy Furman Hwy., Waynesburg, PA 15370.

Northern Ireland...

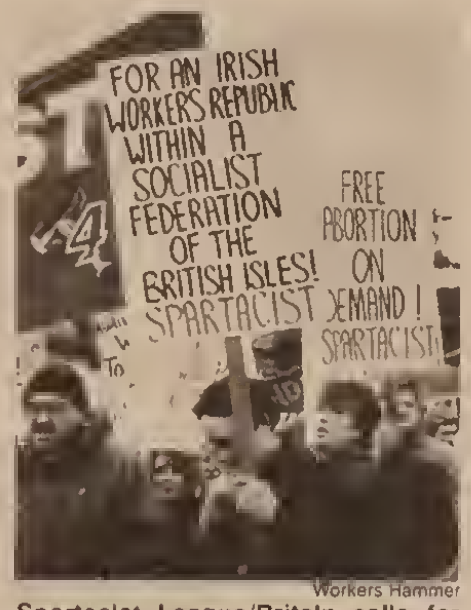
(continued from page 16)

of Her Majesty's Labour Party. The swinish pro-imperialist British Labour Party defended the British Empire in two world wars, and infamously cheered the British execution of James Connolly. Lenin, whose Bolsheviks led the Russian workers to power in 1917, denounced the Labour Party and the rest of the Social Democracy as "social chauvinists"—occasionally "socialist" in word, but chauvinist in deeds. It was a Labour government, which included Tony Benn, which despatched the British Army to Northern Ireland in 1969; and after 27 years, the blood-soaked Army remains to defend the oppressive Orange statelet of Northern Ireland. The bitter reality of the imperialist "peace" fraud, we have repeatedly warned, leaves the Catholic minority at the mercy of the Army/RUC and emboldened Loyalist death squads and has done no good for Protestant workers either.

The Spartacist League says: British Army/RUC out of Garvaghy Road and all Catholic areas—for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of British troops from Northern Ireland! The British working class has a particular obligation to oppose its "own" bourgeoisie: a century ago Karl Marx emphasised that the British proletariat would never be free as long as Ireland remained in thrall. Those who fail to oppose in words and deeds British imperialism's armed rampage in Northern Ireland today are no Marxists but miserable class traitors.

In the recent general election the Spartacist League told the truth and refused to give a gram of support to Blair and Co. who, wrapped in the Union Jack, pledged to serve Queen and City [of London financiers]. The SWP said "vote Labour or socialist," which in practice meant going all out for a Blair victory. Tony Cliff declared that the SWP were "over the moon at the Labour victory." *Socialist Review* (June 1997) added: "The Labour victory has lifted a burden from the shoulders of socialists everywhere." The fake-Trotskyist Workers Power crowed: "Blair's victory is our victory" (*Workers Power*, May 1997). Now Blair will use his overwhelming majority as a mandate for massive attacks on anyone who resists oppression, whether Irish Republicans, or militant trade unionists at home.

The SWP *supported* its own bourgeoisie when the British Army was sent to Northern Ireland in 1969 with the "argument" that they would "save lives." The SWP continued to whitewash their bloody role and denounced those who called for troops out: "The breathing space provided by the presence of British troops is short but vital. Those who call for the immediate withdrawal of the troops before the men behind the barricades can defend themselves are inviting a pogrom which will hit first and hardest at socialists" (*Socialist Worker*, 11 September 1969). This support for the army who carried out a cold-blooded massacre on Bloody Sunday in Derry in 1972 is grotesque. It is quintessential reformism, expressing confidence in the armed forces of the capitalist state. Today the SWP supports the imperialist "peace" fraud by calling on Mr. "I believe in the United Kingdom" Blair to talk to Sinn Féin to "send a message of hope to Protestants and Catholics alike." Tell it to the people on Garvaghy Road! With crass hypocrisy the SWP refuses to call for troops out in the British *Socialist Worker*; they only mention it in their *Irish* paper, in the small print.



Workers Hammer

Spartacist League/Britain calls for immediate withdrawal of British troops from Northern Ireland as part of struggle for socialist revolution.

Supporting the British Army in Northern Ireland is a graphic example of the capitulation of these so-called "international socialists" to their own bourgeoisie, which began with Cliff's refusal to defend the USSR and the North Korean and Chinese deformed workers states against U.S. and British imperialism in the Korean War during an earlier Cold War Labour government. In the second imperialist Cold War, the virulently anti-Soviet SWP went so far as to cheer the CIA-backed Afghan *mujahedin* scum who fought against the Red Army to murder unveiled women and school teachers for the "crime" of teaching girls to read. No "breathing space" for them. In step with the Labour lieutenants of imperialism, the SWP, Workers Power et al. supported capitalist counterrevolutionaries from Polish Solidarność to Boris Yeltsin in Moscow. The Spartacist League upheld Trotsky's position, for unconditional military defence of the Soviet degenerated workers state, and proletarian political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracy. This is the only programme that could have prevented the disaster of capitalist counterrevolution in the former USSR and Eastern Europe.

Northern Ireland today stands on the brink of another wave of anti-Catholic pogroms and communal strife. As communists, we seek to intervene to alter the course of the conflict towards a class determination. What's necessary are integrated, programmatically based workers militias to smash Loyalist and all sectarian terror and stop imperialist rampage. Nationalism is a dead end: Sinn Féin supported the imperialist "peace process," which is premised on maintaining the British imperialist armed fist in Northern Ireland. As proletarian internationalists we oppose the nationalist irredentist view that the Protestants should be forced into a unified Ireland. We fight for an Irish workers republic in a socialist federation of the British Isles. This requires the construction of Leninist vanguard parties to fight for workers revolution on both sides of the border and both sides of the Irish Sea. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Hearing Airs New Evidence of Cop Frame-Up

Abolish the Racist Death Penalty! Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!

The latest spectacle in hanging judge Albert Sabo's Philadelphia courtroom underscores our warning that freedom for death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal will not be won through reliance on the capitalist courts. Mumia must be saved from the forces of death who have clamored for his execution since this outspoken journalist, former Black Panther and MOVE supporter was framed up in 1981. The Spartacist League and Partisan Defense Committee fight for broad, labor-centered mobilizations internationally to demand: Free Mumia Abu-Jamal now! Abolish the racist death penalty!

The Pennsylvania Supreme Court ordered a further evidentiary hearing as part of Jamal's 1995 Post-Conviction Relief (PCRA) appeal, which is now before it. Jamal's attorneys requested the hearing to introduce new evidence of police coercion of witnesses in the frame-up which falsely convicted Mumia of the December 1981 killing of police officer Daniel Faulkner. Pamela Jenkins, who was a pivotal government informant in a 1995 federal investigation into police corruption in the 39th District, came forward early this year to reveal that police had tried to coerce her into falsely asserting that she saw Jamal shoot Faulkner, when she wasn't even at the scene of the shooting (see "Witness Reveals New Link in Jamal Frame-Up," *WV* No. 664, 21 March). Jenkins also revealed that key prosecution witness Cynthia White had been a police informant and had been threatened with her life by the cops into perjuring herself at Jamal's 1982 trial. White, who like Jenkins was a prostitute at the time, was the only "witness" who claimed to have seen Jamal with a gun in his hand.

Terry/Gamma-Liaison

Mumia Abu-Jamal, railroaded to death row in 1982 as part of FBI/cop vendetta.

The notoriously corrupt Philadelphia Police Department has been at the center of a decades-long FBI/cop vendetta against Mumia, from the time he was a teenage spokesman for the Panthers. Another victim of the FBI's notorious Counter-Intelligence Program (COINTELPRO), former West Coast Panther leader Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt), was recently released after having spent 27 years behind bars. COINTELPRO led to the assassination of 38 Panthers and the jailing of many others. Geronimo's frame-up murder conviction was overturned on the basis of evidence that the key prosecution witness in his case also had been an informant—not only for the FBI and the Los Angeles cops but also for the L.A. district attorney's office. Commenting on Court TV on the day Geronimo walked out of prison, Robert Fogelnest, a criminal defense lawyer, called the overturn of Geronimo's false conviction "the best argument I have ever heard in opposition to the death penalty."

Upon being freed, Geronimo declared: "After being released from almost a lifetime of imprisonment, I am still not completely liberated and cannot be while my comrade, Mumia Abu-Jamal, is still

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Army Fires on Catholics in Portadown

Northern Ireland: Blair's Labour Government Has Blood on Its Hands

British Troops Out Now!

We reprint below a leaflet issued by the Spartacist League/Britain (SL/B) on July 6, hours after the Labour government of Prime Minister Tony Blair gave the go-ahead for a bloody anti-Catholic provocation by the Orange Order in the Northern Ireland town of Portadown. Bolstering the Orange reactionaries, whose annual "marching season" is a signal for Loyalist sectarian terror, Blair unleashed British troops and Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC) riot police to suppress Catholic protests which spread throughout Northern Ireland.

The SL/B distributed its leaflet, among other places, at a "Marxism '97" gathering in London of Tony Cliff's Socialist Workers Party (SWP) affiliates of the American International Socialist Organization (ISO). Attacking the Cliffites' support to Blair's openly anti-working-class and anti-Irish "New Labour," the SL/B declared, "SWP wanted a Labour government, they've got it!" The forging of a revolutionary workers party requires breaking Labour's working-class base from its chauvinist, pro-capitalist misleaders

Portadown, July 6: RUC cops (right) and British troops (far right) attack Catholic residents as Blair gives go-ahead for reactionary Orange Order provocation.

Reuters photos

JULY 6—At about 3:30 a.m. hundreds of British soldiers and RUC men in full riot gear, [armoured] Saracens, and over a hundred armoured Land Rovers stormed into the Garvaghy Road. Residents were thus "informed" of Secretary of State [for Northern Ireland] Dr. Mowlam's "decision" to clear the way for a thousand Orangemen to flaunt the bloody Union Jack in the face of the oppressed Catholics of Northern Ireland with the biggest mobilisation of the British Army for years. Catholic residents who resisted this outrage were met with plastic bullets fired at the head; casualties lay on the ground, blood streaming. This is the bitter fruit of the imperialist "peace process."

"Mo" Mowlam is the authentic face

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WORKERS VANGUARD

50¢

No. 672

8 August 1997

Down With U.S. NAFTA Rape of Mexico!

Andrés Garay

Daniel Aguilar

As polarization of Mexican society increases, bourgeois rulers step up cop/army repression. While PRD leader Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas celebrates July 6 election as mayor of Mexico City, his victory will change nothing for workers and peasants.

Mexico: For Workers Revolution!

"Left" Builds Illusions in Bourgeois-Nationalist PRD

MEXICO CITY—The outcome of the July 6 elections was a measure of the fragility of the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) which has ruled the country with an iron fist for 70 years. Deeply corrupt and increasingly discredited, the PRI regime, currently headed by President Ernesto Zedillo, has seen its virtual monopoly of political power shattered. The party lost its majority in the Chamber of Deputies, the lower house of Congress, as the "leftist" Party of the Democratic Revolution (PRD) and the right-wing National Action Party (PAN) garnered 26 and 27 percent of the vote respectively. The PRI also lost control of a number of key state governments. Most significantly, PRD leader Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas won a resounding victory in the first-ever election for Mexico City mayor, the second most important political post in the country and a platform from which to campaign for the next presidential elections.

Cárdenas' victory was welcomed by millions of Mexico's downtrodden and dispossessed. But its occasional "populist" rhetoric notwithstanding, the PRD is a bourgeois-nationalist party which props up the system of capitalist exploitation and imperialist domination. The Grupo Espartaquista de México (GEM), section of the International Communist League, opposed any electoral support to the PRD.

In the past couple of years, particularly since the financial collapse which came in the wake of the imposition of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), Mexican workers have seen their real wages plummet by 50 percent. The official minimum wage currently amounts to barely $3 a day, and millions of workers can't even count on that. The NAFTA "free trade" rape of Mexico has devastated much of the country's medium and small industry, leading to skyrocketing unemployment in the cities and ever more desperate poverty in the countryside. Beginning with the Zapatista uprising in Chiapas when NAFTA was imposed on New Year's Day 1994, peasant guerrilla insurgencies centered in the rural southern states have shaken the country.

Since splitting from the PRI a decade ago, Cárdenas has postured as an advocate for the poor and an opponent of escalating imperialist subjugation. Yet the election outcome was greeted positively not only by Mexico's plebeian masses. An editorial in the *New York Times* (8 July) enthused over the result of the ballot and an article in the *Wall Street Journal* made clear the reaction of U.S. financial circles, quoting a spokesman for Standard & Poor who said: "I don't think the PAN or the PRD will push for anything radical." The Mexican stock market soared to new highs.

In part, the Yankee imperialists are putting a good face on the crumbling of the PRI, which has been Washington's favored instrument for neocolonial repression of the Mexican masses for decades. But at the same time, the ossified PRI is increasingly seen by farsighted bourgeois elements as a liability in keeping the lid on the country's seething social contradictions. This is what is behind the spate of cynical "exposés" by the U.S. recently of big-time drug runners high up in the Mexican state and military apparatus. Under the guise of the "war on drugs," the Pentagon has been funneling massive shipments of arms and equipment to its neocolonial lackeys throughout Latin America in order to suppress peasant insurgencies and other threats to capitalist stability.

The crisis of the "one-party" PRI regime was symbolized by the death on June 21 of Fidel Velázquez, who for half a century headed the corporatist Mexican Labor Federation (CTM), a key prop of PRI rule. As the PRI has unraveled, the PRD has come forward as a useful safety valve and alternative face for bourgeois rule, seeking to contain a restless working class which has increasingly started to escape the control of the mechanisms which have straitjacketed it for so long.

Despite the presence of numerous former leftists, the PRD is not in any sense even a reformist workers party (i.e., a ***pro-capitalist*** party which is based on the organized workers movement) but a bourgeois-nationalist formation. Cárdenas broke from the PRI in 1987 in order to posture at a return to the "good" old days before that party abandoned its pretense of independence from U.S. imperialism. Cárdenas recognized that class peace was threatened by the massive destruction of jobs in light industry when protective tariffs were lifted (presaging NAFTA), by the spectre of massive denationalizations and by large-scale expulsions of peasants from the land. But the Cárdenas forces promise only to make the draconian austerity dictated by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) more palatable, while offering the masses the sop of anti-Yankee nationalism.

In a pre-election visit to Wall Street in early May, Cárdenas impressed leading financiers by his "statesmanlike" demeanor. Said one, "He didn't say anything that would cause investors to run out frightened." On the eve of the elections Cárdenas promised that "a government of the PRD should give a lot of confidence to investors" by cleaning up corruption. Backing up his words was the PRD's record since it gained control of Ciudad Nezahualcoyotl, a huge working-class suburb of Mexico City. In his first six months in office, the PRD mayor laid off a third of the municipal workforce while buying new weapons for the cops.

Such actions are neither an accident nor a "betrayal," as the opportunist "left" which supports the Cardenistas would have it. The PRD is fundamentally no more capable than the semi-bonapartist PRI regime of resisting the demands of the U.S. imperialist masters that the Mexican government starve its "own" people for the greater profits of Wall Street. In colonial and semicolonial countries, characterized by "combined and uneven

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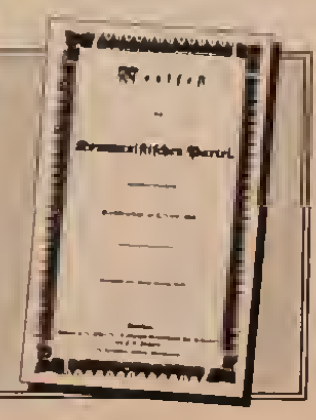
Young Spartacus

150 Years of the Communist Manifesto...8



Australian PDC Protests Arrest of Black Panther

We publish below a July 11 letter by the Partisan Defence Committee in Australia to Acting Minister for Immigration Amanda Vanstone protesting the arrest and threatened deportation of former U.S. Black Panther Lorenzo Kom'boa Ervin during a speaking tour there last month. After spending four days in jail, Ervin's visa was restored and he was released by order of the High Court.

Ervin continued to be hounded by the government as he defiantly resumed his tour, addressing hundreds of people at meetings in Melbourne and Sydney. Hours after his departure from Australia, the right-wing government vindictively cancelled Ervin's visa—denying him the right to return—and labeled him an "excluded person." The government has also moved to further tighten its racist entry restrictions and curtail appeal rights for visitors and immigrants.

On Tuesday, July 8, visiting United States black activist Lorenzo Ervin was seized by Australian authorities, thrown into solitary confinement in a Brisbane high-security jail and, according to his lawyer, assaulted in custody. Ervin is a former member of the U.S. Black Panther Party who has travelled to 22 countries, and recently completed a six-week tour of Britain. The day before his incarceration Ervin commenced a four-week speaking tour of Australia, hosted by the anarchist group Angry People. After protests across Australia and internationally, this morning the High Court ordered Ervin's release from jail but the victimisation continues; Ervin is now reportedly required to vouch for his "good character" and "show cause" why he should not be deported. ***This is an outrage! The Partisan Defence Committee protests the jailing of Lorenzo Ervin and the continued threat of deportation. No deportation! Hands off Lorenzo Ervin!***

Lorenzo Ervin hijacked a plane from the U.S. to Cuba in 1969 at the age of 19 believing the U.S. police and FBI had issued "shoot to kill" orders against him under the FBI's COINTELPRO program which was designed to "neutralise" the Black Panthers and other radical groups; 38 Black Panther Party members were assassinated and many others jailed under COINTELPRO. Today Mumia Abu-Jamal, award-winning radical journalist and former Black Panther, is a political prisoner on death row in the U.S. and is fighting for his life. Mumia was framed up for a police shooting he did not commit and sentenced to death. The PDC and other activists are fighting for Mumia's freedom; in 1995 our campaign for justice for Mumia resonated around the world resulting in a stay of execution. Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the racist U.S. death penalty! Geronimo ji Jaga Pratt, another former Black Panther and COINTELPRO frame-up victim, has finally been released from jail after serving 27 years for a crime his jailers knew all along that he did not commit. Pratt's release is a vindication of the fight against systematic vicious injustice meted out to anti-racist activists and leftists by capitalist governments around the world.

The witchhunt of Ervin in Australia began with Pauline Hanson's fascistic One Nation Party calling him a "proven terrorist" and demanding his deportation. Prime Minister John Howard and Acting Immigration Minister Amanda Vanstone then moved to deport Ervin, alleging that he is "not of good character," while the media kept up a barrage of descriptions of Ervin as a "terrorist" and "convicted hijacker and kidnapper." The motive behind this racist hysteria was stated succinctly by the Brisbane *Sunday Mail* (6 July): "Mr. Ervin said he was still an anarchist and black revolutionary committed to the defeat of white supremacy." Ervin was quoted as saying:

> "I think it's for specific political reasons, to make me a whipping boy and to keep me from being able to speak to the Aborigines, but also to be able to prevent me from going back from here and talking about what's happening."
>
> —*Australian*, 9 July

The Howard government has escalated the racist, anti-working-class war against immigrants and Aborigines. The death toll for Aborigines in Australia's jails continually rises, while hundreds of mainly Asian immigrants are thrown into deportation camps. Obviously the White Australia policy continues and it is little wonder that the government fears international scrutiny. The allegation that Ervin is a "kidnapper" is bitterly ironic coming from the state which for decades kidnapped the children of the brutally oppressed Aboriginal people in order to "assist" the supposed "dying out of the race." Ominously, the same day as Ervin was arrested, Howard defended Australia's "race record" stating that he was "no longer prepared to accept unreasonable, ill-founded and uninformed criticism of the tolerance credentials of the Australian community" (*Age*, 9 July).

The attacks on Ervin recall the witchhunt carried out against Aboriginal and union militants who were part of a thousands-strong demonstration which "invaded" Parliament House in response to a police attack on Aboriginal protesters in Canberra on 19 August 1996. The student editors of the *Rabelais* newspaper face the threat of long jail terms for printing articles the haughty capitalist rulers deem "unacceptable." Yet another hysterical campaign is now demonising anti-Hanson protesters as "violent," and particularly targeting leftist groups for supposedly "inciting to violence": a clear preparation for more police repression. The government hypocritically rants in defence of "free speech" for racists like Hanson and meanwhile continues to constrict the bounds of "acceptable" dissent, curtailing the democratic rights of the labour movement, minorities and the left.

The Partisan Defence Committee is a class-struggle, non-sectarian legal and social defence organisation which champions cases and causes in the interest of the whole of the working people. This purpose is in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League. We demand: ***No deportation! Hands off Lorenzo Ervin!*** ■

Trotsky on the Communist Manifesto

TROTSKY

LENIN

Particularly in the wake of the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union, it is more necessary than ever to reimplant in the working class the consciousness of its historic task: to seize state power in order to sweep away capitalism and lay the basis for a classless, egalitarian society. In 1937, four years after Hitler's rise to power and as Stalin's Third International was strangling the Spanish workers revolution, Leon Trotsky stressed in an introduction to the first Afrikaans edition of the Communist Manifesto *of 1848, that the key to the future of humanity lies in the construction of revolutionary vanguard parties. Today the International Communist League fights to reforge Trotsky's Fourth International as the world party of socialist revolution.*

It is hard to believe that the centennial of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* is only ten years away! This pamphlet, displaying greater genius than any other in world literature, astounds us even today by its freshness. Its most important sections appear to have been written yesterday. Assuredly, the young authors (Marx was twenty-nine, Engels twenty-seven) were able to look further into the future than anyone before them, and perhaps than anyone since them....

We have already remarked above that according to Marx no social order departs from the scene without first exhausting the potentialities latent in it. However, even an antiquated social order does not cede its place to a new order without resistance. A change in social regimes presupposes the harshest form of the class struggle, i.e., revolution. If the proletariat, for one reason or another, proves incapable of overthrowing with an audacious blow the outlived bourgeois order, then finance capital in the struggle to maintain its unstable rule can do nothing but turn the petty bourgeoisie ruined and demoralized by it into the pogrom army of fascism. The bourgeois degeneration of the Social Democracy and the fascist degeneration of the petty bourgeoisie are interlinked as cause and effect.

At the present time, the Third International far more wantonly than the Second performs in all countries the work of deceiving and demoralizing the toilers. By massacring the vanguard of the Spanish proletariat, the unbridled hirelings of Moscow not only pave the way for fascism but execute a goodly share of its labors. The protracted crisis of the international revolution, which is turning more and more into a crisis of human culture, is reducible in its essentials to the crisis of revolutionary leadership.

As the heir to the great tradition, of which the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* forms the most precious link, the Fourth International is educating new cadres for the solution of old tasks. Theory is generalized reality. In an honest attitude to revolutionary theory is expressed the impassioned urge to reconstruct the social reality.

—Leon Trotsky, "Ninety Years of the Communist Manifesto" (October 1937)

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

EDITOR: Len Meyers

EDITOR, YOUNG SPARTACUS PAGES: Joe Sol

PRODUCTION MANAGER: Susan Fuller

CIRCULATION MANAGER: Mindy Sanders

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No. 672 **8 August 1997**

Young Spartacus

Rescind the Cuba Travel Ban!

We print below a letter by the New York Spartacus Youth Club denouncing the outrageous denial of the right of American youth to travel to Cuba this summer. Despite the ban, some 700 youths attended the World Festival of Youth and Students in Cuba.

27 July 1997

Steven Pinter, U.S. Treasury Dept.
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Pinter:

The New York Spartacus Youth Club vehemently protests the denial of travel licenses to 50 youths planning to attend the World Festival of Youth and Students in Havana, Cuba. This act not only cuts off these youth from expressing their solidarity with beleaguered Cuba, but is part and parcel of the U.S. government's far more sinister vendetta against the Cuban Revolution.

Arrogantly, the Treasury Department declares the Youth Festival not "within the scope of clearly defined educational activities." As Malcolm X frequently said, "Travel broadens." No doubt attendees of the Havana Festival would see firsthand the effects of U.S. imperialism's starvation embargo against the Cuban people, which would be very educational. The U.S. imperialists are not interested in education, but in cranking up the economic and military heat against their imperialist rivals and those countries which have overthrown U.S.-supported capitalist regimes. In the U.S. this means increasingly squelching the democratic rights of workers, youth and minorities. This denial is part of a long anti-Communist policy of refusing passports to American leftists or visas to radical foreigners, thus denying political dissenters a basic democratic right.

U.S. imperialism has tried to destroy the Cuban Revolution for more than three decades, through military invasions, CIA/*gusano* provocations and economic strangulation. We say: Cuba must not stand alone! We oppose the isolation of Cuba from the standpoint of defending the gains of the Cuban Revolution and the fight for socialist revolution internationally. The would-be participants in the World Festival of Youth and Students have the right to travel wherever they want. Rescind the travel ban! U.S. hands off Cuba!

Arthur Llewellyn

for the New York
Spartacus Youth Club

cc: U.S. Organizing Committee for World Festival of Youth and Students in Havana, Cuba

From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal

Class War Against Youth

"Judges are products of the containment system.... The criminal justice system makes a lot of money for everybody, from the judge to the bailiff, from the bail bondsmen to the police, the sheriffs deputies, everybody. The neoslave, the young Black male, becomes the fodder, the raw material, for this industry-like profit-making system. The fodder is Black, and the beneficiaries—those who profit from the system—are white."

— Judge Joseph B. Brown, Jr., Shelby County Court, Memphis (quoted in Linn Washington, *Black Judges on Justice* [New Press, 1994])

Two brown boys shuffle into the cell to await their court date, their pants hanging down their behinds, their eyes straining to project a toughness that their tiny stature and beardless faces betray.

Their bright eyes search the tiny holding cell. One paces the five and a half foot long, four foot wide glass-doored cage, while the other sits on the hard, wooden slats of the bench, his eyes unfocused, inward looking.

The other sits, and they talk to each other, their shoulders hunched bespeaking their mutual fear.

All around them are men in their twenties, thirties and forties, their eyes narrowed into slits of dulled anger.

The two boys are 16, but they are certified as adults.

They are Munchkins in the Land of Giants, and they are entering a courtroom that sees its highest duty as flinging them into the netherworld of American gulags for as long as humanly (legally) possible.

For all intents and purposes, they are doomed. In an age when crime rates are in sharp decline, the youth and adult rates of incarceration are skyrocketing.

The U.S. government's own statistical data shows these trends convincingly in *Correctional Populations in the United States, 1994* (U.S. Department of Justice, 1996) and *Criminal Victimization, 1973-95* (U.S. Department of Justice, 1997).

With regard to juveniles in U.S. jails, in 1990 the average daily population was 2,140. By 1993 that number was 3,400, or an increase of 59 percent. The actual one-day count of the nation's juvenile jail population is even more damning, especially when examined over time. The 1990 one-day count was 2,301, and by 1993 that figure rose to 4,300, or an increase of 87 percent. By 1994, that number swelled to 6,725, or 192.2 percent over the 1990 population figure (see *Correctional Populations in the United States, 1994*).

As measured by the government's National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS), the 1995 rape, robbery and aggravated assault rates were at a 23-year low. The FBI's Uniform Crime Reports (UCR) measured a similar trend in murder rates (see *Criminal Victimization, 1973-95*).

In the text of the latter report:

"In 1994, compared to 1973, the U.S. population was about as vulnerable to violent crime but significantly less vulnerable to property crime. From 1973 through 1994, the rates of violent crime victimization had intervals of stability, increase, and decrease, while the rates of property crime underwent a virtually uninterrupted decrease. The 1994-'95 decline in the violent crime rate was the largest single-year decrease ever measured in the total violent category."

One wonders; what is the relationship between the crime rate and the incarceration rate?

The answer seems to be: very little.

The nation's incarceration rate appears to be driven, not by the crime rate, but by the needs of the prison-industrial complex.

The poor, the young, and the Black are unwitting fodder to feed the machine, like chickens on a McDonald's conveyor belt.

Gone is even the shallowest pretense of rehabilitation, with prison's economic imperative assuming its brute mastery of the game of life and death.

Those two young boys, unless they are very, very lucky, have in store for themselves years and years, perhaps decades, of brain-rotting, soul-smashing madness that they may, or may not, survive.

They will grow to a sullen manhood out of the scent or presence of women, in a sexual slaughterhouse.

They will enter a system that profits from their every hour of misery.

They will feed a system that calls itself "corrections," yet outlaws any education beyond a G.E.D.

They enter a man-made Hell, where the cold eye of the "Law" has deemed them to be men, while nature has determined they are what they indeed are: Boys.

Boys cast beyond the pale.

13 July 1997

© 1997 by Mumia Abu-Jamal

To join the fight to free Mumia and for the latest updates on his case, contact the Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013-0099; phone (212) 406-4252. E-mail: 75057.3201@compuserve.com. Urgently needed contributions for Mumia's defense, which are tax-deductible, should be made payable to the Bill of Rights Foundation, earmarked "Mumia Abu-Jamal Legal Defense," and sent to the Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, 163 Amsterdam Avenue, No. 115, New York, NY 10023-5001. If you wish to correspond with Jamal, you can write to: Mumia Abu-Jamal, AM8335, SCI Greene, 1040 E. Roy Furman Hwy., Waynesburg, PA 15370.

Wheeling-Pitt Strike Derailed

Steel Union Tops Beg Bankers, Let Strikers Hang

AUGUST 2—Yesterday, United Steelworkers (USWA) officials announced a tentative agreement to end the ten-month-long strike against Wheeling-Pittsburgh Steel Corporation, centrally over the demand that the company restore the guaranteed pension which it ended over a decade ago. The battle by 4,500 steel workers against Wheeling-Pitt, which idled eight steel plants in Ohio, West Virginia and Pennsylvania, has been the longest steel strike in U.S. history.

Throughout that time, strikers and their families sank ever deeper into poverty, and towns like Mingo Junction, Ohio—where the largest of the plants is located—were turned into economic ghost towns. But the strikers remained solid. By all accounts, not a single worker crossed a picket line and thousands of unionists from up and down the Ohio River Valley joined solidarity demonstrations for their brothers and sisters at Wheeling-Pitt. Yet despite their enormous sacrifice, the workers have been saddled with a deal which—though details have been left deliberately vague—includes the loss of one in five jobs and at best a paltry pension contribution by the company.

Far from harnessing the potential social power of organized labor, the union tops refused to employ class-struggle tactics like plant occupations to win the strike. Instead of organizing labor solidarity in struggle, the USWA bureaucracy ludicrously appealed to the bankers and bosses for "solidarity." In a June 26 press release, USWA president George Becker trumpeted a "streets and suites" strategy based on "sophisticated 'corporate campaign' techniques" to beg Mellon Bank, Merrill Lynch and other Wall Street investors to pressure Wheeling-Pitt's parent company to return to the bargaining table. During the summer, USWA bureaucrats, joined by AFL-CIO president John Sweeney, bused in groups of strikers for rallies outside sites like the New York Stock Exchange.

This "corporate campaign" farce by the AFL-CIO tops has been the death knell of one strike after another over the past decade or more—from the Hormel P-9 strike in the mid-1980s to the recent Detroit newspaper strike debacle. This strategy of defeat entails toothless consumer boycotts and lobbies outside stockholder meetings. Occasionally, these impotent stunts are accompanied by stage-managed acts of "civil disobedience" by union officials. This is what Sweeney's "new" AFL-CIO passes off as "militancy."

The demoralizing impact of the AFL-CIO bureaucracy's defeatist strategy is reflected not only in the sharp decline in union membership. The number of strikes annually is now at the lowest level since World War II, while the length of the average strike has dramatically increased. Between 1950 and the mid-1970s, strikes generally lasted only four days. By 1985, the average strike was 38 days long. In 1993 and 1994, this figure rose to 53 days, long enough to ensure that many families were forced into dire poverty and had their homes repossessed. The "corporate campaign" swindle run by the AFL-CIO traitors is the reason millions of workers today equate strikes with starvation. To turn things around requires sharp political struggle within the unions to oust the pro-capitalist bureaucracy.

The AFL-CIO misleadership *opposes class struggle* because it sees the world through the same lens as the capitalists and their government. The purpose of the union tops, aptly dubbed "labor lieutenants of the capitalist class" by early American socialist Daniel De Leon, is to ensure the subordination of the workers to the national interests of the enemy class. This collaboration with the capitalist rulers is codified in the labor bureaucrats' fealty to the Democratic Party. In recent years, as the U.S. bourgeoisie has ratcheted up the rate of exploitation to compete with its imperialist rivals abroad, the trade-union bureaucracy has ever more openly taken on the role of *policing* the labor movement on behalf of the capitalist class.

A stark expression of the union tops' identification with the interests of racist U.S. imperialism is their single-minded push for chauvinist protectionism against workers in Japan, China, Mexico and elsewhere. Thus, a recent editorial in the USWA's *Steelabor* (May-June 1997) features an anti-Communist tirade against "the loss of U.S. jobs" to "despotic" China and stars and stripes rhetoric hailing

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— A Revolutionary Marxist Analysis —

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Italian Army Atrocities in Somalia Exposed

Somalian being tortured by Italian troops in 1993.

Somali Land Mission

MILANO—Even as 2,500 Italian "peacekeeping" forces occupy Albania, Italy has been rocked by exposés of torture and murder in an earlier "humanitarian" military intervention, in the East African country of Somalia. After the weekly magazine *Panorama* published long-suppressed photos of racist atrocities by Italian troops in Somalia in 1993, several soldiers came forward to attest that they had personally witnessed the incidents and further documentation flowed in directly from Somalia. As the popular-front government of Prime Minister Romano Prodi tried to whitewash these imperialist crimes, hundreds of people joined in a June 15 protest in Rome organized by the Somali community and hundreds more demonstrated in Milano two weeks later.

On June 12, *Panorama* published June 1993 photographs of a Somali youth pinned to the ground under the boot of a soldier of the Folgore Brigade, the fascist-ridden "special forces," while an officer attached electric cables to the youth's testicles. The following week, the same magazine published grisly photos from November 1993 of a soldier shoving a flare gun into the vagina of a Somali woman who was tied to an armored vehicle. Other photos showed a group of women being whipped and the body of a Somalian whose hand had been cut off.

Today the same troops who tortured and raped in Somalia are continuing the dirty work of Italian imperialism in Albania. The imperialist intervention in Albania, which also includes troops from France, Spain and other European countries, was cynically touted as providing "humanitarian aid," but its real purpose is to disarm the population, halt the flow of Albanian refugees to Italy and consolidate an obedient client regime to enforce the exploitation of the Albanian masses by Italian capitalism. In a leaflet (translated in *WV* No. 666, 18 April) issued on the eve of the imperialist intervention last spring, the Lega Trotskista d'Italia (LTd'I), section of the International Communist League (ICL), demanded: "Italian imperialism, get your bloody hands off Albania! Full citizenship rights for the Albanian refugees and all immigrants!"

When a U.S.-led force, including troops from 18 countries, moved into Somalia under the fig leaf of United Nations sponsorship in late 1992, the ICL demanded: "Imperialist troops out of Somalia now!" Washington and its allies used the excuse of "humanitarian aid" and cynically called the mission "Operation Restore Hope." Yet they brought rape, torture, and all the other barbarism that is inseparable from imperialist exploitation and bloody repression of the colonial and neocolonial world. While liberals clamored for this intervention and various Western "socialists" provided a left cover for the imperialists' "humanitarian" pretensions, it was clear from the outset that this occupation would inevitably mean racist atrocities against the Somali people.

American helicopter gunships massacred hundreds of unarmed men, women and children in the streets of the Somalian capital of Mogadishu. One Italian soldier who recently came forward described a cold-blooded murder by U.S. troops in Mogadishu: "A Somali boy pointed a watergun at a truck of Marines. Three shots were fired from a rifle. Nothing remained of that boy."

At the same time as the Somalia scandal was erupting in Italy, in Brussels the Belgian military command absolved two paratroopers who had been photographed roasting a Somali youth over a bonfire! In 1993, Belgian troops killed hundreds in the port of Kismayu, raping Somali women and throwing children into the Juba River to drown. Earlier, attempts by the Canadian high command to cover up murder and torture by units infested with KKK-type fascists provoked a scandal which brought down the defense minister and the head of the armed forces.

After *Panorama* published its photos of torture in Somalia, the Ulivo (Olive Tree) coalition government in Rome rushed to defend the "honor and reputation" of the Italian military. The Prodi government appointed a "commission of inquiry" (which includes two generals!) in order to whitewash the crimes, while the minister of foreign affairs dismissed the torture and murder as "childish pranks"! This center-left government is dominated by the Party of the Democratic Left (PDS) and actively supported by Rifondazione Comunista (RC), both heirs of the now-defunct reformist Communist Party.

Imperialist Troops Out of Albania!

AP

Italian troops spearhead military intervention in Albania.

RC leader Armando Cossutta lamely called for a "parliamentary inquiry," "dissolution of the Folgore Brigade," "resignation of the officers who commanded the unit" and for the president to "apologize to the Somali population" (*Corriere della Sera*, 14 June). RC would like to slap a few generals on the wrist while limiting responsibility for the crimes committed by Italian imperialism to the "reactionary nature" of a single military unit. They would like to disband the elite Folgore Brigade so the conscript imperialist army ("based on the Constitution") would be better able to carry out imperialist repression in Albania, Bosnia and other countries. Last month, RC voted in the Italian parliament for extending the imperialist military occupation of Albania.

And within RC, the so-called "left wing" led by fake-Trotskyists Marco Ferrando and Franco Grisolia and grouped around the journal *Proposta*, has silently gone along with this open support to Italian imperialism's military operations. Last April, this group voted in an RC leadership meeting for a majority motion which pleaded only to "*delay* the anticipated military mission" in Albania and called for "international observers of the UN, the OSCE [European "security" organization] and the European Community" to oversee elections in that country. And while appealing for "limited and temporary legal papers" for Albanian refugees in Italy, the motion supported by the *Proposta* group called for "bringing criminal elements to justice and seeing to their expulsion." Since in the eyes of bourgeois "public opinion" all Albanians are real or potential criminals, this amounts to supporting their deportation.

With *Proposta* covering its left flank, RC acts as an indispensable prop for the Prodi government, allowing it to carry out its imperialist depredations overseas and its racist and anti-working-class attacks at home. Since its election, the popular-front government has imposed one killer budget cut after another, repeatedly slashing medical care and pensions while increasing taxes, undermining safety regulations and instituting two-tier and even three-tier wage systems. Meanwhile, the "leftists" of the PDS and RC join the bourgeoisie in fomenting racist hysteria against immigrants and refugees. Last March, the Italian navy massacred 89 Albanian refugees, primarily women and children, when the warship *Sibilla* rammed a small boat that was taking them toward Puglia on the Italian coast. The survivors were then thrown into concentration camps and are threatened with deportation.

The recent atrocities in Somalia are but the latest chapter in the bloody history of Italian imperialism in the Horn of Africa. In 1890, Italian colonial troops in Somalia perpetrated a massacre of 400 people. Between 1935 and 1939, Mussolini's troops murdered more than 700,000 people in the region, including through the massive use of poison gas. Mussolini's German Nazi allies embraced this slaughter as a model. One of Hitler's military officers wrote a study on the Italian rape of Abyssinia (Ethiopia) entitled "Military Aspects and Lessons of the First Colonial War of Annihilation."

RC and the PDS wax indignant against any comparison between the Mussolini regime's crimes and those of "democratic" Italian imperialism today. Whether under a fascist regime or with the trappings of bourgeois "democracy," imperialism means brutal exploitation and oppression and bloody terror against colonial and semicolonial peoples. As the LTd'I recently wrote: "The army, together with the police, the courts, the prisons—the state power—is the system of force and violence which the capitalist class uses to maintain its class rule and defend private property. The capitalist army cannot be reformed or put to the service of the working class but must be split along class lines and replaced by the armed proletariat and soviet power according to the principle: Those who labor must rule" (*Spartaco* No. 50, March 1997). The LTd'I fights to build a revolutionary vanguard party in Italy as part of a reforged Fourth International, the world party of proletarian revolution.■

Eldon/Reuters

Racist imperialist occupation of Somalia. U.S. soldier terrorizes Somali youth.

Mexico...

(continued from page 1)

development," the most modern forms of concentrated industrial capitalist exploitation coexist with earlier forms of exploitation and oppression. In Mexico, elements of the Spanish colonial feudal heritage survive in the countryside—the *hacienda* (landed estates), peonage and the *tienda de raya* (stores that take scrip instead of money, to which many peasants are indebted for generations). In a country like Mexico, the national bourgeoisie is simply too weak and subordinated to imperialism to lead or support a fight to achieve basic democratic tasks, carry through an agrarian revolution, or break the yoke of imperialist subjugation.

The resolution of these tasks falls to the proletariat, through a socialist revolution which sweeps away the Mexican bourgeoisie, which has gorged itself on the blood of the plebeian masses, and through fighting to extend that revolution throughout the Americas, including to the powerful multiracial working class of the United States. This is the Trotskyist program of permanent revolution. The combative Mexican proletariat must enter the stage as a "class for itself"—fighting for state power—rallying behind it the most oppressed sections of the peasantry. The indispensable instrument for victory is a revolutionary proletarian party forged through intransigent struggle to break the working class and peasant masses from illusions in bourgeois nationalism. This means as well political combat against the reformists and centrists within the workers movement who actively foster illusions in the "left" nationalist PRD. The Grupo Espartaquista de México is committed to forging an internationalist Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard party to lead the proletariat to power.

Explosive Discontents Shake Capitalist Regime

Despite all the self-congratulation over a "democratic election," Mexico is anything but a stable bourgeois democracy. The electoral battering of the PRI, losing supporters both to its "left" and to its right, points to the sharp polarization of the country. The way for the PRI's electoral defeat was paved as legions of middle-level officials, professionals and small businessmen, among others, that were for decades the PRI's social base began to discreetly abandon it. As Cárdenas inherits part of the state machinery built by the PRI over the decades, with some cosmetic changes and new faces, the rightist PAN will be ready to capitalize on the fears of business owners and the discontent of the middle classes, whose savings were wiped out by the U.S.-engineered "peso crisis" and devaluation.

Recent mass protests in the capital by teachers reflect the growing desperation of the working class. The corporatist CTM's stranglehold over the proletariat has been coming unstuck, with a significant growth of "independent" unions and the formation of a breakaway "Forum for a New Trade Unionism" (*foristas*). Including the million-strong teachers union and the telephone and electrical workers unions, the *foristas* did not openly support the PRI in the last elections. And a couple of years ago, the PRI's slashing of funding and attempts to restrict access to higher education led to massive student protests.

AFP

PRD leader Cárdenas at meeting with Zapatista guerrilla leader Marcos (above). While petty-bourgeois EZLN looks to PRD as force for "democracy," Cárdenas stood by Mexican army as it bloodily suppressed peasant uprising in Chiapas and murdered captured rebels.

Castillo/Mic Photo Press

Widespread outrage earlier this year over the persecution of Claudia Rodriguez for defending herself against rape threw an unusual spotlight on the oppression of women in this deeply male-chauvinist society. The grip of the Catholic church, a feudal remnant, over Mexican society means that women are brutally oppressed, particularly in the countryside. The ban on abortion—supported by a section of the PRD leadership—leads to the deaths of thousands of women each year as a result of botched illegal operations. At the same time, women have become an increasingly significant component of the proletariat in recent years, with 35 percent of all women of working age now in the labor force. This is even more true in the foreign-owned *maquiladora* plants near the U.S. border, where young women compose as much as 90 percent of the workforce in some factories. Working women's organizations have been emerging in these areas.

Much of the countryside is under a military state of siege, as the army has massacred peasants mercilessly in its war against the Zapatista (EZLN) guerrillas in Chiapas and the EPR (Popular Revolutionary Army) concentrated in Guerrero. With the PRI no longer having to take sole responsibility as a result of the PRD's electoral victory, the government may well push for a final military "solution" to the peasant insurgencies.

In Mexico City and above all in the working-class suburbs, the army has augmented the police in joint operations to intimidate the impoverished population, while private paramilitary groups mushroom. Iztapalapa, a populous working-class neighborhood, has been subjected to a virtual state of siege by thousands of cops and troops. Meanwhile, Washington's militarization of the U.S. border, including demonstrative cold-blooded shootings of would-be immigrants, has narrowed that safety valve for desperate people seeking to flee the misery and hardship exacerbated by NAFTA.

There is certainly ample tinder for social conflagration in Mexico. The working class has grown explosively in recent years, from an earlier base limited largely to the extractive industries. *Maquiladora* workers in particular exemplify a layer which is characteristic of semicolonial countries generally, from Asia to Latin America: a new, young working class being subjected to intense exploitation, lacking basic union protection but also not subject to the control of any well-oiled machine of reformist cooptation. These workers are as well a concrete embodiment of the necessity to link up working-class struggles on both sides of the Río Bravo/Rio Grande.

Mexican society is highly unstable and increasingly polarized. Yet there has been no proletarian challenge to capitalist class rule. The reason for this lies in the continuing hegemony of bourgeois nationalism which, pointing to the plundering imperialists to the north, ties the masses to the illusion that they can join with some "anti-imperialist" section of the bourgeois class enemy in a fight for "democracy." While the radical peasant forces during the Mexican Revolution of 1910-17 were defeated, the victorious bourgeois forces found it necessary to co-opt the mantle and rhetoric of the Revolution to legitimize their regime. The nationalists seek to convince the workers that only "Yankee imperialism"—and not the Mexican bourgeoisie as well—is their enemy, cutting against the crucial need to ally with workers in the U.S. and elsewhere in order to defeat capitalism. In particular, the growing Latino sector of the U.S. proletariat, especially in the Southwest, can be a human bridge linking the struggles of the Mexican and North American workers.

Against the bourgeois nationalism pushed by the trade-union bureaucrats and self-styled "socialist" groups, the GEM fights to win the working masses to an understanding of the fundamental identity of class interests of the proletarians of all countries. The hold of nationalist ideology in Mexico is reinforced by the treachery of the U.S. labor bureaucracy, which suppresses class struggle and instead pushes virulently chauvinist protectionism and fans the flames of anti-immigrant racism. In its fight to build a revolutionary party of the working class in the United States, the Spartacist League/U.S. denounces the NAFTA "free trade" rape of Mexico and seeks to mobilize the multiracial proletariat in defense of the rights of immigrants and all the oppressed. We fight to reforge a Trotskyist Fourth International as the world party of socialist revolution.

No Support to Bourgeois Nationalism—For Permanent Revolution!

As revolutionary Marxists, we are opposed in principle to any political support to bourgeois formations, such as the PRD in Mexico or the African National Congress (ANC) in South Africa. This question is fundamental to a historic split in the workers movement, between those who fight for proletarian power and those who place their hopes in a "progressive" or "anti-imperialist" wing of the capitalist class.

In the early years of this century, the great Russian revolutionist Leon Trotsky developed the theory of permanent revolution as a projection of the likely course of revolutionary development in tsarist Russia. Understanding that the Russian bourgeoisie was incapable of leading a democratic revolution against the reactionary autocracy, Trotsky held that the revolution would be proletarian socialist in character. This was counterposed to the Menshevik view that the revolution would occur in distinct stages, beginning with a democratic revolution which would be limited to placing the liberal bourgeoisie in power.

In the 1917 October Revolution, under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party, the working class of Russia proved the validity of the theory of permanent revolution. The weak bourgeoisie, tied to domestic reaction and international imperialism, was incapable of a revolutionary struggle to accomplish the tasks associated with bourgeois-democratic revolutions in the epoch of rising capitalism (e.g., national independence, agrarian revolution). The proletariat was the only class capable of taking leadership of the nation to sweep away the tsarist autocracy and surviving feudal remnants. For this, the revolution had to be at the same time and from the outset a socialist revolution, establishing a dictatorship of the proletariat—workers class rule—which expropriated the bourgeoisie and sought to promote proletarian revolutions elsewhere, especially in the advanced imperialist countries.

Drawing the lessons of the Chinese Revolution of 1925-27, whose bloody defeat was ensured by Stalin's insistence that the Communist Party liquidate into the bourgeois-nationalist Guomindang (Kuomintang), Trotsky generalized the theory of permanent revolution as applicable to all colonial and semicolonial countries. As we will see, the common thread of reformist and centrist opportunism in such countries today is the rejection of this perspective in favor of the Menshevik/Stalinist schema which politically ties the proletariat to a section of the bourgeoisie in the name of "two-stage" revolution. History has shown what this treacherous schema means in practice: in the first stage the proletariat rallies behind the liberal bourgeoisie, and in the second stage the liberal bourgeoisie massacres the communists.

Trade Unions in Semicolonial Countries

In many countries with mass reformist workers parties, as in West Europe, a favored form of class collaboration is the popular front, an electoral coalition

continued on page 6

Spartacist Forums

Eyewitness Report

South Africa: The Struggle for Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

• Nationalism Is the Enemy of Women's Liberation
• For a Black-Centered Workers Government! • Forge a Bolshevik Party!

LOS ANGELES	SAN FRANCISCO	UC BERKELEY
Saturday, August 23, 4 p.m.	Thursday, August 28, 6 p.m.	Thursday, September 4, 7 p.m.
Hollywood United Methodist Church 6817 Franklin Avenue	Location to be announced	Location to be announced
For more information (213) 380-8239	For more information (415) 777-9367	For more information (510) 839-0851

Mexico...

(continued from page 5)

tying the workers organizations to bourgeois parties. In cases like Nelson Mandela's South Africa, with its "tripartite alliance" of the ANC, the Communist Party and the COSATU trade-union federation, such cross-class coalitions can take the form of a ***nationalist popular front***. However in Mexico, the subordination of the proletariat to the bourgeoisie has been particularly naked, with the trade-union movement ***directly tied to bourgeois nationalism***. As in many semicolonial countries, Mexico has not seen the development of even a reformist mass party of the working class (like the British Labour Party, the French Communists or the German Social Democrats). In the 1930s the workers were organized into *corporatist* unions (directly linked to the state) and considered the "worker sector" of the PRI and its predecessors. This reflected also the particular destiny of the defeated Mexican Revolution of 1910.

In his unfinished 1940 manuscript on "Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay," Trotsky quite precisely described the relations between the proletariat and a bourgeois-nationalist regime which claims to oppose the depredations of imperialism:

> "Colonial and semicolonial countries are under the sway, not of native capitalism but of foreign imperialism. However, this does not weaken but, on the contrary, strengthens the need of direct, daily, practical ties between the magnates of capitalism and the governments which are in essence subject to them—the governments of colonial or semicolonial countries inasmuch as imperialist capitalism creates both in colonies and semicolonies a stratum of labour aristocracy and bureaucracy, the latter requires the support of colonial and semicolonial governments, as protectors, patrons and, sometimes, as arbitrators....
>
> "The feebleness of the national bourgeoisie, the absence of traditions of municipal self-government, and the pressure of foreign capitalism, and the relatively rapid growth of the proletariat, cut the ground from under any kind of stable democratic regime. The governments of backward, i.e., colonial and semicolonial countries by and large assume a Bonapartist or semi-Bonapartist character; and differ from one another in this, that some try to orient in a democratic direction, seeking support among workers and peasants, while others install a form close to military-police dictatorship. This likewise determines the fate of the trade unions. They either stand under the special patronage of the state or they are subjected to cruel persecution."

The death of CTM "dinosaur" Fidel Velázquez brought to the surface frictions long contained at the top of this *charro* (bureaucratic) federation and in the umbrella Congress of Labor (CT). Since the early 1980s, with the so-called "debt crisis" and the beginning of brutal plans for mass layoffs and reprivatizations of nationalized industries, the old CTM unions lost much of their social base and their privileges. But their ties to the old regime were so strong that they preferred to lose part of their power rather than seek a greater distance from the regime. The implementation of NAFTA was another blow at the position of these *charros*, who in many cases became simple *pistoleros*, thugs or labor contractors.

Ruben R. Ramirez

Militant women strikers at RCA Thomson *maquiladora* plant in Ciudad Juárez, February 1995.

The early 1990s saw a rabid bourgeois offensive against union organizations, even including the loyal CTM unions which had flourished under the shelter of state corporatism. The jailing of oil workers' leader Joaquin "La Quina" Hernández was one crude example of bourgeois union-busting against the *charro* unions themselves. The attacks on so-called independent or dissident unions at Cananea, Ford and Volkswagen and the SUTAUR bus workers union in Mexico City were even more brutal.

The unraveling of the PRI stranglehold on Mexican political life and the emergence of the *foristas* and unions independent of the corporatist CTM (and the increasing "unreliability" of even some of the CTM unions, shown for example by their defying the ban on May Day demonstrations in recent years) will certainly arouse the hopes of the plebeian masses for some alteration of their desperate situation. But in the absence of a revolutionary party fighting for the political independence of the working class, the workers and their organizations will continue to be pawns for the parliamentary ambitions of bourgeois-nationalist politicians. As Cárdenas seeks to generate a more "populist" and "national" face for this regime of bourgeois austerity, he can count on political support from "independent" unions. While organizationally independent of the PRI-loyal CTM, these unions are no more politically independent of capitalism than the unions in the United States, which are tied to the capitalist Democratic Party.

Likewise the peasant-guerrilla movements see in Cárdenas their only hope of mitigating the brutal repression. Yet the PRD explicitly solidarized with the armed forces against the Zapatistas in 1994 and later condemned the EPR as it was being encircled by the army in Guerrero. Now Gustavo Landeros, a brigadier general on the PRD's National Executive Committee, has again declared that "the Mexican Army in Chiapas has acted in conformity with the law" (*El Financiero*, 2 July). Thus does the PRD underline its loyalty to the capitalist state and the repressive institutions for safeguarding capitalist property (the cops, army, jails, courts)—the "special bodies of armed men," as Engels called them—which constitute the core of the state.

Meanwhile, the organizations of the Mexican "left" act as a last line of defense for bourgeois nationalism, seeking to pull back into the fold those class-conscious workers looking for a socialist alternative to the politics of the PRI/PRD. From the inception of Cárdenas' movement, these groups have fostered the deadly illusion that the PRD is (or can be "pressured" to behave as) a friend of the workers and the leader of the fight for "democracy." Today, euphoria over the PRD's victory agitates and excites the reformist and centrist left, which prattles about the "exceptional" character and the "mass influence" of the PRD, thereby justifying their own capitulation to this bourgeois party.

Cambio 16

Impoverished shantytown outside Mexico City. To fight deepening immiseration of Mexican masses requires sweeping away capitalist rule.

Opportunist Leftists in the Shadow of the Bourgeois PRD

In Mexico, the Stalinist Communist Party, consistently applying their policy of subordination to the class enemy in the name of "democracy" and "anti-imperialism," simply liquidated outright into bourgeois nationalism without leaving any trace. And various pseudo-Trotskyist groups have for years sown illusions in the advent of a "democratic revolution" headed by the Cárdenas "opposition to the PRI." If, in this election, they did not call for a vote to the PRD it was only because Cárdenas had so openly backed away from his "anti-imperialist" rhetoric by embracing NAFTA and wooing Wall Street.

One example is the Mexican supporters of the United Secretariat (USec) of the late Ernest Mandel. After a whole section had already simply liquidated into the Cardenistas, the Mexican USec group disintegrated after supporting the PRD in the 1994 elections, as one wing went over to the petty-bourgeois Zapatistas. Recently, the USec remnants—joined by leftovers from the defunct Stalinist organization—regrouped in the Liga de Unidad Socialista (LUS). The LUS signed a joint declaration for the elections with the Morenoite Partido Obrero Socialista-Zapatista (POS-Z) calling for "voiding the ballots." That declaration contains a long-winded, resentful discourse against Cárdenas' promises to carry out the austerity policies demanded by the U.S. imperialists.

That this alienation from Cárdenas is tactical and temporary is shown by a LUS statement upholding their political support to the PRD in 1994: "On that occasion, the democratic and revolutionary sectors, tacitly supported by the EZLN, bet on the 'useful vote' and it was given to Cárdenas" (*Umbral*, March 1997). Pretending that the PRD was ever something other than the tame bourgeois-nationalist "opposition" that it is, the LUS now laments that it "has become an integral part of the Mexican political system, rather than remaining firm as a revolutionary refuter and challenger of the same."

While the Morenoites didn't vote for the PRD in 1994—costing them a split in which half of their group, now UNIOS, went for Cárdenas—they nonetheless backed the PRD in a more indirect fashion. The POS-Z called at the time for a vote to the petty-bourgeois Zapatistas, although as was predictable the EZLN decided not to run in the elections in order not to take away votes from the PRD. Now the POS-Z shouts with joy, "22 million against the PRI" (*El Socialista*, July 1997), and proposes a program for "democratic revolution" under a Cárdenas government.

In practice, these "Trotskyists" all serve to tie the proletariat to the bourgeois "opposition" with various "leftist" rationales, backing Cárdenas either directly or through building illusions in the Zapatistas, who represent the most radical current expression of bourgeois nationalism. While defending the EZLN/EPR against murderous state repression, Marxists give no *political* support to such peasant-based petty-bourgeois formations. These groups are in essence nothing more than petty-bourgeois liberals with guns, seeking to pressure the existing capitalist state to be more "democratic." Relying on an atomized peasantry with no coherent class interests, the guerrillaist strategy, however courageous its supporters, is incapable of breaking the chains of capitalist and imperialist enslavement.

A somewhat more leftist version of the same fundamental politics promoted by the POS-Z and LUS is presented by a centrist split from the Morenoites, the Liga de Trabajadores por el Socialismo (LTS). The LTS is allied with the Argentine Partido de los Trabajadores por el Socialismo and is currently linked to the Workers Power grouping in England. The LTS' favored device to cozy up to the bourgeois PRD is to discover the existence of a popular front around Cárdenas, although it is unable to explain what are the components of this "popular front." This enables the LTS to orient to Cárdenas in the guise of looking for a purported "working-class" sector of the PRD. Just as the other centrists now distance themselves somewhat from

Time

Former Mexican president Lázaro Cárdenas (center), father of current PRD leader. While defending his nationalization of foreign-owned oil companies in the 1930s, Trotskyists gave no political support to this bourgeois nationalist.

Cárdenas, the LTS complains that the PRD provides "'democratic' covering" for the PRI regime (*Estrategia Obrera*, May 1997). But in a joint leaflet with the LUS to striking teachers earlier this year, the LTS did not so much as mention, much less denounce, the PRD! Yet it was because the PRD did not want any mass unrest in the run-up to the elections that the mobilizations around the teachers strike were stopped.

Under certain circumstances, revolutionists can raise the demand that workers organizations in a popular front break their alliance with the bourgeoisie. But the PRD is not a popular front. The LTS sleight of hand therefore dissolves into calling upon *Cárdenas* to break with the big bourgeoisie and the imperialists and lead the workers in struggle! When Cárdenas raised a few tepid criticisms of the then-impending NAFTA pact four years ago, the LTS proclaimed: "If he declared himself against the Agreement, it would be necessary to demand not that he sign a paper but that he call on the mobilization of the Mexican workers" (*Alternativa Socialista*, September-October 1993). While claiming that this demand would "unmask him before the masses," the LTS was itself fueling the masses' illusions in Cárdenas as an "anti-imperialist" workers' leader.

IG Discards Permanent Revolution

At bottom, these politics are a repudiation of the Trotskyist program of permanent revolution in favor of a fictitious "anti-imperialist united front" with one or another section of the nationalist bourgeoisie. At the tail end of the syphilitic chain of subordination to Mexican bourgeois nationalism is a new entrant on the political scene: the "International-ist Group" (IG), formed a year ago by a small group of defectors in the U.S. and Mexico expelled from our international party. In earlier articles, we have characterized the fundamental politics of this outfit as "Pabloism of the second mobilization," noting that they look "to adapt to various non-revolutionary forces" ("Potemkin Village Idiocy," *Espartaco* No. 9, Spring-Summer 1997; translated from *WV* No. 663, 7 March).

Under the impact of bourgeois triumphalism over the "death of communism," the quintessentially petty-bourgeois IG despairs of the fight for a revolutionary party to lead the proletariat in the conquest of state power. Instead, they seek to prettify the existing consciousness of the workers and to convince themselves that, somehow, revolutionary struggles are imminent and can triumph without revolutionary leadership.

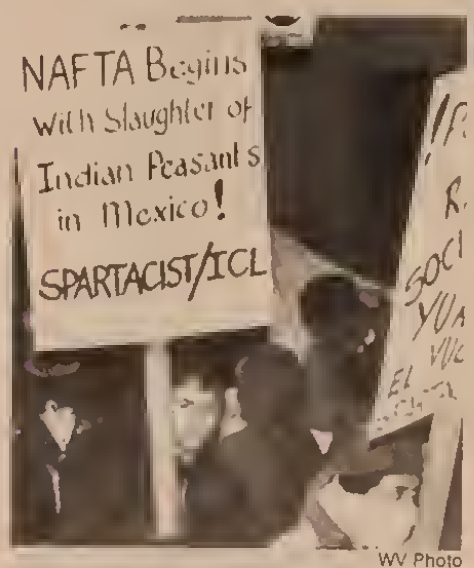
In order to attack the ICL, an IG leaflet (5 May) titled "To Fight the Popular Front You Have to Recognize That It Exists" takes the same tack as the centrist LTS, insisting at great length on the existence of a vaguely defined "Cardenista popular front." At one point they seem to imply that the National Democratic Convention (CND)—an assembly called by the Zapatistas two years ago as an overture to the PRD—proved the existence of a popular front. Elsewhere, they point to the candidacy on the PRD slate of SUTAUR union lawyer Benito Mirón Lince and to the "several union speakers" who spoke alongside Cárdenas at the May Day rally of the Intersindical (dissident unionists). By the same logic, one could even more forcefully define the PRI as a popular front or, for that matter, the Democratic Party in the U.S. Or what about the Peronists, the main party of the Argentine bourgeoisie, which controls a majority of the unions there?

In a July 25 Web posting, the IG again denounces the GEM for "now denying there is a *popular front* around Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas' Party of the Democratic Revolution." It is self-serving in the extreme for the IG to claim that the ICL's principled opposition to the bourgeois-nationalist PRD constitutes a "new line" in any sense of the term. But the anti-Spartacist diatribes of the IG have been a sometimes useful goad to re-examining and clarifying our past propaganda.

Espartaco

Opportunist left has fostered illusions in "left" bourgeois nationalism. At 1988 rally, Mexican USec spokesman cheered: "Viva Cárdenas!"

When Cárdenas' grouping emerged from the PRI, it didn't bring with it any section of the PRI unions. In contrast to the Stalinists and other reformists, who capitulated to Cárdenas and his Democratic National Front (FDN), we sharply denounced the class-collaborationist character of the FDN, and later the PRD. However, it was wrong to characterize the Cardenistas at any point as a popular front, as we did on a number of occasions over the years. The FDN had been merely the electoral vehicle for the consolidation of a new bourgeois party, the PRD. Perhaps we should thank the IG for its emphatic centrist refusal to call things by their right names, thereby helping us to sharpen up the analytical and terminological underpinnings of our own uncompromising revolutionary political line.



WV Photo

New York City protest against bloody army repression in Chiapas, 1994.

What can be the *purpose* of the IG's insistence on the supposed existence of a "popular front" around the PRD? It is perhaps instructive to consider that Stalin justified the suicidal liquidation of the Chinese Communists into the Guomindang by baptizing that bourgeois-nationalist party a "bloc of four classes." Writing of this in *The Third International After Lenin* (1928), Trotsky said:

> "The celebrated idea of 'workers' and peasants' parties' seems to have been specially created to camouflage bourgeois parties which are compelled to seek support from the peasantry but who are also ready to absorb workers into their ranks. The Kuomintang has entered the annals of history for all time as a classic type of such a party."

In the process of seeking to defend its characterization of the Cardenistas as a popular front, the IG in effect liquidates any distinction between the proletariat—which Marxists understand is the only class with the social power and consistent class interest to *lead* the fight against capitalist class rule—and petty-bourgeois forces. Thus the IG lists the organized working class as just one more of an amorphous series of "rebellious sectors" as it speaks of "the subordination to the PRD of a whole range of trade-union, peasant, student, slum dwellers', women's and other organizations which do not form an organic part of that party." Where we say clearly that the PRD is a bourgeois-nationalist party and explicitly counterpose the need for a revolutionary party of the proletariat, the IG opens the door to discovering a hoped-for substitute for the revolutionary proletariat in student radicals, insurgent peasants or whatever is in motion at a given moment. Indeed, with this line the IG could define the petty-bourgeois guerrillaists of the EZLN as part of the workers movement.

Denying the centrality of the proletariat is tantamount to renouncing the program of permanent revolution. Indeed, it is notable that in its May 5 statement—its first piece of propaganda in Spanish—the IG "forgets" to say anything about the strategic importance of *permanent revolution* for countries like Mexico, which are subordinated to imperialism. They mention it at all only to complain that we denounced them for "forgetting" it in their earlier articles. As we observed in "Potemkin Village Idiocy" in reference to the IG, "Those who reject this perspective necessarily end up promoting or apologizing for cross-class blocs—popular fronts—with sections of the 'national' bourgeoisie in the name of an 'anti-imperialist united front'." To dump permanent revolution is a necessary precondition to the efforts at centrist "regroupment" with one or another denizen of the pro-PRD swamp which lie ahead for the IG in Mexico.

In an earlier polemic, the IG took exception to our having pointed to the heritage of feudal peonage in the Mexican countryside. In our response, in "Potemkin Village Idiocy," we pointed out that the only reason for the IG to bridle at this elementary Marxist observation is to shed the theory of permanent revolution. We noted that in practice this position "can only mean that the revolutionary proletariat and its vanguard party cede leadership of the struggle around this [agrarian revolution] and issues such as debt peonage and racism against the Indian peasant population to peasant-guerrilla populists like the Zapatistas."

The IG's repudiation in practice of the fight for the class independence of the proletariat in semicolonial countries was sharply expressed in the issue which prompted it to bring its centrist politics out into the open and break from the ICL. This was their passion to serve as apologists for the Luta Metalúrgica/Liga Quarta-Internacionalista group of Brazil (LM/LQB), with which the ICL formerly had fraternal relations. After losing a base in the steel workers union in the industrial city of Volta Redonda, the LM group turned to the municipal workers union, whose members include a large contingent of the murderous racist *cops*. Despite having no members in the union at the time, the LM/LQB became advisers to a grouping within its leadership and helped to braintrust a "leftist" slate of candidates whose (minimally distributed) electoral platform referred abstractly and in passing to the danger of cops in the unions but said nothing about the cops in *this particular union*! Moreover, the LQB went on to drag this union through the capitalist courts (see "Caught in a Web of Lies," page 14).

Forge a Proletarian Vanguard Party!

Revolutionary Marxists must fight for class-struggle unions, organized on the basis of industrial unionism and politically independent of the capitalist state and the capitalist political parties—not only the fairly decrepit PRI but equally the more dynamic and popular PRD. This includes as well a struggle to oust cops from the Mexican labor movement, including in "independent" unions like the Mexico City UNAM university workers and teachers union. The fight for genuine independence of the workers organizations from the bourgeoisie requires the forging of a revolutionary workers party.

The proletarian vanguard must lead the fight against all manifestations of social oppression, serving as a "tribune of the people." We fight for free abortion on demand as part of the struggle against the brutal oppression of women. This is integrally linked to the struggle to lift the heavy hand of the Catholic church, which foments reaction and bigotry throughout Mexican society, and to the call for full rights for homosexuals. Against the growing moves to turn the universities into elite preserves of the ruling class, we fight for open admissions and a living stipend for all students. Centrally, a revolutionary workers party must rally behind the proletariat the downtrodden rural masses, particularly including the deeply oppressed indigenous peoples. The working class must be mobilized to defend peasants against eviction by large landholders, and to lead a struggle for a thoroughgoing agrarian revolution.

The social power of the working class can be liberated only when the workers themselves, led by their revolutionary party, break the chains of subordination to bourgeois politics and the bourgeoisie's reformist lieutenants, who tie the workers' consciousness to the interests of the "national" bosses. Inculcating in the working class the need to embrace the program of permanent revolution and proletarian internationalism is the task of the communist proletarian party that Trotsky fought to build, in sharp struggle against every variety of reformist and centrist obstacles. That is the struggle of the International Communist League.■

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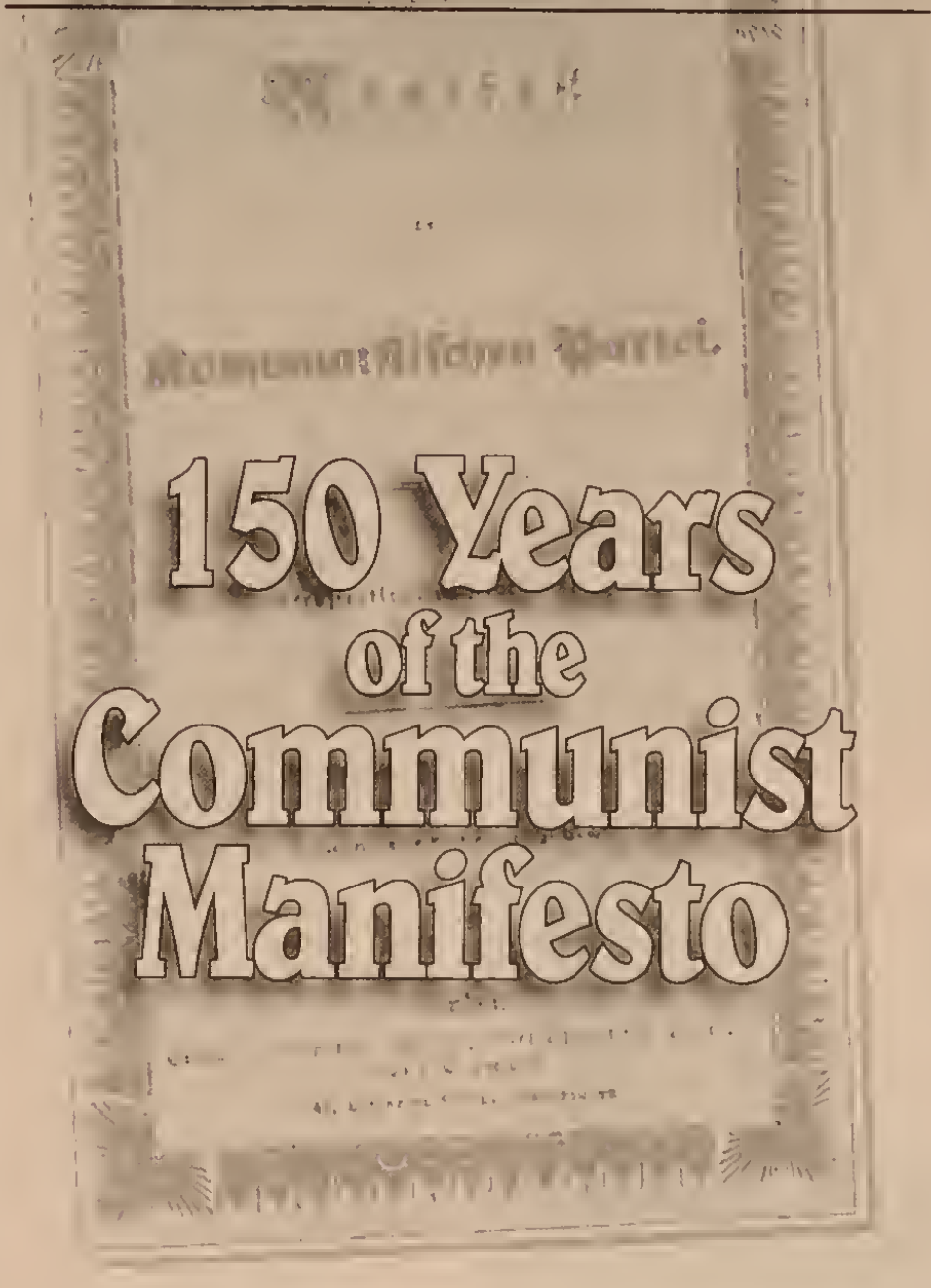
Young Spartacus

SPARTACIST EDUCATIONAL

We publish below an edited transcript of a presentation by Spartacist League Central Committee member George Foster at an SL regional educational in New York City earlier this year.



The *Communist Manifesto* of 1848 opens with the statement that a spectre is haunting Europe, the spectre of communism. Today the world's bourgeoisies, particularly the American, would have you believe that communism is dead and that mankind is at the "end of history." The imperialists of course are still celebrating the recent destruction of the Soviet Union, ignominiously served up to them by Stalinism. But if you strip away their ideological hype and examine their deeds, we see the capitalist rulers are still haunted by the October Revolution of 1917, by that same old spectre of 1848. For the greatest confirmation of the *Manifesto* was precisely the Russian October Revolution of 1917, a revolution which inscribed on its banner the *Manifesto*'s concluding slogan: "Workers of the World, Unite!"

Communism is far from dead. One need only examine the pathology of contemporary capitalism through the prism of the *Communist Manifesto* to see the great prescience of this document, which marked the programmatic founding of modern communism.

Thus in this supposed period of the "death of communism," the Chicago police are actively campaigning to reconstitute their Red Squad, a unit that was formally disbanded some years ago. The example is trivial, but nonetheless characteristic of the current period. Since the destruction of the Soviet Union, the capitalists everywhere have been running amok, feeling there is nothing to restrain them. In an expression of intensified interimperialist rivalry and competition, the bourgeoisies have been ratcheting up the rate of exploitation of the working class across Europe, North America, Asia and Latin America. This has led to accelerating impoverishment of working people around the world, as the few grow even richer.

Hand in hand with this accumulating social tension, we see another feature of present-day capitalism—a massive increase in the forces of state repression. In the United States, this vastly augmented police apparatus has become a patently parasitic and self-conscious layer, part of an immense system of capitalist injustice which has consigned a whole generation of minority and immigrant youth to the hellholes of prison. More and more, the bourgeoisie cultivates chauvinism and racism to divide and weaken the working class and to sap its revolutionary will. And commensurately, there is a sinister resurgence of extreme reaction in the form of fascist bands, capitalism's last line of defense. The bourgeoisie's real motto is not that "communism is dead"; it's "October 1917—never again!"

Origins of the *Communist Manifesto*

The *Communist Manifesto* is one of the first two mature works of Marxism and the founding document of the communist movement. It was commissioned in November 1847 by the Communist League, a small international organization of proletarian-artisan communists, as its statement of principles. The most famous account of the genesis of the *Manifesto* is one written in 1885 by Marx's lifelong collaborator and comrade-in-arms, Friedrich Engels. The Bolshevik David Ryazanov, founder of the Marx-Engels Institute in Moscow, gave an amusing synopsis of this account in his short 1927 book, *Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels*:

> "Engels' story can be summarised as follows: Once there lived Marx and Engels, two German philosophers and politicians, who were forced to abandon their native land. They lived in France and they lived in Belgium. They wrote learned books, which first attracted the attention of the intelligentsia, and then fell into the hands of the workers. One fine morning the workers turned to these two savants who had been sitting in their cloisters remote from the loathsome business of practical activity and, as was proper for the guardians of scientific thought, had been proudly awaiting the coming of the workers. And the day arrived: the workers came and invited Marx and Engels to enter their League. But Marx and Engels declared that they would join the League only on condition that the League accept their programme. The workers agreed, they organised the Communist League and forthwith proceeded to authorise Marx and Engels to prepare the *Communist Manifesto*."

Dietz Verlag Berlin

The *Manifesto* was published as the revolutions of 1848 erupted across Europe. Workers defend barricades in Frankfurt, Germany.

What Ryazanov objects to in Engels' account is that it overlooks the very persistent organizational efforts from 1845 onwards, especially by Marx, to win proletarian communists to his and Engels' views. In addition to being very far-sighted thinkers, both Marx and Engels were active revolutionists who early on had links to the forebear of the Communist League, the League of the Just. Engels had also sought links with militant workers gathered in the Chartist movement in Britain, where he had done ground-breaking work on the conditions of life of the proletariat under modern capitalism.

Particularly as their ideas began to solidify in 1845-46, Marx and Engels sought out working-class communists with the aim of forging an organization around those ideas, an organization that from its outset was to be built upon an international foundation. One should understand that at the time there was a clear distinction drawn between communism and socialism. Socialism was considered a bourgeois doctrine, identified with the various experimental/utopian and reformist schemes of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideologues. The communists clearly defined themselves as those who were for the revolutionary overthrow of the existing order and for the establishment of an egalitarian society. The communism of that era originated in a far-left split from French Jacobinism, exemplified by Gracchus Babeuf and Filippo Buonarroti.

The League of the Just consisted of workers, mainly exiled German artisans, located in London, Brussels, Paris and a few outposts in Germany. These were not mainly modern proletarians working in large-scale mechanized factories. But nonetheless, and to their credit, they were won over to Marx and Engels' conceptions of the nature of modern capitalist society. The League of the Just had inscribed on its banner the slogan, "All Men Are Brothers!" When it embraced Marx's standpoint and transformed itself into the Communist League, it adopted the *Manifesto*'s ringing call, "Workers of the World, Unite!"

When the *Manifesto* was commissioned in November 1847, everyone was expecting that Europe was about to erupt in revolution. Yet despite this widely felt sense of urgency Marx, as was apparently his wont, took some time to write this document. He was then living in exile in Brussels, while the leadership of the Communist League resided in London. In late January, they sent Marx a testy and impatient letter which read:

> "The Central Committee hereby directs the District Committee of Brussels to notify Citizen Marx that if the Manifesto of the Communist Party, which he consented, at the last Congress, to draw up, does not reach London before Tuesday, February 1, further measures will be taken against him. In case Citizen Marx does not write the Manifesto, the central committee requests the immediate return of the documents which were turned over to him by the congress."

The letter and the *Manifesto* crossed in the mail, the latter arriving literally just in time for the outbreak of the expected revolution. It first erupted in Switzerland, spreading rapidly to Italy and Paris, and from there to the Rhineland, then Prussia, thence to Austria and Hungary.

The *Manifesto* was worth the wait. It really is the first systematic explication of scientific socialism, of what modern communism stands for. As Engels explained in 1883, the year Marx died, the basic thought in the *Manifesto*—

which "belongs solely and exclusively to Marx"—was the understanding that the

> "economic production and structure of society of every historical epoch necessarily arising therefrom constitute the foundation for the political and intellectual history of the epoch; that consequently (ever since the dissolution of primeval communal ownership of land) all history has been a history of class struggles, of struggles between exploited and exploiting, between dominated and dominating classes at various stages of social development, that this struggle, however, has now reached a stage where the exploited and oppressed class (the proletariat) can no longer emancipate itself from the class which exploits and oppresses it (the bourgeoisie), without at the same time forever freeing the whole of society from exploitation, oppression and class struggles."

The previous systems of egalitarianism, of primitive communism based on distribution, of the sundry utopian and reform schemes of various ideologues earlier in the 19th century, were superseded. The whole understanding of society was placed by Marx on a materialist basis.

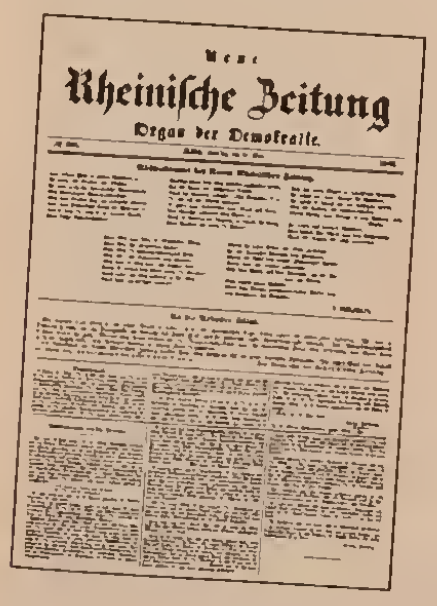
The Rise of Modern Industrial Capitalism

Marx's views did not spring from his brow ready made, but were the result of study, struggle and historical experience. Russian revolutionary leader V.I. Lenin noted that the three constituent parts of Marxism were classical German philosophy, classical English political economy, and French socialism as it was up to that time, including its organizational doctrines. That is to say, Marxism could not have arisen as a set of ideas at some earlier juncture of history, but rather grew both out of its historical antecedents and the real material conditions and struggles of the time, including those of the very new industrial working class.

Capitalism had been around in its mercantile form for well over two centuries before the *Manifesto* was written, but it was just then beginning to extend and transform itself outside of Britain into modern large-scale industrial manufacture ("machinofacture"), using instruments such as steam power to mass-produce goods in the factory system. In 1847, Britain had 850 miles of railroad. That was to increase by several orders of magnitude over the next 25 years.

The *Manifesto* makes the point that the history of all human society, past and present, has been the history of class struggle. The recognition of the role of class struggle was not a discovery of Marx. Bourgeois historians of the Great French Revolution had begun to view the class struggle as important in history. In a letter to his comrade Joseph Weydemeyer in 1852, Marx explained what his specific contribution had been:

> "What I did that was new was to prove: 1) that the *existence of classes* is only bound up with *particular historical phases in the development of production*, 2) that the class struggle necessarily leads to *the dictatorship of the proletariat*, 3) that this dictatorship itself only constitutes the transition to the *abolition of all classes* and to a *classless society*."



During the 1848 revolutions, Marx and Engels used the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* as a platform for revolutionary politics.

Bulloz

The Great French Revolution of 1789: working women of Paris lead march on Versailles.

This is a very succinct summing up of the *Manifesto*. Commenting on this statement, Lenin observed that the theory of the class struggle is in fact acceptable to the bourgeoisie, that those who only recognize the class struggle are not Marxists but still operate within the bounds of bourgeois thinking and bourgeois politics. What is unacceptable to the bourgeoisie is Marx's recognition that this class struggle must lead to the dictatorship of the proletariat, and from there to the abolition of class society. This is the main distinction between the doctrines of Marx and those of the reformists and the various schools of bourgeois historiography.

Dialectical Materialism vs. Idealism

Following publication of the *Manifesto*, Marx spent the rest of his years elaborating and refining and, where necessary, correcting the conceptions he had developed in the light of his subsequent experiences, struggles and study. Materialism is at the core of Marxism. Marx rejected all forms of idealism, the doctrine that thought is primary and the world is simply a reflection of thought. Religion, metaphysical idealism, social Darwinism, etc., are all in different ways expressions of the false consciousness of the ruling class and its various strata.

Engels succinctly summarized the anti-metaphysical, dialectical materialist outlook of Marxism:

> "The world is not to be comprehended as a complex of ready-made *things*, but as a complex of *processes* in which things, apparently stable no less than their mind image in our heads, the concepts, go through uninterrupted change of coming into being and passing away."

Engels goes on to say, "But to acknowledge this fundamental thought in words and to apply it in reality in detail to each domain of investigation are two different things." Lenin put it a little more pithily when he observed that a formal knowledge of dialectics will help you to think about the world as much as a knowledge of physiology will aid your digestion of food.

To understand phenomena they must be examined in their concrete mediations, in their interrelationships, in their contradictions and development, in their totality. Thus the dialectical philosophy that Marx and Engels took from Hegel and firmly anchored in materialism accepts nothing as final, absolute or sacred. As Engels noted, in commenting on the revolutionary kernel contained in Hegel's philosophy, dialectics "reveals the transitory character of everything and in everything and nothing can endure before it except the uninterrupted process of becoming and passing away. And dialectical philosophy itself is nothing more than the mere reflection of this process in the thinking brain."

What Marx set out to do—and accomplished—was to bring the science of society into harmony with its materialist foundations. The bourgeoisie, particularly in its current state of decay and despair, does everything to obfuscate the point.

It is inconceivable that one could have Marxism without certain key developments in modern science and production. The proletariat is a historically determined class, one unknown in its modern form in previous historical periods. As Marx noted:

> "In the social production of their life, men enter into definite relations that are indispensable and independent of their will, relations of production which correspond to a definite stage of development of their material productive forces."

Marx stated that the sum total of the relations of production constitutes the economic structure of society. On this foundation arises a legal and political superstructure and corresponding forms of social consciousness.

Beard

Dietz Verlag Berlin

Communist revolutionaries Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, founders of scientific socialism.

This is the fundamental discovery of Marx. You cannot really understand modern society or any society without adopting such a viewpoint. Marxism represents an enormous leap in human understanding. Previously the study of history had concentrated on the role of individuals or ideologies or religions. But such study really did not lay bare the dynamics and processes. For the first time, Marxism gave the working class the tools to understand society and to change it.

Thus in the *Manifesto* Marx cogently explains what capitalism is, how this new system came into being, and why and how it was revolutionizing the relations of production, revolutionizing the relations between people, revolutionizing the planet. The *Manifesto* focuses on the capitalist organization of production in which labor power is treated as a commodity on the market. The workers have nothing to sell but their labor power, the capitalists have capital. Marx shows that the source of surplus value (profit) is really an appropriation of part of that labor power by the capitalists.

Commodity exchange per se does not generate surplus value. A commodity is exchanged for money, which is really concentrated labor power. But the profit made from the sale of that commodity does not come from the exchange itself but from the value of the labor invested in its production. A worker who works 12 hours a day has to work maybe six hours producing goods that when exchanged on the market will cover the cost of reproducing his labor. The other six hours of his work is solely for the benefit of the capitalist, who appropriates this surplus.

The Revolutions of 1848

As I noted, the *Manifesto* appeared coincident with the onset of the great European-wide wave of revolutions in 1848, but nevertheless too late to have much of an impact on the actual course of events. When revolution erupted in Paris in late February, a frightened Belgian government expelled the communist exiles living in Brussels. Marx and his comrades moved to Paris and began actively preparing for intervention into the revolutionary events that had quickly spilled over into Germany.

German workers had congregated in Paris in large numbers, and there were intense debates about how to intervene in the unfolding German revolution. One group, led by Georg Herwegh and the Russian anarchist Mikhail Bakunin, organized a revolutionary legion to invade Germany. Marx instead argued for revolutionaries to enter Germany individually in order to participate in the upheaval. Herwegh and Bakunin pressed ahead with their legion, which was soundly defeated at the border by Prussian troops. Meanwhile Marx, Engels and

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Radio Times Hulton

The cruel face of capitalist exploitation. Child labor in Britain during the Industrial Revolution.

Communist Manifesto...

(continued from page 9)

their comrades proceeded as planned, with Marx and Engels ending up in Cologne, in the Rhineland.

Cologne was chosen for a number of reasons. The revolutionary upsurge was tolerated by the local bourgeoisie, who in fact petitioned the Prussian autocracy in Berlin to grant concessions. Cologne was the most developed part of Germany. It was also the site of the first radical political organ of the German bourgeoisie, the 1842 *Rheinische Zeitung* edited by Marx. All in all, it was the place which promised more freedom of action and a greater latitude for propaganda and agitation.

Rather than attempt the immediate organization of a communist party, Marx and Engels planned to utilize the radical bourgeois-democratic organizations as a means of cohering workingmen's circles. Thus during the initial period of the 1848 German Revolution, Marx and Engels blocked with and entered the extreme left wing of the bourgeois democracy. Acting as open communists, they managed to capture the central organ of the radical bourgeoisie, the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, transforming it into an organ of the German proletariat—a point that did not escape the notice of the bourgeois democrats. Within a few months, all of the paper's original stockholders had abandoned them.

Marx and Engels' orientation put them at organizational cross-purposes with the Cologne Workingmen's Union, which embraced most of the city's workers. It was led by a physician named Gottschalk, who, though not a communist, opposed any cooperation with the bourgeoisie. At the same time, Marx's supporters were also an active faction within this formation.

Marx and Engels expected the German bourgeois revolution to be the immediate precursor of a proletarian revolution. Their perspective, as outlined in the *Manifesto*, was to join hands in the first instance with the revolutionary wing of the German bourgeoisie "against the absolute monarchy, the feudal squirearchy, and the petty bourgeoisie."

The revolutionaries of the time, including Marx, based themselves on the experience of the Great French Revolution of 1789. The French Revolution was a protracted affair. From 1789, when the Parisian masses stormed the Bastille, the revolution moved through a series of increasingly radical stages. In 1792, the threat of an invasion by a counterrevolutionary coalition of European powers galvanized the population, leading to the proclamation of the Republic. The following year, the king was executed and the left-wing Jacobins came to power under conditions of revolutionary war. Marx and Engels believed that a democratic revolution and universal suffrage in the circumstances of 1848 would lead quickly to the rule of the proletariat and the expropriation of the bourgeoisie.

The course of the 1848 Revolutions

Rosspen

David Ryazanov edited an authoritative annotated version of the *Communist Manifesto*.

New York Public Library

1839 Chartist uprising in Wales, drowned in blood by British troops. Above: Chartist leader Fergus O'Connor.

was in fact quite different. In France, the peasantry voted in a reactionary government that provoked and then crushed the Parisian proletariat in the so-called "June days." Several thousand workers were killed, and more were imprisoned or exiled to distant penal colonies. Fear of the proletariat would in short order drive the French bourgeoisie into the arms of Louis Napoleon, who established a right-wing dictatorial regime in the aftermath of the revolution.

In Germany, as Marx noted in his December 1848 article "The Bourgeoisie and the Counterrevolution," the same fear led the weak bourgeoisie—which appeared late on the scene and mainly had its origins in the old aristocratic classes—into a compromise with monarchical reaction. Henceforward, the German bourgeoisie operated within the monarchical framework, seeking to introduce from above the reforms necessary to remove fetters on capitalist development.

Russia, which at the time was the great reactionary power on the continent, offered the Prussian kaiser money and troops to suppress revolution in Berlin. The kaiser turned down the troops—he had plenty of those—but did accept the money, and suppressed the revolution. In Hungary, Russian troops were accepted, and the revolution there was also suppressed.

Throughout 1848, Marx was using the pages of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* to advocate a war against tsarist Russia. It was his hope that such a war would have the same effect as the war of revolutionary France in 1793 against the European counterrevolutionary coalition—that it would galvanize and save the revolution. But 1848 was not 1793—everywhere in Europe the bourgeoisie feared the revolutionary wave, because in it they saw the proletariat.

While not rejecting the support of bourgeois democrats or severing ties with democratic organizations, in the fall of 1848 Marx and Engels shifted their focus and began to concentrate their energies on organizing the proletariat directly and independently. Still, as late as February 1849 Marx was arguing that the workers should vote for bourgeois democrats where they had no chance of electing their own representatives. But two months later, Marx and his supporters resigned from the District Committee of the Democratic Societies. Marx's subsequent efforts to organize a workers party were cut short by the victorious counterrevolution and he was forced to flee Germany.

Drawing the Lessons of the Defeats of 1848

At the beginning of 1850 the central leadership of the Communist League—Marx, Engels, Schapper, Willich and Wolff—reassembled in exile in London. Despite the triumph of the counterrevolution, they still believed that the revolutionary wave had not subsided and hoped for a new outburst of revolutionary struggle. In preparation for this, attempts were made to reorganize and reinvigorate the Communist League, particularly in Germany.

A balance sheet of the activities of the Communist League during the German Revolution of 1848 was drawn up in London in March 1850, in two circulars by Marx and Engels, both titled "Address of the Central Committee to the Communist League." These are extremely important and interesting documents in the history of communism. According to Ryazanov, Lenin was very fond of these documents, knew them by heart and used to delight in quoting from them.

Combier

March 1871 uprising which ushered in the Paris Commune, hailed by Marx as the first "working-class government."

The first, dated 5 March 1850, raised the idea of permanent revolution. The term "revolution in permanence" had originated in French Blanquist circles in the 1840s—signifying the successive radicalization of the revolution from the overthrow of the monarchical regime to the establishment of communism—though the underlying concept went back to Buonarroti. It was the 1850 circular, however, which later inspired Trotsky to extend and develop the theory of permanent revolution. Clearly critical of errors made by Marx and Engels during 1848, the circular noted:

> "A large part of the members who directly participated in the revolutionary movement believed the time for secret societies to have gone by and public activities alone sufficient. The individual circles and communities allowed their connections with the Central Committee to become loose and gradually dormant. Consequently, while the democratic party, the party of the petty bourgeoisie, organised itself more and more in Germany, the workers' party lost its only firm foothold, remained organised at the most in separate localities for local purposes and in the general movement thus came completely under the domination and leadership of the petty-bourgeois democrats. An end must be put to this state of affairs, the independence of the workers must be restored."

The document emphasized that the "treacherous role which the German liberal bourgeoisie played in 1848 against the people, will in the impending revolution be taken over by the democratic petty bourgeois, who at present occupy the same position in the opposition as the liberal bourgeoisie before 1848." It concluded from this that "the relation of the revolutionary workers' party to the petty bourgeois democrats is this: it marches together with them against the faction which it aims at overthrowing, it opposes them in everything whereby they seek to consolidate their position in their own interests."

Referring to the democratic petty bourgeoisie's calls to improve the lot of the workers through welfare measures and by extending state employment, Marx and Engels wrote:

> "While the democratic petty bourgeois wish to bring the revolution to a conclusion as quickly as possible, and with the achievement, at most, of the above demands, it is our interest and our task to make the revolution permanent, until all more or less possessing classes have been forced out of their position of dominance, until the proletariat has conquered state power, and the association of proletarians, not only in this country but in all the dominant countries of the world, has advanced so far that competition among the proletarians of these countries has ceased and that at least the decisive productive forces are concentrated in the hands of the proletarians."

Marx and Engels denounced the "unity-mongering" of the petty-bourgeois democrats, who "strive to entangle the workers in a party organisation in which general social-democratic phrases predominate, behind which their special interests are concealed and in which the particular demands of the proletariat may not be brought for the sake of beloved peace." More than 80 years later, in the 1930s, the Stalinists employed the same artifices under the rubric of the "popular front" to fend off workers revolutions in Spain and France. What Marx and Engels said of unity with the petty-bourgeois democrats of their day applied with equal force to the Stalinists' later popular-front betrayals:

> "Such a union would turn out solely to their advantage and altogether to the disadvantage of the proletariat. The proletariat would lose its whole independent, laboriously achieved position and once more sink down to being an appendage of official bourgeois democracy."

Marx and Engels instead called for the creation of independent workers organizations—both secret and open—alongside the official democrats, adding: "In the case of a struggle against a common adversary no special union is required. As soon as such an adversary has to be fought directly, the interests of both parties, for the moment, coincide and, as previously, so also in the future, this connection, calculated to last only for the moment, will arise of itself."

This is a seminal document. And

Lenin's fondness for the 1850 circulars is not surprising, permeated as they are with revolutionary spirit and intransigence. In that regard, they remind me of Lenin's own writings on the lessons of the 1905 Moscow uprising, which are too little known. There he makes the point that the culmination of the Russian Revolution of 1905 was not the soviets nor the general strikes, but the Moscow workers going over to an insurrection against the tsarist autocracy. That was the real dress rehearsal for 1917.

In their 5 March 1850 document, Marx and Engels pointed to the necessity of arming the workers. In a clear change from their position of a year earlier, they also stressed the need for the workers to put forward their own candidates in elections—even when there was no chance of winning—in order to preserve the class independence of the proletariat, to gauge their own strength and to bring their revolutionary position and party standpoint to public attention. "If the German workers are not able to attain power and achieve their own class interests without completely going through a lengthy revolutionary development," Marx and Engels wrote, "they at least know for a certainty that the first act of this approaching revolutionary drama will coincide with the direct victory of their own class in France and will be very much accelerated by it." The document closes: "Their battle cry must be: the Revolution in Permanence."

Tellingly, there are two political tendencies who really don't like these two documents. One is the Mensheviks, who never transcended Marx's early tactics in 1848—to function as the extreme left wing of the bourgeois-democratic revolution—which accorded very well with their later schema of revolution by stages. The other tendency is the Stalinists. Mensheviks of the second mobilization, who found Marx's exposition on permanent revolution to be anathema to their anti-internationalist doctrine of "socialism in one country."

Thus, commenting on the first of the 1850 circulars, the famous Menshevik archivist Boris Nikolayevsky writes in *Karl Marx: Man and Fighter*: "Whether the document in all its details really represents Marx's ideas is difficult to decide." Basically, Nikolayevsky views the document as an aberration flowing from an unrealistic assessment of the revolutionary possibilities in Germany in 1850, noting that Marx's optimistic projections of a resurgence of revolution led him into a political bloc with "left" communists such as August Willich. To buttress his argument, Nikolayevsky remarks that Marx at the same time founded the Société Universelle des Communistes Révolutionnaires, which included not only the Communist League and the British Chartists, but also the followers of French insurrectionary Auguste Blanqui. According to Nikolayevsky, for whom Blanquism was nearly synonymous with Bolshevism:

> "The fact that Marx accepted this kind of revolutionism, which he had condemned so violently both before and afterwards, and was so utterly foreign in every way to the essential nature of proletarian revolution, the fact that he formed an alliance with the Blanquists, proves better than anything else the extent to which his judgement had been affected by the breakdown of his immeasurable hopes."

In fact, what this comment graphically demonstrates is the chasm between Marx the revolutionary and Nikolayevsky the Menshevik reformist.

From 1848 to the Paris Commune

It is important for comrades to appreciate the historic circumstances in which the *Communist Manifesto* was written, and that its authors extended their analysis based on the subsequent experiences and development of the class struggle. Thus, in grappling with the events which followed the 1848 French Revolution, Marx came to a more precise understanding of the bourgeois state than that contained in the *Manifesto*. In *The 18th Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, completed in 1852, Marx wrote:

> "This executive power with its enormous bureaucratic and military organisation, with its ingenious state machinery, embracing wide strata, with a host of officials numbering half a million, besides an army of another half million, this appalling parasitic body, which enmeshes the body of French society like a net and chokes all its pores, sprang up in the days of the absolute monarchy, with the decay of the feudal system, which it helped to hasten ... The first French Revolution, with its task of breaking all separate local, territorial, urban and provincial powers in order to create the civil unity of the nation, was bound to develop what the absolute monarchy had begun: centralisation.... Finally, in its struggle against the revolution, the parliamentary republic found itself compelled to strengthen, along with the repressive measures, the resources and centralisation of governmental power. All revolutions perfected this machine instead of smashing it."

Referring to this passage, Lenin wrote: "In this remarkable argument Marxism takes a tremendous step forward compared with the *Communist Manifesto*. In the latter the question of the state is still treated in an extremely abstract manner, in the most general terms and expressions. In the above-quoted passage, the question is treated in a concrete manner, and the conclusion is extremely precise, definite, practical and palpable: all previous revolutions perfected the state machine, whereas it must be broken, smashed." Marx had made the same point in 1871:

> "If you look at the last chapter of my *Eighteenth Brumaire*, you will find that I declare that the next attempt of the French Revolution will be no longer, as before, to transfer the bureaucratic military machine from one hand to another but *to smash* it, and this is the preliminary condition for every real people's revolution on the Continent. And this is what our heroic Party comrades in Paris are attempting."

But even then, Marx did not have a clear idea of what would replace the bourgeois state which had to he smashed. That question was answered by the experience of the 1871 Paris Commune.

In 1870, the French bourgeoisie, led by the Louis Bonaparte of the *18th Brumaire*, was provoked into a war with Prussia. The rather attenuated calls of liberty, equality and fraternity hy the French Bonapartists of the second mobilization were answered by the Prussians' artillery, cavalry and infantry. Following the decisive French defeat at the Battle of Sedan, a weak Republican government negotiated with the Prussians. Marx cautioned against a revolutionary uprising by the Parisian masses in reaction to this defeat, warning that it could only be a foolhardy adventure.

But the Parisian proletariat, with the German armies at the gates of the city and the government surrendering, rose up in a heroic act, threw out the very weak remnants of the bourgeoisie and instituted the first workers government in history. The Paris Commune lasted only a couple of months, but sufficiently long to establish that the workers cannot lay their hands on the ready-made machinery of the state to turn it to their purpose, but must instead smash it and replace it with a new type of government, a government of the working people organized collectively.

Thus the *Manifesto* gives us a general summary of history, which teaches us to regard the state as an organ of class rule and leads to the inevitable conclusion that the proletariat cannot overthrow the bourgeoisie without first winning political power. But a lot of the blanks had to be filled in by the concrete experiences of proletarian struggle.

Marxism: A Guide to Action

In his "Ninety Years of the *Communist Manifesto*" (October 1937), Trotsky observed that "this pamphlet astounds us even today by its freshness." He enumerated a number of key points "which retain their full force today": the materialist conception of history, the theory of the class struggle, the understanding of capitalism as a specific stage in the economic development of society, the tendency toward immiseration of the proletariat, the crises of capital (which include not only cyclical economic dislocations but also political crises and interimperialist wars).

"Workers of the world, unite!" Communists fight to forge world party of socialist revolution. From top: Founding of First International, 1864; congress of Second International's German section, 1875; publication of Third International, 1919; Leon Trotsky, depicted in Diego Rivera mural, founded Fourth International in 1938.

It is the *Manifesto* which first taught the workers that the capitalist state is nothing but "a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie." It taught that every class struggle is a political struggle, as against the conceptions of the anarchists and syndicalists. It asserted, against the arguments of reformism, that the proletariat can't conquer power within the legal framework established by the bourgeoisie. It boldly proclaimed that the workers have no fatherland and that communists stand for the forcible overthrow of all existing conditions, for the socialist transformation of society, for internationalism, and for the withering away of the state. The contrast between the *Manifesto*'s ringing call, "Workers of the World, Unite!" and the Stalinist doctrine of "socialism in one country" could not he starker.

For revolutionaries, Marxism is a living science and a guide to action, not a set of ossified dogmas to be repeated by rote. Thus Trotsky also spoke of what had to be modified in the *Manifesto* in light of experience, and also pointed to certain omissions. Contrary to Marx's prediction at the time, there was only a *relative* retardation of the productive forces of capitalist development. The Revolutions of 1848 ultimately consolidated the economic rule of the bourgeoisie, although in a combined and uneven way. But there was an enormous expansion of productive forces up to the period before World War I. So there was a telescoping of the historical development of capitalism in the *Manifesto*.

What was also made clear by the experience of the Paris Commune was that without the leadership of a revolutionary party the working class can't ultimately wrest power from the bourgeoisie. (One of Marx's criticisms of the Commune was that it did not immediately take energetic measures for the breaking and suppression of bourgeois power.)

The *Manifesto* also did not deal with the interlinked questions of capitalist development and the degeneration of sections of the working class into a labor aristocracy. Marx certainly later became aware of this phenomenon in the case of the English working class, but hammering out the revolutionary party's relation to the trade unions, and their place in the struggle for revolution, required the experience of the workers movement ranging through the October Revolution.

The *Manifesto* assumes a capitalism of free competition. Later, when Marx wrote *Capital*, he delineated the tendency of capitalist free competition to turn into its opposite, namely monopoly capital, which finds its current expression in imperialist finance capital.

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Communist Manifesto...

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Trotsky further notes that the liquidation of the intermediate classes projected in the *Manifesto* did not happen. He points out that capitalism ruined more of the petty bourgeoisie than could be absorbed into the proletariat. And the capitalist state, itself a parasitic excrescence, self-consciously and artificially maintained a considerable petty-bourgeois layer. Aside from the vast layers of petty state functionaries and technicians, other examples are noteworthy. The Japanese bourgeoisie has for decades artificially maintained a large peasantry. In the U.S., the great Western water programs were undertaken by the bourgeoisie with the aim of drawing farmers to the region as a conscious alternative to building up an urban proletarian population.

Trotsky makes the point that legions of technicians, administrators, commercial employees—a whole new middle class—has grown up in a situation where capitalism's existence has been prolonged. He warns that this creates profound social contradictions, most sharply when this layer, facing ruin because of the economic impasse of capital, becomes a ready base for fascism.

Those of you who have read the *Manifesto* know that it contains a section with ten demands, demands that a quarter of a century later Marx and Engels were to criticize as "dated" and in need of revision. But as Trotsky points out, these demands constitute a revolutionary "transitional program" for their time, counterposed to the subsequent social-democratic conception of a "minimum program." As with Trotsky's 1938 Transitional Program, the aim was to advance a series of demands based on the objective needs of the proletariat, to mobilize them in struggle and to teach them the only conclusion: that the successful realization of these demands and of any hope for a real life for the working class depends on a workers revolution.

Trotsky also speaks of permanent revolution. Since 1848 the bourgeoisie has proven itself incapable of repeating the experience of the French Revolution of 1789. The complete sweeping away of all the feudal rubbish and the accomplishment of the historic tasks of the bourgeois revolution in the colonial and semicolonial countries is today the task of the working class. This was the conclusion Trotsky came to in tsarist Russia, with its weak and servile bourgeoisie and its preponderant peasant population. While the Mensheviks argued for subordinating the working class to the bourgeoisie, Trotsky recognized that the vast peasantry had to be mobilized behind the small but socially concentrated and cohesive proletariat, which was the only social force capable of carrying out even the agrarian revolution. Marx came to a similar conclusion in Germany in the mid-19th century, at a time when the proletariat was a minority of the population, arguing that a socialist revolution would have to be backed by some second edition of the Peasant War.

Another weakness in the *Manifesto*, noteworthy by its omission, is the national question, particularly as it applies to the backward colonial and semicolonial countries. Early on Marx and Engels thought, incorrectly it turned out, that the more advanced capitalist countries could play a progressive role in places such as Mexico or Algeria. They began to change their views over the issue of Ireland, recognizing that workers revolution in Britain could not occur as long as Ireland is kept in bondage.

Section Three of the *Manifesto*, under the heading "Socialist and Communist Literature," is undoubtedly exotic to the contemporary reader, as it refers to organizations that have long, long since passed from the stage of history. But it's useful to go back and review this material. With the final unraveling of the October Revolution, we are currently in a period of a big setback for the world proletariat. As a consequence, there is a tendency for the proletariat to be thrown back to more primitive conceptions of social struggle. And certainly some layers of youth, while disaffected by the more gross excrescences of capitalist society, have no understanding of Marxism and tend toward vague utopian anarchoid sentiments not fundamentally different from those advanced by the precursors and early opponents of Marxism.

VAAP

Workers and soldiers exchange banners in Petrograd on eve of 1917 Bolshevik Revolution.

Fight for New October Revolutions!

The finishing touches, in a way, on many of the conceptions of the *Communist Manifesto* and their implementation was really the October Revolution of 1917. And there's a reason for that. Lenin's Bolshevik Party grew up in a very unusual set of circumstances. Here was a party that had to confront a very wide-ranging and rapidly shifting series of challenges, from trade-union struggle to struggle against autocracy, that had to confront the national question in a large multinational empire. Periods of open revolutionary struggle, periods of exile, of underground work, of parliamentary work gave to the Bolshevik Party a set of experiences that were far richer than those in West Europe.

Just as Marx was not born a Marxist, Lenin did not become a Leninist overnight, nor did the Bolshevik Party suddenly appear on the scene fully fledged and tested. If you study the history of the Bolshevik Party, you can see a development. Lenin worked his way through conceptions inherited from Karl Kautsky and the German Social Democracy to the conception of the Leninist combat party. And at every stage this was accompanied by sharp struggle, internal and external, in defense of the program of Marxism.

This process found its culmination in the 1917 October Revolution, which occurred at the weakest link in the chain of world imperialism, toward the end of World War I. And the lessons of this revolution were codified in the early congresses of the Communist International. We very much are the party of the Russian Revolution, but we are also much more than that, because comrade Trotsky and the forces around him actually went on to struggle against a new phenomenon, the degeneration of the October Revolution. The Left Opposition was forged in struggle against the consolidation of the Stalinist bureaucracy, which itself was a direct consequence of the economic backwardness of Russia and the failure of the October Revolution to spread internationally.

So we are both the party of the Russian Revolution and the party of those who struggled to defend it against its Stalinist degeneration. The subsequent struggles of Trotsky—his generalization of the theory of permanent revolution based on the defeat of the Chinese Revolution in the 1920s, his elucidation of the tactic of the united front in the struggle against fascism in Germany, his struggles against the betrayals of the popular front in France and Spain in the 1930s—these all represent extremely valuable theoretical and programmatic accretions. Marxism is a living science. What is so remarkable about the *Manifesto* is that it retains so much of its vital relevance today. That is truly remarkable since it was written at the dawn of the age of modern industrial capitalism.

Today the Soviet Union is no more, and I think China is on the skids. The question posed there is who will prevail: the proletariat throwing off the Stalinist bureaucracy that is increasingly moving toward capitalist restoration, or imperialist-backed counterrevolution. Trotsky, in *The Third International After Lenin*, addressed what he thought was an unlikely theoretical possibility, but unfortunately one that we confront in significant aspects today. He wrote: "Theoretically, to be sure, even a new chapter of a *general* capitalist progress in the most powerful, ruling, and leading countries is not excluded. But for this, capitalism would first have to overcome enormous barriers of a class as well as an inter-state character. It would have to strangle the proletarian revolution for a long time; it would have to enslave China completely, overthrow the Soviet republic, and so forth. We are still a long way removed from all this." Not any more. And it raises even more acutely the dangers of inter-imperialist war.

But as much as the bourgeoisie whistle in the dark about the death of communism, don't believe them for a moment, because the more farsighted of them don't believe it for a moment. If their line is, "October 1917—never again!" our line is, "Again and again and again—one, two, many October Revolutions." As revolutionary Marxists our object is not simply to understand the world, but to change it. But to be able to change it requires that we have an actual lever to effect a revolution, to rip up this rotten social system, which more and more threatens grave destruction if not extinction for mankind. That lever is a revolutionary workers party of the Leninist type, organized in a democratic-centralist Fourth International. Such parties cannot be simply proclaimed but must be forged in struggle.

And that requires a struggle as well against those who call themselves Marxists or Trotskyists while renouncing in practice the fundamental principles of the Marxist movement. Take, for example, the British Militant group, which now calls itself the Socialist Party. Their international resolution of a couple of years ago had three little propositions which showed a touching faith in the bourgeois order. The first was that a revolutionary party is not necessary because the workers will one way or another, through trial and error, find their own way. They go on to say that there'll be no nuclear war because the bourgeoisie is rational. And they also say there won't be any fascism, because the bourgeoisie experienced Hitler. All of this is presented within a very "orthodox" framework, yet it is a complete revision of everything Marxists understand about the state, imperialism and fascism.

Then there is David North's outfit, which currently styles itself the Socialist Equality Party. The Northites have taken to dismissing the unions as absolutely corrupt agencies of the bosses, in no way organizations of the working class. Yet the American bourgeoisie spends over one billion dollars a year in busting unions, breaking up organizing drives, breaking strikes, decertifying unions. They have a rather different appreciation of the question.

While promoting their scabherding, economist version of "class struggle," the Northites also spit on the struggle against black oppression. It is precisely because of the black question that the U.S., uniquely among advanced capitalist countries, does not have an independent class party of the proletariat, even of a labor-reformist type. In general, America's capitalist rulers have been very successful in playing the race card; it's the legacy of the unfinished Civil War for black freedom that contributes mightily to the political backwardness, if you will, of this country. We understand that the fight for black liberation is a strategic question for proletarian revolution in this country.

A century and a half has passed since the appearance of the *Communist Manifesto*, a period marked by many proletarian struggles. Our purpose in discussing the *Manifesto* today is the same as the purpose of its authors. Like Marx and Engels, our aim is to overthrow the old society and replace it with one that will open the road to the abolition of all class oppression.

Capitalism will not fall of its own accord—that's been clear since the 1917 October Revolution. If the Mensheviks and Bolshevik conciliators like Stalin had prevailed against Lenin in 1917, there would have been no Russian Revolution. And very educated pundits would be standing before you in halls of academia explaining how a revolution in Russia in 1917 was impossible. That really is the question of the subjective factor. There is no terminal crisis for the bourgeoisie—aside from nuclear war, perhaps—barring revolution. Comrades, they have to be thrown out. That's our job. ■

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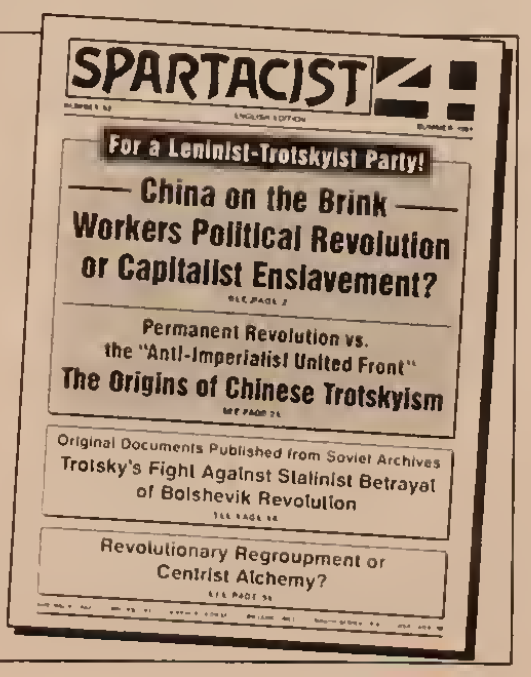


On Agitation and Propaganda

We publish below a slightly edited transcript of a presentation by Spartacist League Central Committee member Joseph Seymour at an April 6 San Francisco Bay Area SL district meeting.

There's a famous saying that nature abhors a vacuum. It's certainly true in politics that whenever you get general political motion—either to the left or the right—you get a series of displacements in which a second tendency takes a position that was vacated by the tendency that's in motion. During the 1960s, for those of you who remember, there were a lot of left liberals and black nationalists who sounded like reds: they would denounce U.S. imperialism as the main oppressor and exploiter of the world's peoples and so on. Now we are in a rightward-moving period in which we get the opposite phenomenon: today the social-democratic and ex-Stalinist parties in Europe sound like the right-wing bourgeois parties sounded 20 years ago, and our Trotskyoid opponents sound like the social democrats—or even more right-wing than the social democrats—sounded 20 years ago. And we see the same thing in the U.S. with the rightward motion of the liberals.

Now, this development necessarily affects our activities as well as the content of our propaganda and agitation. During the heyday of the Black Panthers in the late '60s, we could not have played a central role in their defense—because at that time a significant part of the American liberal establishment, especially its cultural/intellectual wing, was heavily involved in the Panther defense; it was fashionable in some circles. There were big fund-raising parties for Huey Newton and Bobby Seale given by Hollywood stars like Shirley MacLaine and world-famous celebrities like Leonard Bernstein, the composer and conductor of the New York Philharmonic.

Well, these types are unfortunately not rallying to the defense of Mumia Abu-Jamal today, so that we have had to play a central and disproportionately heavy role in the campaign to win his freedom. But precisely because we are so heavily involved in activities which in the not-so-distant past were dominated by left liberals, it makes it all the more important that we make it clear that we are not left liberals, that we distinguish our doctrines from left liberalism.

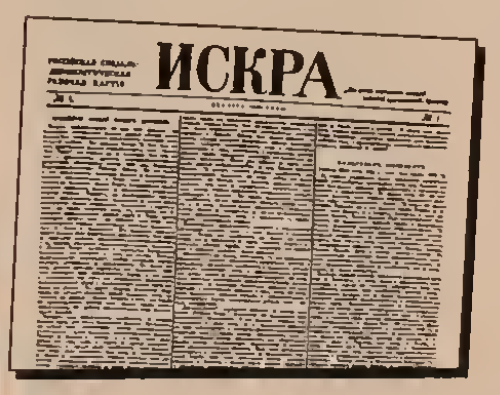
Most of the mass struggles that we are going to be involved in will be in defense of institutions and programs and policies that are associated with either "welfare state" liberalism in the U.S., like affirmative action, or social democracy in West Europe. At the same time, the idea of a socialist revolution appears to most people if not impossible certainly very remote. So if we simply focus on the immediate issues of the struggle we are involved in and emphasize our opposition, our negative position, we are going to present a totally inadequate and quite distorted picture of our politics.

Y. Mebius

Let me give you two examples. Of course, we are opposed to the abolition of welfare. But for us, welfare is a lesser evil; it is not a positive good. We do not accept an economic system which condemns a large section of the population to permanent lumpenization. It is not good that large numbers of black women are forced to spend much of their lives, at best, watching afternoon soap operas on television; that is not what we want to see. Better that than being put in prison for prostitution or dealing drugs to support their families; better welfare than that these women and their children are malnourished; but welfare is not our program.

It is a basic goal and value of socialism that everybody who can engages in productive labor. Under a planned, socialist economy, 90-plus percent of the women who have had to rely on Aid to Families with Dependent Children will be educated and trained to do useful work. If we don't say that when we deal with the question of welfare, we are going to look like old-fashioned "welfare state" liberals—which we are not—and we are not going to recruit to our communist program.

Another example is NAFTA. We oppose NAFTA because it represents an institutionalization and intensification of the exploitation of Mexico by American capital. But obviously our program is not to return to the relations between the U.S. and Mexico that existed before NAFTA was implemented. Nor are we indifferent to the economic integration of Mexico and the United States. Quite the contrary: a key to socialist revolution in the Western Hemisphere is the integration of the advanced industrial economies of the United States and Canada with the more backward regions of Latin America. But, again, we have to say that; it's not enough to just say we're against NAFTA.



V.I. Lenin and Russian revolutionary newspaper, *Iskra* (Spark). Lenin called the newspaper the "scaffolding" of the party.

All of this takes place in the context in which, I would argue, the popular understanding on the left of communism and socialism has changed. I was in high school in the late 1950s, when the Soviet Union launched Sputnik, the first unmanned space satellite. And this had quite a big impact on public opinion in this country, not only in regard to the Soviet Union but in regard to communism as it was then understood. Even though a lot of people thought this was horrible, they nonetheless understood that a planned, collectivized economy could produce major breakthroughs in science and technology. They had to accept that.

When I was in high school and college, it was commonplace to discuss whether the Soviet Union could catch up economically with the United States, as then Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev proclaimed would happen. The general understanding of socialism and communism was of a different and alternative economic system, a different way of organizing production. That's not true anymore. And it's not just because of the counterrevolution in the Soviet Union but also because of the way in which it happened. What happened is that a large part of the "Communist" leaders proclaimed the superiority of the capitalist market economy. You have the same thing happening in China: even though the capitalist counterrevolution hasn't occurred yet, the so-called Communists say that's their intent.

So I would argue that in light of that, there's developed, especially among the younger generation, a different conception of communism, a conception which is closer to that of the late 18th-century French revolutionary Babeuf than of Marx. It's a conception of communism which is a sort of leveling down so that everybody has the same basics, so that there are no vast inequalities.

This is quite different from the Marxian conception of communism, which is based on overcoming economic scarcity by achieving a level of labor productivity qualitatively higher than even the most advanced capitalism. Marx sketches this out especially in the *Grundrisse*, where he explains how this will result not only in vastly expanded time for leisure, but also for the cultural and scientific development of the individual which, in turn, will generate further advances in technology and human productivity:

> "Real economy—savings—consists in the saving of working time (the minimum, and reduction to the minimum, of production costs); but this saving is identical with the development of productivity. Economizing, therefore, does not mean the giving up of pleasure, but the development of power and productive capacity, and thus both the capacity for and the means of enjoyment. . . Free time—which includes leisure as well as time for higher activities—naturally transforms anyone who enjoys it into a different person, and it is this different person who then enters the direct process of production."

Now that doesn't mean that the Babouvist conception of communism can't be attractive. In fact, it can be attractive, especially in backward countries. But if we run into people who say, well, they like socialism or communism, at the first approximation we have to assume that they don't mean what we mean. When things open up in China, we are going to run into some leftist intellectuals and advanced workers who will say they want to go back to an idealized version of what existed under Mao—not what life was really like under Mao—they don't know that—but the official propaganda: that is, some kind of Spartan egalitarian society.

Closely related to that understanding of communism is, I think, a general sense that today egalitarianism is incompatible with economic efficiency and technological dynamism, and you have to choose between the two or get some kind of tradeoff. I think that the way in which the left is defined is as those groups which defend the victims of capitalist rationalization, whether they are Mexican peasants or German coal miners.

Now, of course we defend the victims of capitalist rationalization. But this is not our goal; it is not our ultimate program. We are not indifferent to economic efficiency and technological dynamism. Let's take the recent coal miners' struggle in Germany. It costs roughly three times as much to produce coal in Germany as the world market price, and not just because wages are higher there. This is not only inefficient from a capitalist standpoint; it would be inefficient from the standpoint of a workers state. In a Socialist United States of Europe, those German coal mines would be closed down; we will either retire or retrain the workers, at the same if not a higher level of wages. Also, the burning of coal and oil is environmentally harmful; we are not indifferent to this question either. So, after the dictatorship of the proletariat, we'll spend a lot of money on research for safe nuclear power or solar energy.

So we have to talk about these things. We can't just sound like militant trade unionists or militant defenders of whatever. In other words, we have to present—and even emphasize under certain circumstances—a vision of the future and not simply a defense of the present against the efforts of the ruling class to make the present worse than it already is. ■

Spartacist intervened in 1960s black struggle through agitation and propaganda. Left: Leaflet distributed after cop riot in Newark, New Jersey, 1967. Right: SL founding document, 1966, with seminal analysis of black question.

Spartacist

IG Lawyers for Brazil Betrayal

Caught in a Web of Lies

Elaborating on our earlier exposure of class betrayals by the Liga Quarta-Internacionalista do Brasil (LQB), last issue we ran an article categorically proving that the LQB had brought three lawsuits against the municipal workers union in Volta Redonda ("Court Papers Prove They Sued the Union—IG's Brazil Cover-Up: Dirty Hands, Cynical Lies," *WV* No. 671, 11 July). True to form, the LQB's fraternal affiliate in the U.S., the so-called Internationalist Group (IG), has responded by posting a long-winded blast of lies and bombast on their Web page aimed at covering over the LQB's violation of the fundamental class principle that the capitalist courts have no place in the labor movement.

The IG consists of demoralized defectors from Trotskyism, headed by former *Workers Vanguard* editor Jan Norden, who were expelled from the International Communist League (ICL) in June 1996. Since then, the IG has screamed that the ICL "deserted the class struggle" by breaking fraternal relations with the LQB the day before a 19 June 1996 meeting of the SFPMVR municipal workers union. According to the IG, the LQB had supposedly mobilized the ranks to attend this meeting to throw out the police who made up 10 percent of the union membership.

In the months since we first exposed the fact that the Nordenites' Brazilian allies had dragged the SFPMVR through the capitalist courts, the IG has been engaged in a shoddy "damage control" operation, admitting only as much as we knew and publicized at any point. In all their voluminous writings on the Volta Redonda union "struggle," including a supposedly authoritative "Dossier" issued in February, they made no mention of court suits by LQB supporter and former SFPMVR president Geraldo Ribeiro, until we brought this information to the workers movement. Now they scramble to explain away a discovery we reported last month, that Ribeiro turned over internal union materials, including "bank statements, account books, statutes and minutes of union meetings to the bourgeois court."

"The answer is simple," remonstrates the IG in its July 25 Web posting, which claims that these materials "were demanded in the court suits these pro-cop elements [around Artur Fernandes] introduced to suspend and then remove Ribeiro as president of the SFPMVR." Even if they were "demanded," Ribeiro could have just said "no." Yet a *WV* reporter personally examined the court documents in Volta Redonda and saw internal union materials which were attachments to both the Fernandes faction's suits *and* Ribeiro's countersuits. Moreover, the Nordenites admit that "as part of his defense," Ribeiro "provided his lawyers with copies of bills." Even if the IG/LQB are taken at their word, that Ribeiro was only trying to defend himself against court suits brought by his opponents, that in no way excuses bringing ***countersuits in the same capitalist courts***.

Throughout, the IG has tried to paint Ribeiro as a naive pawn, claiming that his lawyers sued the union without his knowledge and that he withdrew the suits on principle as soon as he discovered what was happening. But this was ***seven months*** after they were filed and widely reported in the local media. And in Ribeiro's own words, in a 30 January leaflet by him which we just received from the LQB, he says that he allowed his countersuits to lapse only after the Fernandes faction withdrew its suit against him: "Faced with the ***withdrawal*** of the suit, Geraldo's two *DEFENSE* suits... have expired." The IG is fond of citing an unpublished letter to the local newspaper by Ribeiro, supposedly dated 26 July 1996, eleven days after his first suit was filed, rejecting "the intervention of the bosses' courts in the labor movement." But if Ribeiro only learned about the court suits in his name on July 26, why then did he go on to sign "power of attorney" documents for additional lawsuits on July 29 and again on August 6?

As we noted last issue, the LQB finally took up the campaign to oust the cops from the union—on our urging—but they never transcended trade-union opportunism. Proof of this is their use of the bourgeois courts against the union. In tearing apart the IG's web of lies, we reproduced the publicly advertised agenda for the 19 June 1996 union meeting, signed by Ribeiro, which ***said nothing about the cops***. "Lie," the IG cries in its Web posting, arguing that "the first point on the agenda of the June 19 [1996] meeting is 'Report of the resolutions of the 1st *seminário* [conference] of the SFPMVR' held on June 13. The resolutions passed at that *seminário* called for removal of the police."

No, they didn't! The four resolutions in question were published in an 18 June 1996 issue of the LQB-sponsored union newsletter. The only one which even mentions the police is the third, which calls on the SFPMVR to "inform" the workers movement "about the involvement of the [Fernandes] faction with the police, the bourgeoisie and the government." Following the resolutions, and separate from them, is the slogan, "Police Hands Off the SFPMVR and the Workers Movement!" Why "hands off" and not "out of" the union? Because the resolutions say nothing about expelling the police members of the union, and only protest external attacks on the SFPMVR by the cops (see "Military Police Invade Municipal Workers Assembly—Brazil: Police Hands Off Volta Redonda Union!" *WV* No. 642, 29 March 1996). As we wrote last issue in noting that the union agenda for the 19 June 1996 meeting made "***no mention*** of removing the cops from the union. Workers were not publicly mobilized for that purpose, and in fact it didn't happen."

What then of the IG Web posting's claim that the *seminário* resolutions stated that "the affiliation of *guardas* and police to workers' unions is incompatible with a class program"? Even this vague and general statement of position does not appear in the resolutions themselves. Charlatans that they are, Norden & Co. pull this quote—which is the only other reference to the police in more than a dozen paragraphs of economist verbiage—from the lengthy *preamble* to the resolutions—*not what was resolved*. The Ribeiro/LQB faction did *not* call to remove the *cops* but for "Suspension of all members of Artur's faction." This is what was later voted at the 25 July 1996 union meeting and, as we showed in our previous article, it is what one of Ribeiro's lawsuits demanded that the court enforce. This underscores what we wrote last issue, that Ribeiro and Fernandes were involved in a squalid struggle for control of the union in which both sides resorted to the capitalist courts and neither side stood on class principles.

The latest IG Web posting coyly quotes Lenin's injunction, in defense of their man Ribeiro, "to be wary of lawyers and not to trust them." That warning certainly applies to the Nordenite lawyers for class treason. ■

Steel...

(continued from page 3)

"America's mission in the world" to promote "freedom and democracy." In a similar vein, calls for trade protectionism against Japan, including evoking the old World War II battle cry "Remember Pearl Harbor," were instrumental in sinking the Rubber Workers (URW) strike against Bridgestone-Firestone a couple of years ago, in the course of which the URW merged with the USWA.

For years, the Stalinists of the Communist Party and their supporters in the labor bureaucracy promoted the sham of the "anti-monopoly coalition," a domestic version of the class-collaborationist "popular front" strategy which was used to strangle workers revolutions in other countries. Under this formula, the Stalinists argued for subordinating the proletariat to an alliance with the "progressive" industrial bourgeoisie against the big bankers and monopolists. In practice, this meant support to the capitalist Democratic Party as supposed "friends of labor." It is a measure of the venality of today's USWA and AFL-CIO brass that they have inverted this treacherous formula to the even more bizarre notion that the proletariat should "unite" with the Wall Street bankers themselves!

For our part, we prefer the spirit captured in the old Wobbly song, "Banks of Marble," whose chorus describes what will come after the workers join together and seize the means of production from the capitalists:

> "Then we'll own those banks of marble
> And we'll open every door,
> And we'll share those vaults of silver
> That we all have sweated for."

To bring that day closer, the working class needs a revolutionary party that fights for all the oppressed, a party committed to smashing the rule of capital through proletarian revolution. ■

Workfare...

(continued from page 16)

further weakened the unions. As tens of thousands of municipal workers and other public employees have been permanently laid off, their formerly unionized jobs have been filled by welfare recipients at a fraction of the cost. Now state and city governments are becoming slave-labor contractors for private industry, hiring out "workfare" recipients and also convict labor to hotel chains and other companies.

It is in the vital interest of the integrated labor movement to take up a fight in defense of the poor, mobilizing labor's social power to demand ***jobs for all at union wages***. Yet the union misleaders are helping to ***enforce*** the vicious capitalist onslaught against the poorest and most vulnerable.

AFSCME District Council 37, the New York municipal union representing 120,000 workers, recently declared its intention to organize the city's "workfare" laborers. But the pro-capitalist union tops aren't talking about any kind of fight to extend union wages and benefits to these workers; rather they seek only to "organize" low-wage "union" ghettos to maintain their own dues base. It was DC 37 head Stanley Hill who cut a deal with Giuliani allowing welfare recipients to take over the more than 20,000 formerly unionized cleaning and maintenance jobs which were eliminated as a result of budget cuts. And last September the leadership of the 33,000-strong Transport Workers Union, potentially the most powerful in the city, rammed through a contract which, when implemented, will allow the transit bosses to replace 500 full-time union jobs with "workfare" cleaners.

The death of Marsha Motipersad comes in the context of an all-sided onslaught against working people and minorities. This has been accompanied by an intensification of racist state repression across the board. Last year, more than a dozen black people were killed by cops in New York City alone. This April, the NYPD killed 16-year-old black youth Kevin Cedeño in Washington Heights—and the cop who shot him in the back was named precinct "Cop of the Month."

The message is clear: under the system of racist capitalism, the lives of minorities and the poor are cheap. The assault on welfare and the reign of cop terror are aimed first and foremost at the ghetto masses, whom the capitalist rulers increasingly see as a "surplus" population. But, as we wrote in "Welfare-Bashers: Busting Unions, Starving the Poor" (*WV* No. 657, 6 December 1996), "These policies are creating enormous pressure at the base of society: people don't like the idea that there is no future for themselves and their kids. The need for socialist revolution to break the power of the corrupt, racist ruling class is posed ever more sharply today. What is needed is a revolutionary workers party that champions the cause of all the oppressed, a party which fights to sweep away this system of racism, repression and poverty, replacing it with an egalitarian socialist society." ■

NOTICE

***Workers Vanguard* skips alternate issues in June, July and August.**

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SPARTACIST LEAGUE/U.S. LOCAL DIRECTORY

National Office
Box 1377 GPO
New York, NY 10116
(212) 732-7860

Boston
Box 390840, Central Sta.
Cambridge, MA 02139
(617) 666-9453

Chicago
Box 6441, Main PO
Chicago, IL 60680
(312) 454-4930

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Box 29574
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Box 77494
San Francisco, CA 94107
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Washington, D.C. 20013
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TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA/LIGUE TROTSKYSTE DU CANADA

Toronto
Box 7198, Station A
Toronto, ON M5W 1X8
(416) 593-4138

Montréal
C.P. Les Atriums
B.P. 32066
Montréal, QC H2L 4V5

Vancouver
Box 2717, Main PO
Vancouver, BC V6B 3X2
(604) 687-0353

Down With Anti-Asian Bigotry!

Northern California Cops Shoot Down Chinese American

The anti-immigrant hysteria being pushed by Democratic and Republican politicians has fueled a rising wave of racist violence against Asians, particularly in California. In the early morning hours of April 29, police in Rohnert Park, a posh residential area north of San Francisco, shot dead Kuanchung Kao, a 33-year-old Chinese American. Responding to a 911 call of a "disturbance," the Sonoma County cops found Kao, a young computer engineer and naturalized citizen from Taiwan, standing in his own driveway, visibly angry at being forced to leave a local bar where he had suffered racist taunts. Thirty seconds after arriving at his house with sirens wailing, the cops shot him down in cold blood.

The cop who fired the fatal shot claimed he feared for his life upon seeing an Asian man waving a stick "in a threatening martial arts fashion." But Kuanchung Kao knew nothing of martial arts. Ayling Wu, Kao's wife, explained how she "tried to approach my husband to get the stick away from him, but the police officer told me to back off.... Then he shot my husband" (*San Francisco Examiner*, 25 May).

Wu, a registered nurse, was physically restrained by the police from administering first aid to her dying husband. Outraged by later police claims that they had administered CPR, Wu declared: "All they did was handcuff him behind his back. He was lying face down, and they just stood there." After killing him, the cops left Kao's body on public display in the driveway until noon the next day, repeating the outrageous racist treatment police accorded a black female murder victim in nearby Richmond last year. Meanwhile, the cops stationed themselves inside the Kao house, effectively keeping the family under house arrest.

Asians in the area have been subjected to a virtual state of siege by the police. Following the killing of Kao, a Sonoma County SWAT team in full battle gear raided the homes of an integrated group of Asian and white youth whose "crime" was to pose with legally owned firearms in photos to be used in an on-line Asian youth magazine. Kao was the eighth person killed in the last two years by Sonoma County cops. In February a Hispanic man, Salomon Hernandez, was gunned down as a "robbery suspect" as he was returning to a gas station to pay a bill.

Blacks and Hispanics have long been in the gunsights of deadly cop terror. What the killing of Kuanchung Kao points to is the growing rate at which Asians are being targeted for murderous police violence as well. Now, with anger mounting over the killing of Kao, a "Coalition Organizing for Police Accountability in Sonoma County" has been formed by various liberal organizations such as the NAACP, Copwatch, the Redwood Empire Chinese Association and the Japanese American Citizens League. The coalition is calling for an FBI investigation of the killing and for a police "civilian review" board.

Looking for justice to the FBI—the agency that led the murderous ruling-class vendetta against the Black Panther Party—and other agencies of the bourgeois state is a cruel hoax. Similarly, civilian review boards act only to refurbish the credentials of this system of injustice by occasionally giving the appearance of cleaning out a few "bad apples." The cops, along with the courts and prisons, are the armed fist of the capitalist ruling class. They cannot be reformed or otherwise held "accountable" to those they are meant to suppress on behalf of the racist ruling class.

The escalation of racist cop terror and the all-sided intensification of bourgeois state repression—from attacks on civil liberties to the speedup on death row—go hand in hand with attacks on welfare, jobs and working conditions, affirmative action and immigration. As the chasm between rich and poor widens, the capitalist rulers are intent on keeping a lid on the deepening social contradictions. Anti-Asian chauvinism in particular is driven by the American bourgeoisie's rivalry with its Japanese imperialist competitors in the Pacific Rim.

The National Asian Pacific American Legal Consortium reported a 37 percent rise in "hate crimes" against Asians nationally in 1994-1995. In San Francisco in March, a white racist street gang, the Sunset White Boys, carved swastikas into the storefronts of Asian businesses in the Sunset District. Such "Yellow Peril" xenophobia has a long and bloody history in California, from the anti-Chinese pogroms of the 19th century to the herding of Japanese Americans into concentration camps during World War II.

Anti-immigrant hysteria helps set sections of the working class and the oppressed against each other while the fabulously wealthy few who rule this society tighten the screws of exploitation on the entire working class. In 1994, capitalist politicians succeeded in mobilizing many black people behind California's Proposition 187, a racist measure mostly targeting Latinos but also Asians, which is aimed at denying everything from welfare to medical care and education to "illegal" immigrants. Two years after its passage, Prop. 187 paved the way for Prop. 209, dismantling state affirmative action programs. Many Asians, cynically promoted as a "model minority" by racist media and politicians, were led to support this measure, which was aimed primarily at purging blacks (and also Latinos) from campuses and state jobs.

The rulers' divide-and-rule policies are poison to minorities and to the integrated labor movement. Aiding the capitalists' dirty work are those like Louis Farrakhan of the Nation of Islam, who promote bigoted campaigns to drive Asian shopkeepers out of the ghetto. Pushing the reactionary-utopian notion of "black capitalism," the Farrakhanites seek to become exclusive exploiters of their "own" people while offering their services to the racist capitalist masters as overseers of the increasingly impoverished black masses.

Recently, a wave of anti-Asian attacks inspired by this kind of racist poison has taken place in San Francisco's public housing projects. Southeast Asians have been repeatedly harassed, with one Vietnamese family driven out of the mostly black Alice Griffith "Double Rock" project by a bomb threat and assaults on their children by black youth. A Laotian family received similar treatment at the Portrero Hills project.

The road to overcoming such deadly divisions lies in multiracial *class* struggle against the whole system of capitalist exploitation and oppression. This requires a political struggle against the existing pro-capitalist misleaders of the labor movement. Acting to police the unions for the capitalist exploiters, the trade-union tops have whipped up flag-waving "Buy American" protectionism, particularly against Japanese and other Asian workers. This racist chauvinism led *directly* to the 1983 murder of Chinese American Vincent Chin in Detroit by white racists wielding baseball bats. The labor bureaucrats tie working people to the class enemy through support to the capitalist Democratic Party, refusing to mount any struggle against the attacks on their own ranks, much less in defense of oppressed minorities.

We fight to build a revolutionary workers party that will act as a tribune of the people, mobilizing the integrated labor movement to fight every manifestation of oppression and bigotry. To root out this whole system of cop terror and racist injustice requires a socialist revolution which sweeps away the rule of the capitalist exploiters.■

UPS Strike...

(continued from page 16)

in Chicago and Boston have already had first-hand experience of this, as cops waded into the picket lines to attack and arrest picketers. Cops, as well as prison guards and "private" security guards, are enemies of the workers movement. Yet the IBT bureaucracy actively seeks to "organize" these racist killers and strikebreakers into the union. Drop the charges against the arrested strikers! Cops and prison guards out of the union!

Aiding and abetting the IBT bureaucracy are self-styled "socialists" like the International Socialist Organization (ISO), who are little more than press agents for Carey and government intervention in the Teamsters. The ISO hailed Carey's re-election, under the auspices of a federal "election officer," as a "welcome victory." This came as no surprise, since the ISO actively boosts the Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU), whose central strategy has always been to drag the union into the bosses' courts in the name of fighting "corruption." Indeed, the TDU literally wrote—and sent to the Justice Department—the blueprint for the feds' plan to take over the Teamsters. And like both Carey and the "old guard," the ISO supports the "unionization" of prison guards and other enemies of labor.

It is little wonder that the ISO's economist demands for this strike are designed

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Cops attack UPS strikers in Rhode Island. IBT tops "organize" cops, prison guards. We say: Cops out of the unions!

to be just a half step more "militant" than those of the Carey leadership. Where Carey calls for narrowing the wage difference between full-time and part-time workers to $11 an hour, the ISO ups the ante by demanding an immediate raise to...an $8 an hour wage differential. What is needed is a fight for ***full parity now in wages, benefits and working conditions for all UPS workers.*** This is necessary not only to provide decent living conditions for all UPS workers: the two-tier system enables the company to pit one section of the workforce against another—often along lines of race, sex and age—and thus weakens and ultimately threatens to destroy workers unity. Eliminating this division is crucial to the defense of the union itself. Down with two-tier wage scales—for a hefty pay raise across the board! Fight for jobs for all through a shorter work week at no loss in pay!

The evident support for the UPS strikers within the labor movement must be turned into real solidarity on the picket lines, by building mass pickets to put an end to the company's moves to use legions of low-level management as scabs. This strike could also be a launching pad to unionize the many non-union delivery companies, notably Federal Express, and lay the basis for one powerful industrial union of postal and delivery workers. And if the labor movement took up the fight against racist discrimination and oppression, this would have an electrifying effect among black and Hispanic people around the country, serving to rally the ghetto and barrio masses in integrated class struggle.

But all of this requires a political struggle against the trade-union bureaucracy, which ties the workers to the capitalist class enemy and pushes racist protectionism—for example, the recent chauvinist IBT protests against Mexican truckers. As we wrote a few months ago in "Feds vs. Hacks in Teamsters Election: Government Out of the Unions!" (*WV* No. 661, 7 February):

> "The interests of the working class are irreconcilably opposed to the interests of the capitalist class and its political parties, both Democrats and Republicans. The pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy must be swept away by political struggle within the unions as part of the fight for a revolutionary workers party that will champion the cause of the international working class and all the oppressed. Such a party would fight for a workers government to expropriate the means of production from the capitalist profiteers and create an egalitarian society"■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Victory to UPS Teamsters Strike!

AUGUST 5—In the first national strike ever against United Parcel Service (UPS), 185,000 members of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters (IBT) walked off the job at midnight Sunday. With picket lines set up at 2,400 UPS locations across the country, the strike has effectively crippled the giant parcel delivery company.

This is a crucial battle for all labor. As one worker on the picket line in Atlanta said, "We're striking for every worker in America. We can't have only low service-industry wages in this country." For 25 years now, the real wages of American workers have dropped dramatically with the imposition of two-tier and even many-tiered pay scales and as many full-time jobs have been replaced by low-wage, part-time positions. This has produced vastly increased profits for the capitalists amid ever greater poverty for millions of working people.

Solomayor/NY Times

Teamsters picket distribution center in New York City during first day of crippling, nationwide UPS strike.

UPS, which raked in well over a billion dollars in profits last year, has been at the forefront of this drive: ***60 percent*** of UPS workers are part-timers, many of them students and other youth forced to work horrible shifts at a breakneck pace. This huge part-time workforce also includes tens of thousands of women, black, Hispanic and immigrant workers, who are targets for racist and sexist abuse by UPS management. Part-timers start at $8 an hour, less than half the full-time rate, and have not had a pay increase since 1982. They are also regularly laid off during "off-peak" periods. For many younger UPS workers, this strike is their first taste of class struggle.

A victory at UPS could turn around the string of defeats which has plagued the labor movement in recent decades. And a victory is eminently possible: UPS handles 80 percent of all package deliveries in the country, and a solid strike would have a huge impact on wide sectors of the economy. Though the picket lines have only been up for two days, this strike has already resonated among workers everywhere. Notably, the 2,000 UPS pilots organized in the Independent Pilots Association announced from the outset of the strike that they would refuse to cross picket lines. At the Oakland airport, pilots walked the lines alongside drivers and package handlers. In San Francisco, nurses from the Kaiser Permanente health conglomerate—who are themselves embroiled in a fight against massive wage cuts—joined the Teamster picket lines with leaflets calling for solidarity. UPS pieketers have also been joined by other IBT members.

Key to galvanizing the multiracial UPS workforce in a winning strike is the fight to mobilize the union as a whole to combat widespread and systematic racist harassment and job tracking by the company. Fed up with the refusal of the IBT officialdom to lift a finger in defense of minorities, many black UPS workers have been driven to embrace the liberal anti-labor NAACP's futile strategy of looking for justice in the capitalist courts. A victorious strike, taking up the cause of black and other minority workers—many of whom are ghettoized in the part-time workforce—would do more to fight racism at UPS than a million court suits.

It is necessary for UPS strikers to understand that the union cannot defend their interests if it is in any way tied to the employers and their government. For years, capitalist politicians, particularly Democrats, have waged a relentless vendetta to cripple the Teamsters union, finally placing it under direct government supervision in 1989. While President Clinton has denied any plans to impose a Taft-Hartley injunction for now, strikers must beware of any move toward government strikebreaking. Feds' hands off the union!

The question of government intervention is directly related to one of the key issues in the current strike. For 50 years, the feds have been after Teamster pension funds. Now UPS wants to stop contributing to the union-controlled fund and set up its own.

The independence of the union from the capitalists requires opposition not only to direct government intervention but also a political struggle against those within the labor movement who have openly invited the feds to meddle in union affairs. IBT president Ron Carey was elected under the sponsorship of the Justice Department and with the backing of big business interests. And both Carey's "reformers" and the "old guard" around Jimmy Hoffa Jr. subordinate the interests of the union to the employers by tying the Teamsters to the capitalist parties, the Democrats and Republicans.

The results of such class collaboration were seen in the February 1994 strike at UPS, which Carey folded after ten hours while regional bureaucrats tied to the "old guard" bowed to a court injunction and organized massive scabbing. Two months later, the IBT tops sold out a three-week national strike by 70,000 drivers and dock workers, abandoning strikers who had been victimized and arrested for defending their picket lines.

Marxists fight for the complete independence of the unions from the capitalist state and the bosses' political parties. The core of the bourgeois state is its armed bodies of men—the police, prison guards, army, etc.—whose job is to defend the interests of the ruling class by defending private property, protecting scabs and breaking strikes. UPS strikers

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NYC "Workfare" Murder

While President Clinton trumpets the reinstatement of a tiny handful of food stamp programs and other benefits in the latest budget deal, the bipartisan axing of federal welfare programs last year has amounted to a death sentence for many minority, immigrant and elderly people. This is precisely what happened to Marsha Motipersad, a 50-year-old black woman who died of a heart attack on June 17 as a direct result of New York City's slave-labor "workfare" scheme.

Despite severe heart problems, Motipersad had recently been forced to begin working 22 hours per week in order to continue receiving about $250 in monthly Home Relief benefits. "She did it to pay the rent," explained her son, "she did not want to be put out." The city administration ***killed*** Marsha Motipersad.

City Parks Commissioner Henry Stern claimed Motipersad had been assigned "light duty" in Coney Island by the Parks Department. But a co-worker described how she had to get up at 4:30 a.m. and take three buses to get to her assignment. Her "light duty" consisted of working in a damp and poorly ventilated basement beneath a public toilet and picking up garbage on the beach and boardwalk under a hot sun.

City and state authorities cynically claim that their slave-labor "workfare" schemes aim to prepare recipients for real jobs by instilling "discipline" and a "work ethic." But Motipersad had worked for 17 years as a secretary for the Children's Aid Society before she had to retire in 1994. Her former employer told the *New York Times* (24 June), "She left her job because she couldn't work. She had two heart attacks. It doesn't make any sense."

With New York's Republican governor Pataki and NYC mayor Giuliani in the lead, state and city governments around the country have been implementing "workfare" schemes which force people, no matter how old or disabled, to perform physically demanding labor for next to nothing in benefits. The number of people in "workfare" programs nationally is expected to exceed *one million* within the next two years. In New York City alone, some 38,000 welfare recipients have already been forced onto "workfare," including many who are in their fifties, and the city plans to raise that number to 100,000 by next year. Many are in dangerously poor health, victims of decades of grinding poverty. Many are immigrants with no education and little or no English, who are now being ***punished*** for being ill or having spent their lives raising their children.

Desperate over the prospect of being forced to rely on handouts from relatives and others, a number of immigrants faced with having their benefits cut off have committed suicide. Meanwhile, "illegal" immigrants have been denied access to virtually all social programs.

Seeking to deepen racial antagonisms within the working class, the capitalist rulers aim to sucker white workers into believing that the attacks on welfare programs are solely directed against black people and immigrants, who supposedly live off the hard-earned tax dollars of

New York Times

Marsha Motipersad

working people. This grotesque racist lie covers the reality that these attacks are part of an assault on the living standards of ***all*** workers. Through "workfare," the capitalist class and its politicians of both parties—Republicans and Democrats alike—have driven down wages and

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WORKERS VANGUARD

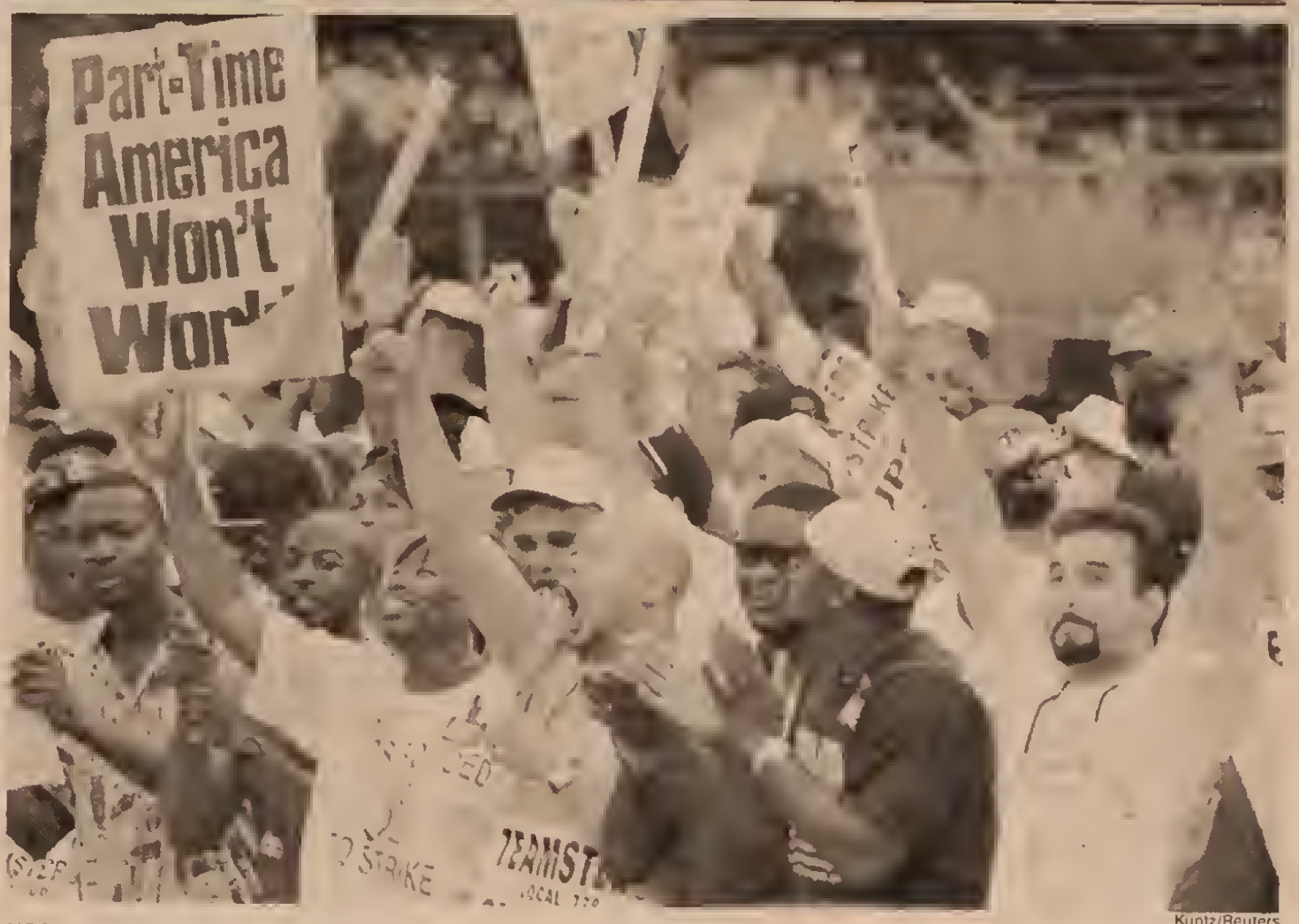
27 August 1997

Special Supplement 10¢

Teamsters Face Down UPS Bosses

Unchain Labor's Power!

For a Workers Party that Fights for All the Oppressed!



Kuntz/Reuters

UPS Teamsters joined by other trade unionists at Georgia strike rally, August 14. UPS strike evoked broad sympathy among working people and the poor across the country.

Those Who Labor Must Rule!

The two-week strike by 185,000 workers at United Parcel Service—the biggest nationwide strike in the U.S. in decades—evoked a sympathy for labor's cause not seen in this country for years. Millions of working people saw themselves in the overwhelmingly part-time UPS workers, who do backbreaking jobs for miserable wages. The UPS Teamsters strike broke the pattern of crushing defeats for labor over the past two decades. In its wake, many now see the possibility of fighting to get some of their own back from the profit-bloated corporations.

"What the UPS workers mostly want is the simple right to work full time," wrote the *Washington Post* (10 August). Indeed, under this capitalist system, which is based on the exploitation of labor, what more elementary right can there be for the worker than the right to a job? Yet while the bosses rake in record profits, for working people in America today's supposedly booming "employment" economy is increasingly defined by being "downsized" into part-time, contract or "contingency" labor. Downward pressure on wages is also maintained by massive speedup and the virtual elimination of the eight-hour day, as full-time workers are forced to work upwards of 60 hours a week. At the same time, wide layers of the ghetto poor have been tossed right out of the labor market and are now treated as a totally expendable population who should work for nothing in slave-labor "workfare" schemes or just die.

It is a real statement on the condition of organized labor in the U.S. that a strike which won relatively modest economic gains for the workers—at the price of thousands of layoffs which will intensify the already grinding, dangerous pace of work for UPS workers—is so widely perceived as such a victory. Nonetheless, the consciousness that it is possible to win something, anything, against the bosses is important. So is the recognition of the social power of the organized, multiracial working class. By the mere fact of withdrawing their labor power, the UPS strikers demonstrated the potential power of the working class that lies in its numbers, organization and discipline, and most decisively the fact that it is labor that makes the wheels of profit turn in capitalist society. Faced with the loss of millions in profits, UPS climbed down from its "last, best, final offer."

In the midst of the strike, some thousands poured onto the streets of New York City in protest against the brutal and sadistic cops who sodomized a black Haitian immigrant with the wooden handle of a toilet plunger, ripping apart his intestines. In a later rally outside the police precinct in Brooklyn, Haitian immigrants were joined by American blacks, Hispanics, Hasidic Jews and others. Here was a powerful statement against the capitalist rulers who foment racial and ethnic hatred to keep those at the bottom divided and pitted against each other. And, in the tens of thousands of black, Hispanic and immigrant workers who manned the picket lines during the UPS strike could be seen the potential for linking the power of labor to the anger of the dispossessed masses in the ghettos and barrios.

But translating the widespread sentiment of victory in the UPS strike into an aroused and struggling labor movement—mobilized in defense of its own class interests and the interests of blacks, immigrants and all those at the bottom of this society—is at bottom a political question. As V.I. Lenin, leader of the 1917 Russian workers revolution, said: politics is concentrated economics. The fundamental starting point must be the understanding that this society is divided between two hostile classes: workers who are forced to sell their labor power in order to survive and the property-owning capitalist class to whom their labor power is sold. The interests of these two classes are irreconcilably counterposed.

International Brotherhood of Teamsters (IBT) president Ron Carey says the UPS strike was about labor's "fight for the American Dream." This echoes Jesse Jackson's sermon on UPS picket lines in San Francisco where he told strikers, "If there's a downturn share the pain...in good times share the gain." But this whole system is based on the extraction of surplus value, i.e., profit, from those who labor. The purpose of the capitalists who are in a dog-eat-dog competition with each other, particularly internationally, is to increase their profits through the increasing exploitation of the working class, not to "share the wealth" with labor. The fact that working people, blacks, immigrants, the young, the aged have been taking all the pain while not making any gains is precisely due to a labor leadership which is guided by the view of a "partnership" between the working class and the exploiting class.

The UPS strike never transcended the framework of business unionism. Crying that it was "illegal" for strikers to stop management scabs, the union leaders mandated porous picket lines which the company could have literally driven a truck through if it had made good on its threat to hire thousands of scabs. There was not one demand made by the bureaucrats aimed at redressing the vicious racist harassment of black, Hispanic and immigrant workers who are regularly tracked into the dirtiest and most dangerous jobs with little or no chance of promotion. The union tops' refusal to wage a fight against such conditions has led many of these workers to look for "justice" in the racist, anti-union capitalist courts.

Much was made of John Sweeney's offer of $10 million to the Teamsters strike fund, a fraction of what the AFL-CIO poured into Clinton's re-election campaign. But labor solidarity is not $55 a week in strike pay and a telegram of support. UPS pilots demonstrated some real support by respecting the strikers' picket lines and the Teamsters had better do the same if the pilots go on strike.

Now Carey, Sweeney and the rest of the labor officialdom are thanking Democratic president Clinton because he didn't bring down strikebreaking legislation! Rail workers at Amtrak whose right to strike was denied by Clinton before their contract had even expired surely don't share the same appreciation. And how about the Teamsters themselves? The ink had barely dried on the settlement with UPS when the government ordered new leadership elections in the Teamsters. IBT "old guard" spokesman James Hoffa Jr. is now calling on the feds, under whose aegis Carey himself was installed, to remove the current president from office. We say: Government hands off the unions!

The Enemies of Labor

The union bureaucracy sees "allies" in the agencies of the class enemy—the

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Unchain Labor...

(continued from page 1)

government, the cops, the courts. This class collaborationism stands behind the series of broken strikes and broken unions that have racked the organized labor movement. In the U.S., the main obstacle to successful class struggle against the capitalists is the allegiance to the Democratic Party of the labor bureaucracy as well as of a majority of the working class itself. For American workers, this support to the Democratic Party reflects the absence of elementary class consciousness. The Democratic Party portrayed by the labor bureaucrats as a "lesser evil" is, no less than the Republicans, a capitalist party which cannot serve the interests of the workers.

The U.S. is the only industrial country in the world where the workers have not historically had their own independent political party, reflecting in some way, even on a reformist basis, the conflicting interests of labor and capital. Yet the social-democratic labor parties that exist in other countries are based on the illusion that the way to advance the cause of the workers is through the electoral process. History has shown that the working class cannot simply lay hold of the existing apparatus of the capitalist state; rather, that state must be smashed and replaced by one serving the cause of the proletariat.

A genuine workers party must be based on the understanding that only through their mass mobilization in struggle can the workers fight for their interests and in defense of all the oppressed. The best workers party in history was the Bolshevik Party led by V.I. Lenin and Leon Trotsky, which led the workers of Russia to power in the October Revolution of 1917, creating the first workers state in history. The Spartacist League is fighting to build such a party, forged in sharp political struggle against the pro-capitalist labor misleaders and based on the Marxist understanding that the capitalist profit system must be rooted out and replaced by workers rule.

It was this revolutionary understanding of the class struggle that imbued the pitched class battles in the streets of Minneapolis in 1934 which forged the Teamsters as a powerful industrial union. These strikes, which twice shut down the city, were led by "reds," Trotskyist militants. Speaking of "The Great Minneapolis Strikes," James P. Cannon, a founding leader of American Trotskyism, underlined the political program which lay behind those victories:

> "All modern strikes require political direction. The strikes of that period brought the government, its agencies and its institutions into the very center of every situation. A strike leader without some conception of a political line was very much out of date already by 1934. The old fashioned trade union movement, which used to deal with the bosses without government interference, belongs in the museum. The modern labor movement must be politically directed because it is confronted by the government at every turn. Our people were prepared for that since they were political people, inspired by political conceptions. The policy of the class struggle guided our comrades; they couldn't be deceived and outmaneuvered, as so many strike leaders of that period were, by this mechanism of sabotage and destruction known as the National Labor Board and all its auxiliary setups. They put no reliance whatever in Roosevelt's Labor Board; they weren't fooled by any idea that Roosevelt, the liberal 'friend of labor' president, was going to help the truck drivers in Minneapolis win a few cents more an hour. They weren't deluded even by the fact that there was at that time in Minnesota a Farmer-Labor Governor, presumed to be on the side of the workers.
>
> "Our people didn't believe in anybody or anything but the policy of the class struggle and the ability of the workers to prevail by their mass strength and solidarity. Consequently, they expected from the start that the union would have to fight for its right to exist; that the bosses would not yield any recognition to the union, would not yield any increase of wages or reduction of the scandalous hours without some pressure being brought to bear. Therefore they prepared everything from the point of view of class war. They knew that power, not diplomacy, would decide the issue. Bluffs don't work in fundamental things, only in incidental ones. In such things as the conflict of class interests one must be prepared to fight."
>
> —James P. Cannon, *The History of American Trotskyism* (1944)

Today, the Teamsters union is led by Carey and his "reformers," who came to power through the intervention of the capitalist state. Appealing to the feds to "clean up" corruption in the union, this treachery was dressed up as winning "democracy" for the union ranks.

To be sure, the "old guard" leadership was plenty corrupt. But that isn't why the government went after the Teamsters. The feds' aim was to break the ability of the Teamsters, potentially one of the most powerful unions in America, to shut the country down. The capitalist rulers' war against the Teamsters goes back to the vendetta waged by Democrat Bobby Kennedy in the 1950s, when the IBT under Jimmy Hoffa launched a campaign for a national over-the-road contract. That Carey and his backers delivered the union into the hands of the capitalist state is about as corrupt as you can get. And it is directly counterposed to the aim of union democracy—the fight for the workers to select a leadership which will fight for their class interests *against* the employers and their state.

In modern capitalism, the unions confront a highly centralized class adversary. The government is simply the executive committee for the capitalist class as a whole. The capitalist state is the enemy of the working class, organized both to prevent it from struggling in its own interests and ultimately to prevent the workers from smashing the system of private property and taking power themselves. Therefore the *only* interest the government has in the unions is to weaken them and reduce their capacity to struggle. By upholding capitalist class rule, the leadership of the AFL-CIO acts to transform the unions from fighting instruments of the workers into an extension of the capitalist state power to discipline and moderate the struggles of the workers.

This is ABC for Marxists. Yet Carey's government-sponsored election as Teamsters president was hailed by a host of groups calling themselves "socialist." Prominent among these is the International Socialist Organization (ISO). In a special *Socialist Worker* (June-July 1997) UPS strike supplement, the ISO cheers: "The elections of Teamster General President Ron Carey in 1991 and 1996 are victories for everyone who wanted to see a more democratic, fighting labor movement." In fact, the ISO actively supports Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU), which catapulted Carey into office. In 1987, the TDU literally wrote—and sent to the Justice Department—the blueprint for the government plan to "reorganize" the union.

Implicitly acknowledging widespread hostility among the Teamsters ranks to government intervention, the ISO tries to cover its tracks with a cynical sleight of hand. In its strike supplement, TDU leader and prominent ISO supporter Pete Camarata is quoted as saying, "TDU was opposed to government control of unions." However, in the very next breath, the ISO praises the "independent" government board which ran the Teamsters elections for ensuring "the first-ever democratic vote." Quintessential social democrats, the ISO sees the capitalist state as a "class-neutral" instrument which can be pressured into serving the interests of the workers. By the same token, the ISO sees evidence of working-class militancy in "strikes" by prison guards. In this, too, the ISO is faithful to the IBT leaders, who have been "organizing" cops into the union.

AP

UPS picket line in Rhode Island attacked by cops. These armed thugs of the racist capitalist rulers have no place in the unions!

This is obscene! The cops aren't workers, they are the armed fist of the capitalist rulers. Their job is to "serve and protect" the property and power of the bosses who live off the exploitation of labor. Teamsters should know what role the police play only too well. During the 1994 national freight strike, cops busted heads and arrested strikers for trying to stop scabs. L.A. Latino trucker Jesse Acuna was only recently released from prison after being thrown behind bars for defending a Teamsters picket line. Numerous UPS workers were also arrested during the recent strike. ***Drop all the charges!***

The police, prison guards, security guards and legions of "private" strike-breaking outfits are the biggest "growth industry" in America. This increase in the forces of repression is aimed at heading off any protest against the increasingly raw exploitation and oppression of those at the bottom of this system. But for the labor bureaucrats, organizing the cops and the screws is the means to increase their flagging dues base.

Labor Lieutenants of Capital

The class traitors who currently run the unions long ago separated themselves from their working-class base. In the words of early American socialist leader Daniel De Leon, the top union officials serve as the "labor lieutenants of the capitalist class." So strong are the bureaucrats' ties to the capitalist order that they have renounced the very means by which the unions were built. Those unions were built in *opposition* to the bosses' cops and courts. Leaders, then, went to prison and died for the union cause. Strikes were virtual wars. Now the union tops call for "informational" picket lines, impotent consumer boycotts, moral witness "protests" at stockholder meetings, corporate campaigns...anything except the hard class struggle that is necessary to win even in defensive battles.

The Minneapolis strikes were won by bringing to bear the weapons of labor that lie in its collective strength. Picketing was organized on a mass basis to keep out scabs. Carloads of flying pickets were dispatched to deliver a clear message to the operators of scab trucks that picket lines mean don't cross. Effective use was made of the "secondary boycott" as unionized truckers refused to handle cargo shipped by scab labor. Twice the organized power of labor brought Minneapolis to a grinding halt in a general strike. These battles presaged the plant occupations of the great CIO organizing drives later in the 1930s.

But it wasn't just the militant and "illegal" tactics of mass picketing and sitdown strikes that built the unions. The Trotskyists who led the Minneapolis strikes organized women workers and the wives of strikers to take part in the class battle. They organized the unemployed and through fighting for their rights brought them in behind the strike. The later organizing drives in auto, steel, meatpacking and other industries broke down the traditional Jim Crow system as blacks poured into the ranks of the newly organized industrial unions. As a result, during that period the black ghetto masses identified with the labor movement.

Yet the reformists, the social democrats and the Stalinist Communist Party, channeled the turbulent class battles of the 1930s into support for Franklin D. Roosevelt's Democratic Party and its "New Deal" coalition, which included the diehard Dixiecrat segregationists of the Deep South. This coalition aimed at co-opting the unions through a series of government regulatory boards and, more broadly, at buying "class peace." During World War II, the labor misleaders

Minnesota Historical Society

Class war on the streets of Minneapolis as Trotskyists lead 1934 general strike which helped forge Teamsters as powerful national industrial union. Daily strike bulletin, *The Organizer*, hailed workers' victory.

Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!
Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!

A focal point in the struggle against racist capitalist repression today is the fight for freedom for Mumia Abu-Jamal. A former leader of the Black Panther Party, a supporter of MOVE and an award-winning journalist, Jamal was railroaded to death row in 1982, falsely accused of killing a Philadelphia cop. The Partisan Defense Committee, a class-struggle, nonsectarian legal and social defense organization associated with the Spartacist League, has worked for over a decade to bring Mumia's cause to the labor movement in the U.S. and internationally.

Jamal's case exemplifies the racist American "justice" system. From the time he was a 15-year-old Black Panther spokesman, Mumia was targeted by the Philly police and the FBI, whose "Counter-Intelligence Program" (COINTELPRO) resulted in the assassination of 38 Panthers and the imprisonment of many others. This June, former Black Panther leader Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt) won his freedom after 27 years in prison for a crime the government knew he did not commit. In its attempt to "neutralize" an entire generation of black activists and leftists, the government used the same arsenal of state terror that has long been employed against labor militants, from the execution of IWW leader Joe Hill to police attacks against workers' picket lines.

Jamal's 1982 trial was a mockery of justice—and this has continued right up to his current appeal, which is now before the Pennsylvania State Supreme Court. Albert Sabo, who presided over the original trial as well as recent appeal hearings, is a notorious "hanging judge" who has sent more people to death row than any other sitting judge in the country. All the elements which have been highlighted by recent exposures of Philadelphia police and prosecutors were massively evident in Jamal's trial: suppression of evidence, exclusion of blacks from the jury, coercion of witnesses, and much more. Sabo denied Mumia the right to represent himself and even barred him from much of the trial. Finally, the prosecutor argued that Mumia should die because of political views he had expressed years earlier as a Black Panther.

Jennifer Beach

WV Photo

Labor-centered protest in New York City, August 1995, was part of international outcry which stayed the threatened execution of Mumia Abu-Jamal that summer.

Mumia's cause throws a glaring spotlight on the racist and barbaric death penalty, which stands at the apex of the capitalist *in*justice system. While driving down wages and taking the ax to social welfare programs, this country's rulers are drastically beefing up their apparatus of repression. Central to that is the speedup on death row, where executions are taking place at a rate greater than any time since the 1930s.

Overwhelming evidence of Mumia's innocence continues to emerge. But Jamal did not and cannot have a fair trial in the capitalist courts. What stayed Jamal's scheduled execution in August 1995 was an outpouring of protest from around the world, including the support of trade unions from the U.S. to South Africa, Japan and France. If the labor movement is to be revitalized, it must actively take up the fight against racist terror and champion all those victimized by the capitalist rulers. As Mumia continues to struggle and speak out from death row on behalf of the oppressed, it is urgent that labor and all fighters against racist injustice take up his cause. Free Mumia now! Abolish the racist death penalty!

* * *

Join the fight to free Mumia! Pass resolutions and raise much-needed contributions for Jamal's defense in your unions and campus and community organizations. Order bundles of the PDC pamphlet, *The Frame-Up of Mumia Abu-Jamal*, as well as the latest issue of *Class-Struggle Defense Notes*. Contact the PDC—New York: P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013-0099, phone (212) 406-4252; Chicago: P.O. Box 802867, Chicago, IL 60680-2867, phone (312) 454-4931; San Francisco Bay Area: P.O. Box 77462, San Francisco, CA 94107-0462, phone (510) 839-0852.

Contributions for Mumia's legal defense should be made payable to the Bill of Rights Foundation (earmarked "Mumia Abu-Jamal Legal Defense") and mailed to: Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, 163 Amsterdam Ave., No. 115, New York, NY 10023-5001.

served to enlist working people in the interimperialist slaughter. For their opposition to the imperialist war, 18 Trotskyist leaders, including Minneapolis Teamsters militants, were prosecuted and jailed for treason under the Smith Act. Aiding and abetting the government was the IBT bureaucracy, which sent Jimmy Hoffa into Minneapolis to purge the Trotskyists from the union.

The arrest of the "Minneapolis 18," which outrageously was backed by the pro-Roosevelt Communist Party, presaged the Cold War purges of the late 1940s and early '50s. After five years of "no strike" pledges imposed by the labor bureaucracy during World War II, the year 1946 saw the biggest strike wave in the history of the country. The following year, the union-busting Taft-Hartley Act was passed. The purge that was then launched not only destroyed whole unions but beheaded the labor movement by systematically removing some 25,000 of the most militant union members, including the Communists and socialists who had been key leaders and fighters in the CIO organizing drives.

The "red purge" laid the basis for the fusion of the AFL craft-union federation with the CIO in 1955. The first president of the AFL-CIO, George Meany, bragged that he had never walked a picket line. Thus was created the postwar anti-Communist leadership which has presided over the steady decline of union power to the point where only about 10 percent of the industrial workforce remains organized.

Meany and his successors were among the most rabid proponents of the interests of U.S. imperialism around the world, from the Cold War against the Soviet Union to Washington's dirty war against the Vietnamese workers and peasants. While fostering support for military adventures against the peoples of the "Third World," in the U.S. the labor misleaders were virulent in their denunciations of the Black Panther Party and any militant struggle against the racist status quo.

As Leon Trotsky wrote in 1940 at the time of the "New Deal," modern monopoly capitalism demands of the reformist labor bureaucracy "that they become transformed into its political police before the eyes of the working class." As a result of the unprecedented mass struggles which built the CIO, the government began setting up a series of legal restrictions to limit the power of the working class. Ever since then the tendency has been for the unions, through their bureaucratic leadership, to grow more closely together with the capitalist government itself. Stressing as primary the call for "complete and unconditional independence of the trade unions in relation to the capitalist state," Trotsky noted:

> "The trade unions of our time can either serve as secondary instruments of imperialist capitalism for the subordination and disciplining of workers and for obstructing the revolution, or, on the contrary, the trade unions can become the instruments of the proletarian"

Mobilize Labor and Its Allies!

The fruits of the racism, anti-Communism and class collaborationism of the labor bureaucracy have been seen in the sharp decline in union membership and wages and the deepening immiseration of the ghetto masses. The union tops have agreed to multi-tier wage systems and a massive expansion of part-time labor. Such schemes pit one section of the workforce against another, furthering the exploitation of black, immigrant and younger workers while making older, mainly white workers more vulnerable to being replaced entirely. While millions of blacks and immigrants have been condemned to starvation, disease and death by the destruction of social welfare programs, the AFL-CIO officialdom has not lifted a finger in protest. Now thousands of formerly unionized jobs are being filled under slave-labor "workfare" programs.

Enough! The situation is crying out for a real drive to organize the unorganized. Not the bureaucrats' despicable mooted bids to organize separate "workfare" unions as low-wage ghettos to feed their dues base, but a class-struggle fight for full union wages, benefits and protection *for all*! Down with two-tier wages! Equal pay for equal work! Combat unemployment through the fight for a shorter work week at no loss in pay!

Even to realize the most basic right—to a job at decent pay—leads directly to challenging the capitalist profit system. In the 1938 Transitional Program—a system of demands linking the felt needs of the workers to the fight for proletarian state power—Trotsky noted amid the devastation of the Great Depression:

> "The question is one of guarding the proletariat from decay, demoralization, and ruin. The question is one of life or death of the only creative and progressive class, and by that token of the future of mankind. If capitalism is incapable of satisfying the demands inevitably arising from the calamities generated by itself, then let it perish."

Many of the AFL-CIO misleaders openly support racist anti-immigrant laws in the name of defending American workers from the influx of "cheap labor." But the treacherous policies of the bureaucrats created a huge reservoir of "homegrown" cheap labor. Refusing to defend the rights of immigrants, they have simply opened the door for the capitalists' rapacious exploitation of foreign-born workers who literally have no rights. The labor movement must demand: Full citizenship rights for all immigrants!

While they scream about the "outsourcing" of jobs abroad, for years the bosses have been shipping jobs, not to Mexico or Taiwan, but to the "open

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Unchain Labor...

(continued from page 3)

shop" American South. The last, feeble attempt to organize the South—obscenely called "Operation Dixie"—was in *the 1950s*. But that was immediately shipwrecked on the shoals of the red purges, racism and the bureaucrats' ties to the Democratic Party. In many cases, to get the "reds" the labor bureaucrats worked to destroy already existing Southern unions that were largely Communist Party-led and had a huge black membership. Meanwhile, the bureaucrats' loyalty to the Democrats made them incapable of organizing the South, which would have meant a fight *against* the Jim Crow white-power structure, which was run by the Dixiecrats and their Ku Klux Klan auxiliaries.

Here is a monument, in the negative, to the understanding that there can be no effective defense against union-busting unless the labor movement becomes the champion of black rights. The burning cross which was ignited by plant managers in Alabama a few years back to "discourage" workers from joining a union testifies to the crucial need for integrated labor action against racist terror to break the "open shop" South.

The Spartacist League has initiated labor-centered mobilizations—bringing to bear the power of black and white workers at the head of mobilizations of all the intended victims of Klan terror—that have successfully stopped the fascists in a number of cities. In these mobilizations could be seen the powerful combination of black and red: labor united in its own defense and in defense of all the oppressed under a communist leadership. At the time of the Civil War, Karl Marx captured a fundamental truth of American society in his statement that "Labor cannot emancipate itself in the white skin where in the black it is branded." Union rights and black rights will go forward together or fall back separately.

The forcible subjugation and segregation of much of the black population at the bottom of this society is an essential foundation stone of American capitalism. At the same time, the capitalist rulers have fomented racial hatred and made the color bar a fundamental dividing line in this country in order to obscure the irreconcilable class divide between labor and capital. Once supplying a "reserve army of labor" to be employed when the bosses needed them, the ghetto poor have been discarded by a ruling class that no longer needs their labor power. But black workers remain a significant component of organized labor, integrated into strategic sections of the proletariat in whose hands lies the power to break the chains of capitalist exploitation and racist oppression. As we wrote in the Spartacist pamphlet, "Capitalist Rulers Wage War on Blacks, Immigrants" (*Black History and the Class Struggle* No. 14, January 1997):

> "The road to black freedom lies in the struggle to shatter this racist capitalist system through proletarian socialist revolution, and the power to do that lies with the multiracial working class. But this power cannot and will not be realized unless a class-struggle labor movement actively champions the cause of black liberation and is mobilized in defense of the rights of immigrants and all the oppressed. The key to unlocking the chains, forged by the trade-union misleaders, that shackle labor to its exploiters is the political struggle to build a revolutionary internationalist leadership of the working class."

Labor's Fight Is International—Workers of the World Unite!

The union tops see the world through the same lens as the capitalists and their government. Complaining that workers in other countries are "stealing" American jobs, the labor bureaucrats tie the interests of the working class in the U.S. to maintaining the competitive edge of American imperialism. Carey and the rest of the AFL-CIO officialdom are now trying to wield the UPS strike to mobilize labor against any extension of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA).

Ruben R. Ramirez

Strikers at RCA Thomson *maquiladora* plant in Ciudad Juárez, Mexico, February 1995. AFL-CIO misleaders push racist protectionism. What's needed is international labor solidarity in struggle.

Labor *should* be mobilized in opposition to NAFTA—but not on the basis of "stars and stripes" chauvinism and racist job-trusting protectionism exemplified by recent IBT protests against Mexican truckers. We oppose NAFTA as a "free trade" rape of Mexico, under which the U.S. rulers are increasing their profits and power through the superexploitation of Mexican workers. There should be a drive to organize the workers in the giant U.S.-owned *maquiladoras* in northern Mexico. This cause would be mightily assisted by, for example, solidarity strikes by the unionized workforces of these same corporations in the U.S.

The AFL-CIO's protectionism, particularly against Japan, is part and parcel of lining U.S. workers up behind their "own" bourgeoisie in the face of escalating interimperialist rivalry. This is a dangerous business. Trade wars lead to shooting wars, as has been demonstrated in the two world imperialist conflagrations in this century. More immediately, "yellow peril" racism has played a big role in derailing class struggle. This was clearly seen in the defeat of the strike against Bridgestone-Firestone in the central Illinois "war zone" a couple of years back, where instead of building mass pickets the union bureaucracy pushed appeals to the U.S. government against the company's Japanese owners.

The strike against UPS, close to half of whose workforce is employed outside the U.S., underlined that labor's fight must be *international*. Transport unions in Europe were planning solidarity demonstrations and Filipino workers' mounted a labor protest against UPS in Manila. The watchword of the working people must not be the deadly trap of defending "American jobs" against foreign competition, but the words which Karl Marx inscribed in the *Communist Manifesto* 150 years ago: "Workers of the world, unite!"

For a Workers Government to Expropriate the Bourgeoisie!

An op-ed piece in the *New York Times* (17 August) titled "Turning Point for Labor?" noted:

> "Occasionally strikes take on a significance beyond the specific company and union involved in the conflict. The outcome of such strikes can define the balance of power between worker and management in the entire society."

On the negative side of this balance sheet, the author pointed to the destruction of the PATCO air traffic controllers union by the Reagan government in 1981. The entire membership of the union was fired and PATCO leaders were led off to prison in shackles.

Today it is widely recognized that the smashing of PATCO opened the door to the wholesale onslaught against the unions while the rich got richer and the poor got poorer. But at the time, the labor misleaders did nothing in defense of PATCO. The Spartacist League raised the call: "Labor: Shut Down the Airports!" Machinists and Teamsters had the power to bring the country to a grinding halt—the union leadership just had to say the word, the ranks were ready. Instead the labor traitors hid their refusal to fight behind impotent rallies and appeals for a consumer boycott.

Today, the imperialist bourgeoisie's rapacity is further driven by the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union. The world's first workers state, issuing from the Bolshevik-led October Revolution and erected on the foundations of a centrally planned and collectivized economy, was an enormous step forward for humanity. These gains were undermined by the Stalinist bureaucracy which usurped political power from the working class in the early 1920s. *Like the labor bureaucrats in this country*, the Stalinists bartered away the workers' gains to appease the imperialist rulers, ultimately paving the way for the utter destruction of the Soviet bureaucratically degenerated workers state. Capitalist counterrevolution has meant a catastrophic assault on the conditions of working people in the former Soviet Union, leading to nationalist slaughters and massive impoverishment. This has also meant intensified attacks on working people internationally, as the chief imperialist powers—the U.S., Japan and Germany—seek to drive down wages and slash social benefits to increase their competitive edge.

Washington Post

Spartacist League initiated 5,000-strong labor/black mobilization that stopped KKK march in Washington, D.C., November 1982.

Two possible roads lie before the working class. There is the revolutionary strategy proposed by us Marxists. In the course of sharp class struggle and through the instrumentality of a revolutionary party that patiently educates the working class in the understanding not only of its social power but of its historic interests, the workers will become conscious of themselves as a class fighting for itself and for all the oppressed against the *entire* capitalist class and its government. Or there is the continuation of the bureaucrats' acquiescence to what is possible and "practical" under capitalism, which over the past two decades and more has led to disaster. Despite their "socialist" pretensions, the latter view is one amply shared by reformist groups like the ISO.

At best what the ISO offered during the UPS strike was simply more "militant" trade-union struggle, and barely that. They were among the loudest in the bureaucrats' game of shouting "shame" at scab trucks which a few minutes later were allowed across the picket lines. Their demands for the strike were to simply add a few dollars and jobs to what the Teamsters bureaucracy called for, conspicuously omitting any demands addressed to the crucial need for the union to fight against racist harassment and discrimination. Insofar as the ISO even pretended to offer an "alternative" to the Carey leadership it was to appeal for building a "rank-and-file" movement to simply pressure the bureaucrats.

But having supported the election of Carey, which was brought through the intervention of the capitalist state, what alternative could the ISO have to offer to the class collaborationism of the labor bureaucrats? Rather than the desperately necessary task of struggling to bring revolutionary consciousness to the working class, the ISO reinforces the stranglehold of the treacherous misleaders of labor who keep the working class trapped within the framework of capitalist exploitation.

The mobilization of the proletariat in pursuit of its own class interests requires a political struggle against the pro-capitalist labor tops. This is integrally linked to the fight for a workers party based on the program of the class struggle, a party whose purpose is not to serve as an electoral shill for the Democrats—like Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers bureaucrat Tony Mazzocchi's "Labor Party" sham—but to give revolutionary leadership to the struggles of the workers in the fight for a workers government to expropriate the bourgeoisie and construct an egalitarian socialist society.

When those who labor rule, the tremendous wealth of this society will be used to provide a decent life for the working people, the poor, blacks, immigrants, the young, the aged. The fight for black freedom will be realized in the overthrow of the rule of American capital. When the workers have the industrial wealth that is now being squeezed out of the working class for the profits of the bosses, we will begin to build a planned socialist economy on an international scale. Then we can right some historical crimes and pay off some debts, like some of tens of billions of dollars to the Vietnamese and others whose countries have been maimed under the passing treads of American tanks and the bombs of American planes. As for "compensation" to the people who lined their pockets with fat profits while driving everyone else to ruin, the victorious proletariat can offer to those who don't get in its way that they too will have the right to honest labor and will live to see their grandchildren prosper in a truly humane society ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

50¢

No. 673 — 5 September 1997

Teamsters Face Down UPS Bosses

Unchain Labor's Power!

For a Workers Party That Fights for All the Oppressed!

The following article was originally published in a Workers Vanguard *supplement dated August 27.*

The two-week strike by 185,000 workers at United Parcel Service—the biggest nationwide strike in the U.S. in decades—evoked a sympathy for labor's cause not seen in this country for years. Millions of working people saw themselves in the overwhelmingly part-time UPS workers, who do backbreaking jobs for miserable wages. The UPS Teamsters strike broke the pattern of crushing defeats for labor over the past two decades. In its wake, many now see the possibility of fighting to get some of their own back from the profit-bloated corporations.

"What the UPS workers mostly want is the simple right to work full time," wrote the *Washington Post* (10 August). Indeed, under this capitalist system, which is based on the exploitation of labor, what more elementary right can there be for the worker than the right to a job? Yet while the bosses rake in record profits, for working people in America today's supposedly booming "employment" economy is increasingly defined by being "downsized" into part-time, contract or "contingency" labor. Downward pressure on wages is also maintained by massive speedup and the virtual elimination of the eight-hour day, as full-time workers are forced to work upwards of 60 hours a week. At the same time, wide layers of the ghetto poor have been tossed right out of the labor market and are now treated as a totally expendable population who should work for nothing in slave-labor "workfare" schemes or just die.

It is a real statement on the condition of organized labor in the U.S. that a strike which won relatively modest economic gains for the workers—at the price of thousands of layoffs which will intensify the already grinding, dangerous pace of work for UPS workers—is so widely perceived as such a victory. Nonetheless, the consciousness that it is possible to win something, anything, against the bosses is important. So is the recognition of the social power of the organized, multiracial working class. By the mere fact of withdrawing their labor power, the UPS strikers demonstrated the potential power of the working class that lies in its numbers, organization and discipline, and most decisively the fact that it is labor that makes the wheels of profit turn in capitalist society. Faced with the loss of millions in profits, UPS climbed down from its "last, best, final offer."

In the midst of the strike, some thousands poured onto the streets of New York City in protest against the brutal and sadistic cops who sodomized a black Haitian immigrant with the wooden handle of a toilet plunger, ripping apart his intestines. In a later rally outside the police precinct in Brooklyn, Haitian immigrants were joined by American blacks, Hispanics, Hasidic Jews and others. Here was a powerful statement against the capitalist rulers who foment racial and ethnic hatred to keep those at the bottom divided and pitted against each other. And in the tens of thousands of black, Hispanic and immigrant workers who manned the picket lines during the UPS strike could be seen the potential for linking the power of labor to the anger of the dispossessed masses in the ghettos and barrios.

Kuntz/Reuters

UPS Teamsters joined by other trade unionists at Georgia strike rally, August 14. UPS strike evoked broad sympathy among working people and the poor across the country.

Those Who Labor Must Rule!

But translating the widespread sentiment of victory in the UPS strike into an aroused and struggling labor movement—mobilized in defense of its own class interests and the interests of blacks, immigrants and all those at the bottom of this society—is at bottom a political question. As V.I. Lenin, leader of the 1917 Russian workers revolution, said: politics is concentrated economics. The fundamental starting point must be the understanding that this society is divided between two hostile classes: workers who are forced to sell their labor power in order to survive and the property-owning capitalist class to whom their labor power is sold. The interests of these two classes are irreconcilably counterposed.

International Brotherhood of Teamsters (IBT) president Ron Carey says the UPS strike was about labor's "fight for the American Dream." This echoes Jesse Jackson's sermon on UPS picket lines in San Francisco where he told strikers, "If there's a downturn share the pain...in

continued on page 5

Enlightenment Rationalism and the Origins of Marxism

See Page Eight

As Teamsters Score Victory over UPS, Clinton Goes After Unions

Government Hands Off the Teamsters!

See Page Four

Rainbow Coalition Censors Anti-Racist Protesters

Down With Park Service Gag Rules!

SAN FRANCISCO—As Proposition 209, the racist California measure passed last November outlawing all affirmative action programs in public education and government hiring and contracting, became law on August 28, thousands turned out for a "Save the Dream" march and rally headed by Jesse Jackson. But minorities, youth and workers who came to the rally in San Francisco's Crissy Field to protest the assault on affirmative action were subjected to outrageous censorship by the Rainbow Coalition organizers, who sought to keep all protest within the bounds of the capitalist Democratic Party. Anyone with signs or literature not carrying the Rainbow Coalition's imprimatur was marched off to a tiny area in the parking lot surrounded by police barricades and under the watch of Park Service Smokies which was called—can you believe this—the "Free Speech Zone" (also known as the "First Amendment Zone")!

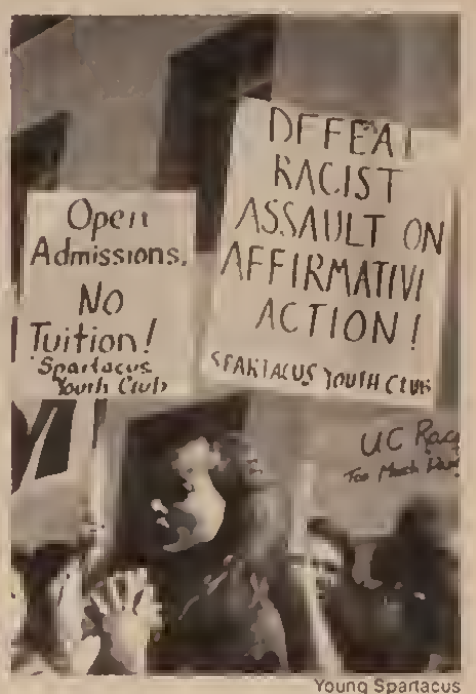
As some 5,000 marchers approached the field, Spartacist League supporters were distributing the latest issue of *Workers Vanguard*, with an article on the bloody cop killing of a Chinese American man in Rohnert Park, California. A Rainbow Coalition staffer approached our supporters demanding that we "voluntarily" segregate ourselves in the "Free Speech Zone." When we refused to submit to this scandalous censorship, a Park Service ranger at the behest of the Rainbow Coalition escorted us out of the rally. Outside the "Free Speech" internment area, another cop handed us a sheaf of papers—a "Special Use Permit for Public Assembly/First Amendment Activities"—under U.S. Department of the Interior letterhead. The cops threatened us with a citation for distributing our revolutionary literature when we refused to fill out the First Amendment "permit" and enter the police pen.

Red wasn't the only color the Rainbow types didn't like. Not only were other left groups, like the Freedom Socialist Party and the Revolutionary Communist Party, harassed by the cops and organizers, but so were Green ecology activists and apparently even individuals who brought their own hand-lettered signs.

Jesse Jackson and San Francisco Democratic mayor Willie Brown, the leaders of this hoax of a rally, seek to divert the outrage of youth, minorities and workers into dead ends like perpetual lawsuits and votes for your local Democrat. Tailing behind and seeking to pressure these "progressive" capitalist politicians are various "socialist" groups. The Revolutionary Workers League's "Coalition to Defend Affirmative Action By Any Means Necessary" (BAMN) postures as a "militant" alternative. But in practice, BAMN's talk of "militant actions" to prevent the implementation of Prop. 209 means sowing illusions in Jackson as something other than a hustler for the Democratic Party. Thus, BAMN pleaded with Jackson to lead "building occupations, student strikes, and highway shutdowns...that can smash the attack on affirmative action." And the International Socialist Organization, while building at San Francisco State for the August 28 march, shared a podium with Jackson without once expressing opposition to—or even mentioning—the Democratic Party.

The Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth Clubs have fought the racist assault on affirmative action, which represents a racist purge of higher education. But the affirmative action programs established in response to the protests and upheavals of the 1960s were at best a limited gain for a tiny percentage of minorities and women. We fight for jobs for all and for free, quality, integrated education for all—for open admissions with no tuition.

Unlike those who channel opposition to Prop. 209 into Jesse Jackson's Democratic Party, we fight to link the struggle with that of the multiracial labor movement. The successful Teamsters strike against notoriously racist UPS gave a taste of the social power of the working class, which when unleashed can defeat the war being waged against immigrants and minorities. We raise the call: Break with the Democrats—Build a revolutionary workers party!■



Young Spartacus

Protest at UC Berkeley against racist rollback of affirmative action, 1995.

TROTSKY

LENIN

The Trade Unions and the Fight Against Wage Slavery

Already at the time of the First International in the mid-19th century, when trade unions had just begun to emerge, Karl Marx argued that it was necessary for the unions to go beyond the narrow confines of struggles over wages and working conditions and to challenge the entire system of wage slavery and all-sided capitalist oppression. The subsequent development of imperialism provided the material basis for the capitalists to co-opt and buy off the top layers of the trade-union officialdom as a privileged stratum which acts as the bourgeoisie's political police inside the labor movement. To transform the unions into organs of struggle against the capitalist system requires the leadership of a revolutionary workers party forged in political combat against the labor traitors.

Capital is concentrated social force, while the workman has only to dispose of his working force. The *contract* between capital and labour can therefore never be struck on equitable terms, equitable even in the sense of a society which places the ownership of the material means of life and labour on one side and the vital productive energies on the opposite side. The only social power of the workmen is their number. The force of numbers, however, is broken by disunion. The disunion of the workmen is created and perpetuated by their *unavoidable competition amongst themselves.*

Trades' Unions originally sprang up from the *spontaneous* attempts of workmen at removing or at least checking that competition, in order to conquer such terms of contract as might raise them at least above the condition of mere slaves. The immediate object of Trades' Unions was therefore confined to everyday necessities, to expediencies for the obstruction of the incessant encroachments of capital, in one word, to questions of wages and time of labour. This activity of the Trades' Unions is not only legitimate, it is necessary. It cannot be dispensed with so long as the present system of production lasts. On the contrary, it must be generalised by the formation and the combination of Trades' Unions throughout all countries....

Too exclusively bent upon the local and immediate struggles with capital, the Trades' Unions have not yet fully understood their power of acting against the system of wages slavery itself. They therefore kept too much aloof from general social and political movements....

Apart from their original purposes, they must now learn to act deliberately as organising centres of the working class in the broad interest of its *complete emancipation.* They must aid every social and political movement tending in that direction. Considering themselves and acting as the champions and representatives of the whole working class, they cannot fail to enlist the non-society [non-union] men into their ranks. They must look carefully after the interests of the worst paid trades, such as the agricultural labourers, rendered powerless by exceptional circumstances. They must convince the world at large that their efforts, far from being narrow and selfish, aim at the emancipation of the downtrodden millions.

—Karl Marx, "Instructions for the Delegates of the Provisional General Council" (August 1866)

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The closing date for news in this issue is September 2

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Saturday, September 27, 7:30 p.m.
Place to be announced

For more information: (617) 666-9453

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Memorial Union, UW-Madison (see "Today in the Union" for room location)

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Unchain Labor's Power—Those Who Labor Must Rule!

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122 West 27th Street, 10th Floor (between 6th and 7th Avenues)

For more information: (212) 267-1025

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Information and readings: (415) 777-9367 or (510) 839-0851

Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste Forums

TORONTO

China on the Brink: Workers Political Revolution or Capitalist Enslavement?

Saturday, October 4, 7:30 p.m.
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Texas Prison Gauntlet of Terror

Video Shows What Happens All the Time

Brazosport Facts

Footage shows Brazoria County, Texas prison guards torturing inmates with electric cattle prod and attack dog.

The rampaging prison guards at the Brazoria County Detention Center, shown on video beating, kicking and pepper-gassing defenseless prisoners while spewing racist epithets, lacked only the white sheets of the KKK. In the half-hour tape shot at the Houston-area jail in September 1996, men lying on the floor are bitten by attack dogs, stomped on and shocked with stun guns and cattle prods wielded by the sheriff's "emergency response team." That these sadistic thugs knew they were being filmed—for a "training video"—underscores that this kind of racist torture goes on all the time in jails and prisons across the country.

The prisoners had been shipped to the jail from Missouri as part of a lucrative business run by state and county governments and private prison outfits, who make a hefty profit by cramming dozens to a cell and denying them adequate food and medical care. The video had been in the hands of prison authorities for nearly a year. After spurning hundreds of complaints by prisoners and their families, only when the video was aired on CNN did government officials feign shock over their hired hands' brutality. In a cynical attempt at "damage control" aimed at counteracting the growing public outcry, Missouri has recalled all its prisoners from Texas, and Texas officials from Gov. George Bush Jr. down are blaming the private company, Capital Correctional Resources, which runs part of the Brazoria County jail (as well as several others) under contract from the state.

The federal government jumped in to announce an FBI investigation into "possible violations of the prisoners' civil rights." But the vicious beatings and killings which go on every day in jails and prisons around the country have been stoked and fomented right from the top of the ruling class, as both Democratic and Republican politicians demand ever tougher measures in the racist "war on crime." In Georgia, the state "corrections" commissioner has personally led a "tactical squad" garbed in black uniforms which regularly drags prisoners from their beds in the middle of the night, shackling and beating them.

From chain gangs to convict labor, the racist rulers are ever more openly bringing back barbaric practices rooted in Southern slavery and Jim Crow segregation. In Alabama, prisoners are strapped to a "hitching post" for hours in the blazing sun without food or water, while in Maryland and Wisconsin ghoulish new 50,000-volt "stun belts" are now replacing leg irons to shackle prisoners in chain gangs. In California, it has become routine for prison guards to shoot inmates dead when fights break out, and many prisons in the state are surrounded by lethal electrified fences.

In the last 15 years, largely fueled by the "war on drugs," the number of people in U.S. jails and prisons has *quadrupled*, to *1.63 million* last year, with the overwhelming majority of prisoners black or Hispanic. In the nation's capital, fully half of all black men between the ages of 18 and 35 are either behind bars, on parole or otherwise in the clutches of the criminal "justice" system. As wide swathes of industry have been closed down or moved to lower-wage regions and decent full-time jobs become ever scarcer, the prison system has become America's fastest-growing "industry." This includes the boom in private prisons, from the Texas facility to the notorious jail for "illegal" immigrants in Elizabeth, New Jersey. Meanwhile, prison authorities have increasingly become slave-labor contractors, hiring out inmates to work for pennies an hour for private corporations.

Faced with the widening chasm between the filthy rich and the desperately poor, the bourgeoisie aims to contain the contradictions seething at the base of society through massive reinforcement of the repressive apparatus of the state—the cops, courts and prisons. The current crackdown on "juvenile offenders" pushed by Democrat Clinton is designed to ensnare black and Hispanic youth in the racist injustice system at ever younger ages. With one in seven black men effectively disenfranchised as "felons," the shell game of allowing the working class to vote every four years for the Republicrat oppressor of their choice is more of a sham than ever.

An integral part of the all-sided intensification of repression is the speedup on death row. Across the country, the machinery of death is in high gear, revved up by the gutting of *habeas corpus* appeals and a Supreme Court which has ruled that racism in sentencing, or even outright innocence, is no bar to being executed. More people are scheduled to be executed this year than at any time since 1935. Texas leads the pack, with 25 death row inmates killed so far this year. Even as the number of executions escalates, the federal government makes ever more crimes punishable by death, while states like New York which long resisted it have now revived the death sentence. We say: ***Abolish the racist death penalty!***

As with the hand-wringing calls for "investigations" following the release of the Texas prison video, the capitalist rulers occasionally make a hypocritical pretense of "cleaning up" their system of institutionalized terror. This summer, 26 years after the 1971 Attica prison massacre in upstate New York, a jury awarded $4 million in damages to former inmate Frank Smith. In putting down the prison revolt, then-governor Nelson Rockefeller ordered a massacre in which 43 people were killed and more than 90 injured. The settlement was the result of a lawsuit by over a thousand mostly black and Hispanic prisoners who had been burned with cigarettes, threatened with castration and death and forced to run naked over broken glass through a gauntlet of club-wielding screws in the aftermath of the massacre.

In denouncing the horrendous bloodbath at Attica in the first issue of *Workers Vanguard* (October 1971), we recalled the 1913 Ludlow massacre, also the handiwork of the Rockefeller family, when 21 striking Colorado coal miners, their wives and children were killed. In our article, we also condemned the leadership of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) for "organizing" some 10,000 state prison guards and cops, declaring: "No union can represent both workers and the sworn servants of the capitalist class, the police and prison guards."

Today, as AFSCME, Teamsters and other union bureaucrats, hungry to increase their dues base, step up efforts to recruit cops, prison guards and security guards, AFSCME alone includes *60,000* "correctional employees." Virtually every issue of the union's journal is filled with glowing articles about prison guards and advertisements for union "workshops" on topics like "gang control" inside the prisons. AFSCME president Gerald McEntee reprehensibly hailed the draconian crime bill signed into law by Clinton in 1994, mandating over $30 billion in new prison construction and other measures, as a "major victory" for the union (*Public Employee*, November/December 1994). This is a slap in the face to every working person, not least the tens of thousands of black and Hispanic members of AFSCME. It is more necessary than ever to reiterate that the armed thugs of the capitalist state have no place in the labor movement.

Reformist waterboys for the labor traitors, like the International Socialist Organization (ISO), join in fostering illusions that cops and prison guards can be the allies of working people (see "ISO: Looking for a Few Good Cops," *WV* No. 664, 21 March). The ISO recently supported work actions by security guards at New York City's World Trade Center and at the New School for Social Research, while its Canadian affiliate last year supported a "strike" by jail guards in Toronto, even hailing the "militant reputation" of "correctional workers" (*Socialist Worker* [Canada], 6 March 1996). Championing another such "strike" against a cutback in prison funding, the Canadian *Socialist Worker* (17 April 1996) admitted that prison guards function as one of the "oppressive arms of the state" but nevertheless claimed that they "must be supported in this particular struggle against the government because a victory for the guards would be a victory for all of us."

Every "victory" for cops and prison guards means more untrammeled racist terror on the streets and in the jails. As Marxists, we aim to imbue the working class with the understanding that the apparatus of torture and murder which is the core of the capitalist state cannot be reformed but must be swept away through socialist revolution.■

New York State Special Commission on Attica

Attica, 1971: Prisoners stripped and herded into the yard following massacre ordered by Governor Rockefeller.

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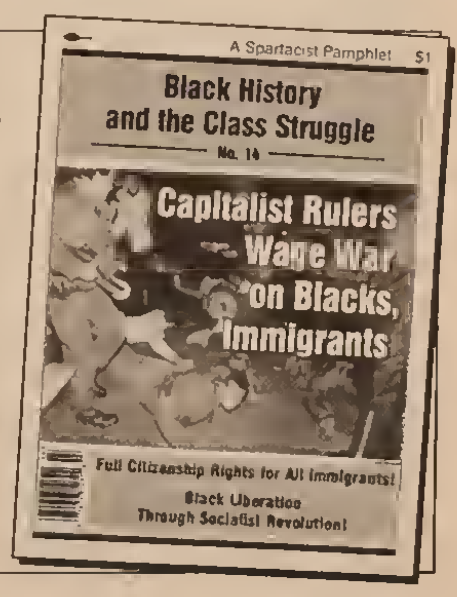

As Teamsters Score Victory over UPS, Clinton Goes After Unions

Government Hands Off the Teamsters!

Feds Void Carey Re-Election, Ban UPS Pilots Strike

AUGUST 31—No sooner had the ink dried on the tentative agreement ending the 15-day strike by the International Brotherhood of Teamsters (IBT) against UPS than the federal government stepped in to void the 1996 re-election of Ron Carey as IBT president and order a new election. Upholding the principle of complete independence of the workers movement from the capitalist government, the Spartacist League opposes any form of government intervention into the Teamsters or any other union. Labor can and must clean its own house through political struggles *inside* the unions. State intervention is flatly *counterposed* to the fight for union democracy and waging class struggle against the capitalists. Government hands off the Teamsters!

The government's intervention has nothing to do with allegations of financial chicanery by Carey and everything to do with its decades-long vendetta against the Teamsters. The capitalist state, which represents the interests of the corporations, fears the potential power of the Teamsters to shut down the country, from in-city and national trucking to the major ports and airports. The government's only interest in intervening into the affairs of the Teamsters or any other union is to cripple their ability to fight for the interests of their members by directly subordinating the unions to the government and dictating how they are run.

WV Photo

UPS pilots' refusal to cross Teamster picket lines was key to winning strike.

Carey was himself first elected IBT president in December 1991 as a result of a court "consent decree"—braintrusted by Carey's backers in Teamsters for a Democratic Union—placing the union under federal supervision. Having let the anti-union enemy in the front door in the first place, Carey is now himself being bitten by the feds. Meanwhile, James Hoffa Jr., Carey's opponent in last year's election, is calling for even *stronger* government intervention. Hoffa complains that the federal union "overseer," Barbara Zack Quindel, should have barred Carey from running in the new election and "should have annulled the election sooner, rather than waiting until after Mr. Carey led the teamsters in the strike against United Parcel Service" (*New York Times*, 30 August).

Hoffa is now demanding that Quindel be replaced by former Democratic president Jimmy Carter, who earned the hatred of trade unionists for invoking the anti-labor Taft-Hartley Act in a failed attempt to break the 1977-78 United Mine Workers (UMWA) national coal strike. The UMWA president at the time, Arnold Miller, had been elected in 1972 on the wings of a "reform" movement, "Miners for Democracy," which appealed to the capitalist courts and the Labor Department of Republican president Richard Nixon to "clean up" the union. During the strike, the Miller regime collapsed in the face of the determination of the miners, who defied Carter's strikebreaking injunctions and repeatedly burned Miller's sellout contract proposals before they finally went back to work after 110 days (see the Spartacist pamphlet, *The Great Coal Strike of 1978*).

That the state is the *enemy* of the labor movement was demonstrated yet again on August 26 when the National Mediation Board announced that UPS pilots represented by the Independent Pilots Association, whose contract expired in December 1995 and who are currently voting on a new agreement, would be banned from striking until 1998! The ruling came just three days after UPS had made its "last, final" contract proposal. The pilots' honoring of the Teamsters picket lines was key to shutting UPS down, and Carey has said that in return his members would respect the pilots' picket lines. The threat of another strike gave the pilots enormous leverage against UPS. But the government, acting on behalf of the UPS bosses who lost over $600 million during the Teamsters strike, wants to make sure that the company is not shut down again, especially during the peak Christmas season. They also don't like the idea that union power might be spreading.

Democratic president Clinton wasn't willing to pay the political price of openly breaking the Teamsters strike through a Taft-Hartley injunction. Like the arrogant UPS bosses, Clinton probably assumed that the strike would collapse with part-timers crossing the picket lines. Faced with an utterly solid strike, Clinton employed Secretary of Labor Alexis Herman and the National Mediation Board to twist the arm of the Carey leadership into marathon talks that got the strikers back to work without a vote on the new contract. Now Clinton is using the same mediators to stop the pilots from striking. We say that the pilots should defy this outrageous government edict and that the Teamsters should back them up all the way.

Solidarity Wins Strike

By all accounts, UPS was counting on the Teamsters being internally weakened by the charges against Carey—which were initially raised by the Hoffa forces and carried forward by the federal overseer—to force major concessions out of the union, especially the company's demand to withdraw from the Teamsters' multi-employer pension plan. UPS was also hardlining it against the key union demand to convert 10,000 part-time inside jobs to full-time jobs, as well as for substantial across-the-board wage increases.

Reuters

UPS workers remained solid throughout the strike, defeating company's attempt to cripple Teamsters union.

However, what UPS (and for that matter, probably Carey himself) did not count on was the solid support for the strike by nearly all UPS workers, both part-timers and full-time drivers. *This solidarity, above all else, was the decisive factor that defeated the attempt by UPS to cripple the Teamsters union.* This determination was most evident among the part-time loaders and sorters who, because of the multi-tier wage system initiated in 1982 with the approval of the Teamsters leadership, had the most to gain from a union victory. Going into the strike, drivers were paid well over twice the part-time starting wage of $8 an hour and nearly twice as much as the average $11 an hour earned by more senior inside workers.

With its back to the wall and suffering huge losses in revenues, UPS was forced to grant across-the-board wage increases of $3.10 an hour, with an additional $1 an hour for part-timers. However, the union leadership seriously compromised by permitting UPS to spread these increases and other provisions over a *five-year* contract, thus assuring UPS "labor peace" for an extended period. In addition, the poverty-level starting wage for part-time workers—which hadn't changed since 1982!—was only increased by a miserable 50 cents an hour.

But a potentially significant gain appears to be the creation for the first time at UPS of a new category of full-time jobs for inside workers, who make up some 60 percent of the workforce. A reported 10,000 part-time jobs are supposed to be converted to full-time over the life of the contract. However, according to the *New York Times* (22 August)—and with the full version of the new contract still not available—there may be a lot of fine print that qualifies this important gain. The first is that workers in these new full-time jobs will be paid some $5 an hour less than the drivers.

More importantly, the new contract apparently gives UPS a free hand in deciding not only *who* gets the new jobs, but *where* those jobs will be located, allowing the company to exclude whole cities. Without union control of promotion to full-time based on *seniority*, UPS will be able to exercise any kind of discrimination it chooses. In a company already notorious for its racism against minority workers, one can expect that UPS will continue to set workers against each other while excluding black, Hispanic and immigrant workers, women and known union militants from the new jobs.

The number of new full-time jobs does not fundamentally affect the overall proportion of part-time workers at UPS. Nevertheless, an important wedge has been driven into the UPS part-time slave-labor system. Further struggles will be necessary to institute union seniority and to fight for full-time jobs for all UPS workers. For union control over hiring! Equal pay for equal work! We call for a *union* fight against racism at UPS—no reliance on the bosses' courts and government!

Pat Oliphant

In 1977-78 coal strike, miners burned sellout contract and told Democrat Carter to shove his Taft-Hartley injunction.

For Class-Struggle Leadership!

While the economic gains of the UPS strike are relatively modest, the fact that this was a *winning* strike that backed

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Unchain Labor...

(continued from page 1)

good times share the gain." But this whole system is based on the extraction of surplus value, i.e., profit, from those who labor. The purpose of the capitalists who are in a dog-eat-dog competition with each other, particularly internationally, is to increase their profits through the increasing exploitation of the working class, not to "share the wealth" with labor. The fact that working people, blacks, immigrants, the young, the aged have been taking all the pain while not making any gains is precisely due to a labor leadership which is guided by the view of a "partnership" between the working class and the exploiting class.

The UPS strike never transcended the framework of business unionism. Crying that it was "illegal" for strikers to stop management scabs, the union leaders mandated porous picket lines which the company could have literally driven a truck through if it had made good on its threat to hire thousands of scabs. There was not one demand made by the bureaucrats aimed at redressing the vicious racist harassment of black, Hispanic and immigrant workers who are regularly tracked into the dirtiest and most dangerous jobs with little or no chance of promotion. The union tops' refusal to wage a fight against such conditions has led many of these workers to look for "justice" in the racist, anti-union capitalist courts.

Much was made of John Sweeney's offer of $10 million to the Teamsters strike fund, a fraction of what the AFL-CIO poured into Clinton's re-election campaign. But labor solidarity is not $55 a week in strike pay and a telegram of support. UPS pilots demonstrated some real support by respecting the strikers' picket lines and the Teamsters had better do the same if the pilots go on strike.

Now Carey, Sweeney and the rest of the labor officialdom are thanking Democratic president Clinton because he didn't bring down strikebreaking legislation! Rail workers at Amtrak whose right to strike was denied by Clinton before their contract had even expired surely don't share the same appreciation. And how about the Teamsters themselves? The ink had barely dried on the settlement with UPS when the government ordered new leadership elections in the Teamsters. IBT "old guard" spokesman James Hoffa Jr. is now calling on the feds, under whose aegis Carey himself was installed, to remove the current president from office. We say: Government hands off the unions!

The Enemies of Labor

The union bureaucracy sees "allies" in the agencies of the class enemy—the government, the cops, the courts. This class collaborationism stands behind the series of broken strikes and broken unions that have racked the organized labor movement. In the U.S., the main obstacle to successful class struggle against the capitalists is the allegiance to the Democratic Party of the labor bureaucracy as well as of a majority of the working class itself. For American workers, this support to the Democratic Party reflects the absence of elementary class consciousness. The Democratic Party portrayed by the labor bureaucrats as a "lesser evil" is, no less than the Republicans, a capitalist party which cannot serve the interests of the workers.

UPS picket line in Rhode Island attacked by cops. These armed thugs of the racist capitalist rulers have no place in the unions!

The U.S. is the only industrial country in the world where the workers have not historically had their own independent political party, reflecting in some way, even on a reformist basis, the conflicting interests of labor and capital. Yet the social-democratic labor parties that exist in other countries are based on the illusion that the way to advance the cause of the workers is through the electoral process. History has shown that the working class cannot simply lay hold of the existing apparatus of the capitalist state; rather, that state must be smashed and replaced by one serving the cause of the proletariat.

A genuine workers party must be based on the understanding that only through their mass mobilization in struggle can the workers fight for their interests and in defense of all the oppressed. The best workers party in history was the Bolshevik Party led by V.I. Lenin and Leon Trotsky, which led the workers of Russia to power in the October Revolution of 1917, creating the first workers state in history. The Spartacist League is fighting to build such a party, forged in sharp political struggle against the pro-capitalist labor misleaders and based on the Marxist understanding that the capitalist profit system must be rooted out and replaced by workers rule.

It was this revolutionary understanding of the class struggle that imbued the pitched class battles in the streets of Minneapolis in 1934 which forged the Teamsters as a powerful industrial union. These strikes, which twice shut down the city, were led by "reds," Trotskyist militants. Speaking of "The Great Minneapolis Strikes," James P. Cannon, a founding leader of American Trotskyism, underlined the political program which lay behind those victories:

> "All modern strikes require political direction. The strikes of that period brought the government, its agencies and its institutions into the very center of every situation. A strike leader without some conception of a political line was very much out of date already by 1934. The old fashioned trade union movement, which used to deal with the bosses without government interference, belongs in the museum. The modern labor movement must be politically directed because it is confronted by the government at every turn. Our people were prepared for that since they were political people, inspired by political conceptions. The policy of the class struggle guided our comrades; they couldn't be deceived and outmaneuvered, as so many strike leaders of that period were, by this mechanism of sabotage and destruction known as the National Labor Board and all its auxiliary setups. They put no reliance whatever in Roosevelt's Labor Board; they weren't fooled by any idea that Roosevelt, the liberal 'friend of labor' president, was going to help the truck drivers in Minneapolis win a few cents more an hour. They weren't deluded even by the fact that there was at that time in Minnesota a Farmer-Labor Governor, presumed to be on the side of the workers.
>
> "Our people didn't believe in anybody or anything but the policy of the class struggle and the ability of the workers to prevail by their mass strength and solidarity. Consequently, they expected from the start that the union would have to fight for its right to exist; that the bosses would not yield any recognition to the union, would not yield any increase of wages or reduction of the scandalous hours without some pressure being brought to bear. Therefore they prepared everything from the point of view of class war. They knew that power, not diplomacy, would decide the issue. Bluffs don't work in fundamental things, only in incidental ones. In such things as the conflict of class interests one must be prepared to fight."
>
> —James P. Cannon, *The History of American Trotskyism* (1944)

Today, the Teamsters union is led by Carey and his "reformers," who came to power through the intervention of the capitalist state. Appealing to the feds to "clean up" corruption in the union, this treachery was dressed up as winning "democracy" for the union ranks.

To be sure, the "old guard" leadership was plenty corrupt. But that isn't why the government went after the Teamsters. The feds' aim was to break the ability of the Teamsters, potentially one of the most powerful unions in America, to shut the country down. The capitalist rulers' war against the Teamsters goes back to the vendetta waged by Democrat Bobby Kennedy in the 1950s, when the IBT under Jimmy Hoffa launched a campaign for a national over-the-road contract. That Carey and his backers delivered the union into the hands of the capitalist state is about as corrupt as you can get. And it is directly counterposed to the aim of union democracy—the fight for the workers to select a leadership which will fight for their class interests *against* the employers and their state.

In modern capitalism, the unions confront a highly centralized class adversary. The government is simply the executive committee for the capitalist class as a whole. The capitalist state is the enemy of the working class, organized both to prevent it from struggling in its own interests and ultimately to prevent the workers from smashing the system of private property and taking power themselves. Therefore the *only* interest the government has in the unions is to weaken them and reduce their capacity to struggle. By upholding capitalist class rule, the leadership of the AFL-CIO acts to transform the unions from fighting instruments of the workers into an extension of the capitalist state power to discipline and moderate the struggles of the workers.

This is ABC for Marxists. Yet Carey's government-sponsored election as Teamsters president was hailed by a host of groups calling themselves "socialist." Prominent among these is the International Socialist Organization (ISO). In a special *Socialist Worker* (June-July 1997) UPS strike supplement, the ISO cheers: "The elections of Teamster General President Ron Carey in 1991 and 1996 are victories for everyone who wanted to see a more democratic, fighting labor movement." In fact, the ISO actively supports Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU), which catapulted Carey into office. In 1987, the TDU literally wrote—and sent to the Justice Department—the blueprint for the government plan to "reorganize" the union.

Implicitly acknowledging widespread hostility among the Teamsters ranks to government intervention, the ISO tries to cover its tracks with a cynical sleight of hand. In its strike supplement, TDU leader and prominent ISO supporter Pete Camarata is quoted as saying, "TDU was opposed to government control of unions." However, in the very next breath, the ISO praises the "independent" government board which ran the Teamsters elections for ensuring "the first-ever democratic vote." Quintessential social democrats, the ISO sees the capitalist state as a "class-neutral" instrument which can be pressured into serving the interests of the workers. By the same token, the ISO sees evidence of working-class militancy in "strikes" by prison guards. In this, too, the ISO is faithful to the IBT leaders, who have been "organizing" cops into the union.

This is obscene! The cops aren't workers, they are the armed fist of the capitalist rulers. Their job is to "serve and protect" the property and power of the bosses who live off the exploitation of labor. Teamsters should know what role the police play only too well. During the 1994 national freight strike, cops busted heads and arrested strikers for trying to stop scabs. L.A. Latino trucker Jesse Acuna was only recently released from prison after being thrown behind bars for defending a Teamsters picket line. Numerous UPS workers were also arrested during the recent strike. *Drop all the charges!*

The police, prison guards, security guards and legions of "private" strikebreaking outfits are the biggest "growth industry" in America. This increase in the forces of repression is aimed at heading off any protest against the increasingly raw exploitation and oppression of those at the bottom of this system. But for the labor bureaucrats, organizing the

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Minnesota Historical Society

THE ORGANIZER

VICTORY!

Settlement Goes Through!

Vote for 574 in the Elections
Make Minneapolis a Union Town

Class war on the streets of Minneapolis as Trotskyists lead 1934 general strike which helped forge Teamsters as powerful national industrial union. Daily strike bulletin, *The Organizer*, hailed workers' victory.

Unchain Labor...

(continued from page 5)

cops and the screws is the means to increase their flagging dues base.

Labor Lieutenants of Capital

The class traitors who currently run the unions long ago separated themselves from their working-class base. In the words of early American socialist leader Daniel De Leon, the top union officials serve as the "labor lieutenants of the capitalist class." So strong are the bureaucrats' ties to the capitalist order that they have renounced the very means by which the unions were built. Those unions were built in *opposition* to the bosses' cops and courts. Leaders, then, went to prison and died for the union cause. Strikes were virtual wars. Now the union tops call for "informational" picket lines, impotent consumer boycotts, moral witness "protests" at stockholder meetings, corporate campaigns...anything except the hard class struggle that is necessary to win even in defensive battles.

The Minneapolis strikes were won by bringing to bear the weapons of labor that lie in its collective strength. Picketing was organized on a mass basis to keep out scabs. Carloads of flying pickets were dispatched to deliver a clear message to the operators of scab trucks that picket lines mean don't cross. Effective use was made of the "secondary boycott" as unionized truckers refused to handle cargo shipped by scab labor. Twice the organized power of labor brought Minneapolis to a grinding halt in a general strike. These battles presaged the plant occupations of the great CIO organizing drives later in the 1930s.

But it wasn't just the militant and "illegal" tactics of mass picketing and sitdown strikes that built the unions. The Trotskyists who led the Minneapolis strikes organized women workers and the wives of strikers to take part in the class battle. They organized the unemployed and through fighting for their rights brought them in behind the strike. The later organizing drives in auto, steel, meatpacking and other industries broke down the traditional Jim Crow system as blacks poured into the ranks of the newly organized industrial unions. As a result, during that period the black ghetto masses identified with the labor movement.

Yet the reformists, the social democrats and the Stalinist Communist Party, channeled the turbulent class battles of the 1930s into support for Franklin D. Roosevelt's Democratic Party and its "New Deal" coalition, which included the diehard Dixiecrat segregationists of the Deep South. This coalition aimed at co-opting the unions through a series of government regulatory boards and, more broadly, at buying "class peace." During World War II, the labor misleaders served to enlist working people in the interimperialist slaughter. For their opposition to the imperialist war, 18 Trotskyist leaders, including Minneapolis Teamsters militants, were prosecuted and jailed for treason under the Smith Act. Aiding and abetting the government was the IBT bureaucracy, which sent Jimmy Hoffa into Minneapolis to purge the Trotskyists from the union.

The arrest of the "Minneapolis 18," which outrageously was backed by the pro-Roosevelt Communist Party, presaged the Cold War purges of the late 1940s and early '50s. After five years of "no strike" pledges imposed by the labor bureaucracy during World War II, the year 1946 saw the biggest strike wave in the history of the country. The following year, the union-busting Taft-Hartley Act was passed. The purge that was then launched not only destroyed whole unions but beheaded the labor movement by systematically removing some 25,000 of the most militant union members, including the Communists and socialists who had been key leaders and fighters in the CIO organizing drives.

The "red purge" laid the basis for the fusion of the AFL craft-union federation with the CIO in 1955. The first president of the AFL-CIO, George Meany, bragged that he had never walked a picket line. Thus was created the postwar anti-Communist leadership which has presided over the steady decline of union power to the point where only about 10 percent of the industrial workforce remains organized.

Meany and his successors were among the most rabid proponents of the interests of U.S. imperialism around the world, from the Cold War against the Soviet Union to Washington's dirty war against the Vietnamese workers and peasants. While fostering support for military adventures against the peoples of the "Third World," in the U.S. the labor misleaders were virulent in their denunciations of the Black Panther Party and any militant struggle against the racist status quo.

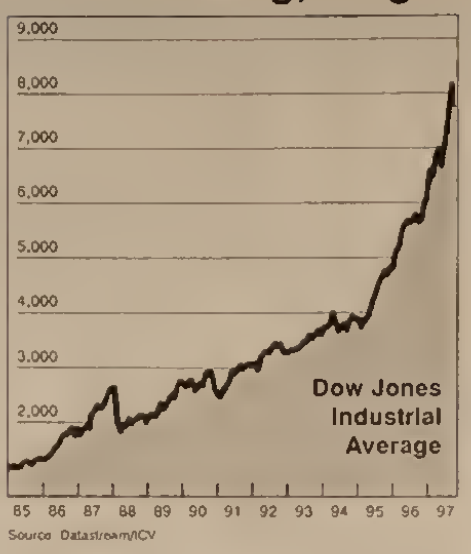
As Leon Trotsky wrote in 1940 at the time of the "New Deal," modern monopoly capitalism demands of the reformist labor bureaucracy "that they become transformed into its political police before the eyes of the working class." As a result of the unprecedented mass struggles which built the CIO, the government began setting up a series of legal restrictions to limit the power of the working class. Ever since then the tendency has been for the unions, through their bureaucratic leadership, to grow more closely together with the capitalist government itself. Stressing as primary the call for "complete and unconditional independence of the trade unions in relation to the capitalist state," Trotsky noted:

> "The trade unions of our time can either serve as secondary instruments of imperialist capitalism for the subordination and disciplining of workers and for obstructing the revolution, or, on the contrary, the trade unions can become the instruments of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat."

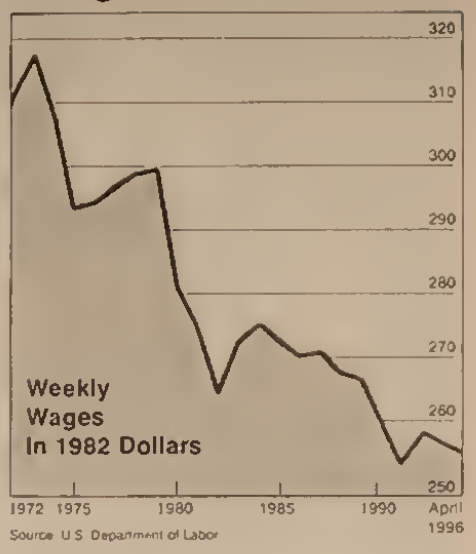
Washington Post

Spartacist League initiated 5,000-strong labor/black mobilization that stopped KKK march in Washington, D.C., November 1982.

Stocks Rising, Wages Falling



Source: Datastream/ICV



Source: U.S. Department of Labor

Mobilize Labor and Its Allies!

The fruits of the racism, anti-Communism and class collaborationism of the labor bureaucracy have been seen in the sharp decline in union membership and wages and the deepening immiseration of the ghetto masses. The union tops have agreed to multi-tier wage systems and a massive expansion of part-time labor. Such schemes pit one section of the workforce against another, furthering the exploitation of black, immigrant and younger workers while making older, mainly white workers more vulnerable to being replaced entirely. While millions of blacks and immigrants have been condemned to starvation, disease and death by the destruction of social welfare programs, the AFL-CIO officialdom has not lifted a finger in protest. Now thousands of formerly unionized jobs are being filled under slave-labor "workfare" programs.

Enough! The situation is crying out for a real drive to organize the unorganized. Not the bureaucrats' despicable mooted bids to organize separate "workfare" unions as low-wage ghettos to feed their dues base, but a class-struggle fight for full union wages, benefits and protection *for all*! Down with two-tier wages! Equal pay for equal work! Combat unemployment through the fight for a shorter work week at no loss in pay!

Even to realize the most basic right—to a job at decent pay—leads directly to challenging the capitalist profit system. In the 1938 Transitional Program—a system of demands linking the felt needs of the workers to the fight for proletarian state power—Trotsky noted amid the devastation of the Great Depression:

> "The question is one of guarding the proletariat from decay, demoralization, and ruin. The question is one of life or death of the only creative and progressive class, and by that token of the future of mankind. If capitalism is incapable of satisfying the demands inevitably arising from the calamities generated by itself, then let it perish."

Many of the AFL-CIO misleaders openly support racist anti-immigrant laws in the name of defending American workers from the influx of "cheap labor." But the treacherous policies of the bureaucrats created a huge reservoir of "homegrown" cheap labor. Refusing to defend the rights of immigrants, they have simply opened the door for the capitalists' rapacious exploitation of foreign-born workers who literally have no rights. The labor movement must demand: Full citizenship rights for all immigrants!

While they scream about the "outsourcing" of jobs abroad, for years the bosses have been shipping jobs, not to Mexico or Taiwan, but to the "open shop" American South. The last, feeble attempt to organize the South—obscenely called "Operation Dixie"—was in *the 1950s*. But that was immediately shipwrecked on the shoals of the red purges, racism and the bureaucrats' ties to the Democratic Party. In many cases, to get the "reds" the labor bureaucrats worked to destroy already existing Southern unions that were largely Communist Party-led and had a huge black membership. Meanwhile, the bureaucrats' loyalty to the Democrats made them incapable of organizing the South, which would have meant a fight *against* the Jim Crow white-power structure, which was run by the Dixiecrats and their Ku Klux Klan auxiliaries.

Here is a monument, in the negative, to the understanding that there can be no effective defense against union-busting unless the labor movement becomes the champion of black rights. The burning cross which was ignited by plant managers in Alabama a few years back to "discourage" workers from joining a union testifies to the crucial need for integrated labor action against racist terror to break the "open shop" South.

The Spartacist League has initiated labor-centered mobilizations—bringing to bear the power of black and white workers at the head of mobilizations of all the intended victims of Klan terror—that have successfully stopped the fascists in a number of cities. In these mobilizations could be seen the powerful combination of black and red: labor united in its own defense and in defense of all the oppressed under a communist leadership. At the time of the Civil War, Karl Marx captured a fundamental truth of American society in his statement that "Labor cannot emancipate itself in the white skin where in the black it is branded." Union rights and black rights will go forward together or fall back separately.

The forcible subjugation and segregation of much of the black population at the bottom of this society is an essential foundation stone of American capitalism. At the same time, the capitalist rulers have fomented racial hatred and made the color bar a fundamental dividing line in this country in order to obscure the irreconcilable class divide between labor and capital. Once supplying a "reserve army of labor" to be employed when the bosses needed them, the ghetto poor have been discarded by a ruling class that no longer needs their labor power. But black workers remain a significant component of organized labor, integrated into strategic sections of the proletariat in whose hands lies the power to break the chains of capitalist exploitation and racist oppression. As we wrote in the Spartacist pamphlet, "Capitalist Rulers Wage War on Blacks, Immigrants" (*Black History and the Class Struggle* No. 14, January 1997):

> "The road to black freedom lies in the struggle to shatter this racist capitalist system through proletarian socialist revolution, and the power to do that lies with the multiracial working class. But this power cannot and will not be realized unless a class-struggle labor movement actively champions the cause of black liberation and is mobilized in defense of the rights of immigrants and all the oppressed. The key to unlocking the chains, forged by the trade-union misleaders, that shackle labor to its exploiters is the political struggle to build a revolutionary internationalist leadership of the working class."

Labor's Fight Is International—Workers of the World Unite!

The union tops see the world through the same lens as the capitalists and their government. Complaining that workers in other countries are "stealing" American jobs, the labor bureaucrats tie the interests

of the working class in the U.S. to maintaining the competitive edge of American imperialism. Carey and the rest of the AFL-CIO officialdom are now trying to wield the UPS strike to mobilize labor against any extension of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA).

Labor *should* be mobilized in opposition to NAFTA—but not on the basis of "stars and stripes" chauvinism and racist job-trusting protectionism exemplified by recent IBT protests against Mexican truckers. We oppose NAFTA as a "free trade" rape of Mexico, under which the U.S. rulers are increasing their profits and power through the superexploitation of Mexican workers. There should be a drive to organize the workers in the giant U.S.-owned *maquiladoras* in northern Mexico. This cause would be mightily assisted by, for example, solidarity strikes by the unionized workforces of these same corporations in the U.S.

The AFL-CIO's protectionism, particularly against Japan, is part and parcel of lining U.S. workers up behind their "own" bourgeoisie in the face of escalating interimperialist rivalry. This is a dangerous business. Trade wars lead to shooting wars, as has been demonstrated in the two world imperialist conflagrations in this century. More immediately, "yellow peril" racism has played a big role in derailing class struggle. This was clearly seen in the defeat of the strike against Bridgestone-Firestone in the central Illinois "war zone" a couple of years back, where instead of building mass pickets the union bureaucracy pushed appeals to the U.S. government against the company's Japanese owners.

The strike against UPS, close to half of whose workforce is employed outside the U.S., underlined that labor's fight must be *international*. Transport unions in Europe were planning solidarity demonstrations and Filipino workers mounted a labor protest against UPS in Manila. The watchword of the working people must not be the deadly trap of defending "American jobs" against foreign competition, but the words which Karl Marx inscribed in the *Communist Manifesto* 150 years ago: "Workers of the world, unite!"

For a Workers Government to Expropriate the Bourgeoisie!

An op-ed piece in the *New York Times* (17 August) titled "Turning Point for Labor?" noted:

> "Occasionally strikes take on a significance beyond the specific company and union involved in the conflict. The outcome of such strikes can define the balance of power between worker and management in the entire society."

On the negative side of this balance sheet, the author pointed to the destruction of the PATCO air traffic controllers union by the Reagan government in 1981. The entire membership of the union was fired and PATCO leaders were led off to prison in shackles.

Today it is widely recognized that the smashing of PATCO opened the door to the wholesale onslaught against the unions while the rich got richer and the poor got poorer. But at the time, the labor misleaders did nothing in defense of PATCO. The Spartacist League raised the call: "Labor: Shut Down the Airports!" Machinists and Teamsters had the power to bring the country to a grinding halt—the union leadership just had to say the word, the ranks were ready. Instead the labor traitors hid their refusal to fight behind impotent rallies and appeals for a consumer boycott.

Ruben R. Ramirez

Strikers at RCA Thomson *maquiladora* plant in Ciudad Juárez, Mexico, February 1995. AFL-CIO misleaders push racist protectionism. What's needed is international labor solidarity in struggle.

Today, the imperialist bourgeoisie's rapacity is further driven by the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union. The world's first workers state, issuing from the Bolshevik-led October Revolution and erected on the foundations of a centrally planned and collectivized economy, was an enormous step forward for humanity. These gains were undermined by the Stalinist bureaucracy which usurped political power from the working class in the early 1920s. ***Like the labor bureaucrats in this country***, the Stalinists bartered away the workers' gains to appease the imperialist rulers, ultimately paving the way for the utter destruction of the Soviet bureaucratically degenerated workers state. Capitalist counterrevolution has meant a catastrophic assault on the conditions of working people in the former Soviet Union, leading to nationalist slaughters and massive impoverishment. This has also meant intensified attacks on working people internationally, as the chief imperialist powers—the U.S., Japan and Germany—seek to drive down wages and slash social benefits to increase their competitive edge.

Two possible roads lie before the working class. There is the revolutionary strategy proposed by us Marxists. In the course of sharp class struggle and through the instrumentality of a revolutionary party that patiently educates the working class in the understanding not only of its social power but of its historic interests, the workers will become conscious of themselves as a class fighting for itself and for all the oppressed against the *entire* capitalist class and its government. Or there is the continuation of the bureaucrats' acquiescence to what is possible and "practical" under capitalism, which over the past two decades and more has led to disaster. Despite their "socialist" pretensions, the latter view is one amply shared by reformist groups like the ISO.

At best what the ISO offered during the UPS strike was simply more "militant" trade-union struggle, and barely that. They were among the loudest in the bureaucrats' game of shouting "shame" at scab trucks which a few minutes later were allowed across the picket lines. Their demands for the strike were to simply add a few dollars and jobs to what the Teamsters bureaucracy called for, conspicuously omitting any demands addressed to the crucial need for the union to fight against racist harassment and discrimination. Insofar as the ISO even pretended to offer an "alternative" to the Carey leadership it was to appeal for building a "rank-and-file" movement to simply pressure the bureaucrats.

But having supported the election of Carey, which was brought through the intervention of the capitalist state, what alternative could the ISO have to offer to the class collaborationism of the labor bureaucrats? Rather than the desperately necessary task of struggling to bring revolutionary consciousness to the working class, the ISO reinforces the stranglehold of the treacherous misleaders of labor who keep the working class trapped within the framework of capitalist exploitation.

The mobilization of the proletariat in pursuit of its own class interests requires a political struggle against the procapitalist labor tops. This is integrally linked to the fight for a workers party based on the program of the class struggle, a party whose purpose is not to serve as an electoral shill for the Democrats—like Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers bureaucrat Tony Mazzocchi's "Labor Party" sham—but to give revolutionary leadership to the struggles of the workers in the fight for a workers government to expropriate the bourgeoisie and construct an egalitarian socialist society.

When those who labor rule, the tremendous wealth of this society will be used to provide a decent life for the working people, the poor, blacks, immigrants, the young, the aged. The fight for black freedom will be realized in the overthrow of the rule of American capital. When the workers have the industrial wealth that is now being squeezed out of the working class for the profits of the bosses, we will begin to build a planned socialist economy on an international scale. Then we can right some historical crimes and pay off some debts, like some of tens of billions of dollars to the Vietnamese and others whose countries have been maimed under the passing treads of American tanks and the bombs of American planes. As for "compensation" to the people who lined their pockets with fat profits while driving everyone else to ruin, the victorious proletariat can offer to those who don't get in its way that they too will have the right to honest labor and will live to see their grandchildren prosper in a truly humane society.■

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Enlightenment Rationalism and the Origins of Marxism

Musée Carnavalet

Meeting of the Constituent Assembly established during the French Revolution which swept away the old feudal order.

PART ONE

We print below the first part of a presentation on the Enlightenment given by Spartacist League Central Committee member Joseph Seymour this summer as part of a series of internal SL classes on the origins of Marxism.

The great Russian writer Leo Tolstoy was raised as a nobleman on a country estate. To stave off the boredom of this rustic existence, the young Tolstoy and his brother devised a series of physical and mental challenges. One of these was to stand in a corner and *not* think of a white bear. It can't be done. Under those circumstances, you have to think of a white bear.

In studying and discussing Marxism today, we face a similar kind of mental impossibility. We cannot *not* think of the recent major developments in the world which have radically altered and affected popular conceptions about communism. Capitalist counterrevolution has triumphed in the former Soviet Union and East Europe. Capitalism is making deep inroads in what used to be called "Red China." Stalinism, which for decades was popularly identified with communism, has disappeared as a significant political current in the world. The overwhelming majority of ex-Stalinists, whether or not they still call themselves communists, have become social democrats or in some cases, as in Russia, bourgeois nationalists.

We now operate in an ideological climate in which the "death of communism," that is, of the program and principles of Marxism and Leninism, is widely accepted. We've seen the recent emergence of significant leftist tendencies which do not claim the Marxist tradition in any sense—anarchists and Greens in Europe, nationalist-populists like the Mexican Zapatistas in Third World countries.

What passes for the left in this country these days is even more remote from scientific socialism or scientific anything. It's all too common to encounter a college or high-school student at a defense rally for Mumia Abu-Jamal or at a labor rally, such as that for the Watsonville farm workers last month, who talks about the importance of spirituality, who argues that modern industrial technology threatens the future of the human race and all higher life forms on earth. We thus find ourselves defending the basic principles of materialism and scientific rationality, the very idea of historical progress.

The bourgeois ideological offensive around the theme of the "death of communism" has been extended back, and logically so, to the rational humanism of the 18th-century Enlightenment. The most prominent liberal intellectual who was centrally involved in the capitalist counterrevolution in East Europe was the Czech Vaclav Havel. He is now president of the Czech Republic. Addressing a prestigious international economic conference a few years ago, Havel stated:

> "The modern era has been dominated by the culminating belief, expressed in different forms, that the world—and Being as such—is a wholly knowable system governed by a finite number of universal laws that man can grasp and rationally direct for his own benefit. This era, beginning in the Renaissance and developing from the Enlightenment to socialism...was characterized by rapid advances in rational, cognitive thinking....
>
> "It was an era of ideologies, doctrines, interpretations of reality, an era in which the goal was to find a universal theory of the world, and thus a universal key to unlock its prosperity....
>
> "The fall of Communism can be regarded as a sign that modern thought—based on the premise that the world is objectively knowable, and that the knowledge so obtained can be absolutely generalized—has come to a final crisis. This era has created the first global, or planetary, technical civilization, but it has reached the limit of its potential, the point beyond which the abyss begins. The end of Communism is a serious warning to all mankind. It is a signal that the era of arrogant, absolutist reason is drawing to a close."
>
> —*New York Times*, 1 March 1992

Havel is quite right that socialism, including the scientific socialism of Marx and Engels, is at the intellectual level a logical culmination of the rational humanism of the Enlightenment. For example, we refer to the Marxist or Leninist theory of the state, that the state is an instrument by which the propertied classes hold down the exploited classes. Three-quarters of a century before the *Communist Manifesto* and a century and a half before Lenin's *State and Revolution*, Holbach, a leading Enlightenment thinker—they were called *philosophes* in France—wrote:

> "By a vice common to all governments, the most numerous part of nations is usually the most neglected; it would seem that societies were formed only for the Princes, the Rich, and the Powerful; you would swear that the people enter into association only to spare those who are already the most fortunate the trouble of working."
>
> —quoted in Harry C. Payne, *The Philosophes and the People* (1976)

We consider ourselves internationalists. That is, we reject and oppose the concept of national interest and instead fight for the interests of the working people throughout the world and ultimately for the future of humanity. The underlying attitude that was later called internationalism originated in the Enlightenment. The very first of the *philosophes*, Pierre Bayle, set the tone: "I am a citizen of the world, I am not in the service of the emperor or the king of France, I am in the service of the truth." Similarly, the radical German poet and dramatist Friedrich Schiller declared in the late 18th century: "I write as a citizen of the world who serves no prince. I lost my fatherland at an early age and exchanged it for the wide world."

In preparing for this educational I've read a fair amount of Enlightenment literature, most of it for the first time. And the thought which kept recurring to me was being transported back to the old neighborhoods in which I lived as a child. You're aware that the world has changed a lot and that you've changed a lot. Yet there is a deep feeling of familiarity, a sense that the changes you've undergone have been organic.

So I approach this educational, and the next one on the Hegelian left, like a trip in a time machine back to the world before Marx, then on to the world in which he was born and raised, which conditioned his thoughts and which he changed so radically and profoundly that it is difficult for us to recapture the previous eras.

Marx and "Natural Rights" Leftism

As soon as Marx entered the political stage in the 1840s, it was recognized by his fellow leftists that he had something *new* and important to say. While still a young man in his twenties, Marx became the principal figure in the German communist movement. He and Engels also became influential figures in the left wing of the British Chartist movement, the first mass working-class party in history. The *Communist Manifesto* was first published in English in 1850 on the front page of the *Red Republican*, the newspaper of the Chartist left.

Seasoned revolutionaries much older than Marx, veterans of numerous insurrections and other mass struggles as well as sundry adventures, recognized Marx's superiority in the field of social and political theory. What accounted for the immediate and profound impact of Marx's ideas on the communists, socialists and other radical leftists of his time?

V. Deni and M. Cheremnykh

Der Spiegel

Revolution vs. counterrevolution: 1920 Soviet poster shows Lenin sweeping away kings, capitalists and priests; Russian Orthodox priest on Yeltsin's barricades, August 1991.

An answer to that question was given by Moses Hess, a leading German communist, in a letter written to a colleague:

> "You can prepare yourself to meet the greatest philosopher now living, perhaps the only one.... Dr. Marx (for that is the name of my idol) is still quite a young man, about 24 years of age at the most, and he is about to deal the finishing stroke to medieval religion and politics. He combines the most profound philosophical seriousness with a cutting wit. Imagine for yourself Rousseau, Voltaire, Holbach, Lessing, Heine and Hegel, united in one person—and I say *united*, not just thrown together—then you've got Dr. Marx."
>
> —quoted in Werner Blumenberg, *Karl Marx* (1972)

For leftists in the late 20th century, however, this appreciation of Marx raises more questions than it answers. Exactly *how* did Marx combine the ideas of Voltaire, Rousseau and Hegel, thinkers who were not only very different from one another but contradictory in their basic premises and views? And why was a new theoretical doctrine which synthesized the different tendencies of the Enlightenment with the philosophy of Hegel considered to be of prime importance for the communist movement and radical left of that time?

The terms "left" and "right," like much else in the modern world, originated in the French Revolution. They referred to the seating arrangements in the Convention, the revolutionary parliament which governed the country after the overthrow of the monarchy. Those groups and factions which sat farther to the left were further to the left. Makes sense. Nonetheless it is logical and useful to extend the terms "left" and "right" back to earlier historical eras. Thus one can speak of left-wing groups such as the Levellers and the Diggers in the English Revolution and Civil War of the mid-1600s.

For roughly two centuries, from the English Revolution until the Revolutions of 1848, the difference between right and left at the theoretical level centered on what was considered by both sides to be the original, fundamental and immutable nature of man. The right maintained that man was inherently evil and in the absence of a strong repressive state, backed by the church, society would degenerate into murderous anarchy, a war of all against all. The left maintained that man was naturally good but had been depraved by certain social institutions, above all religion and property. Thus Rousseau, the dominant intellectual influence on the left before Marx, stated: "Man is naturally good and that it is by institutions alone that men become evil."

Polemics between left and right in the age of the Enlightenment centered on demonstrating that proposition on the one side or, on the other, that the inherent evil in man was only held in check by social institutions. For example, right-wing ideologues pointed to the fact that large numbers of people attended public executions, often involving horrible torture and mutilation, as proof of the innate cruelty of men, especially the men of the common people. The left, represented by Rousseau and Diderot, responded that the common people much preferred to attend fairs and plays, to engage in games and sports than to watch their fellow men being killed and tortured.

Jean Huber

Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris

Left: Engraving depicts Enlightenment *philosophes*, including Voltaire, Condorcet and Diderot. Right: Dedication to the contributors to Diderot's monumental *Encyclopaedia*, featuring Diderot and d'Alembert.

The right maintained that only fear of eternal punishment in hell prevented men from murdering, raping and pillaging at will if they thought they could escape punishment in this life. The left countered that it was religious fanaticism that was the greatest cause of mass murder throughout history. Voltaire, who was a quite competent historian by the standards of the day, estimated that since the time of Jesus Christ almost 10 million Christians had been massacred by other Christians in the name of Christianity. Small wonder he declared: "Every sensible man, every honorable man, must hold the Christian sect in horror."

Incidentally, there's a nice anecdote about Voltaire as he lay dying. A Catholic priest thought that at last the world-famous heretic would repent of his sins and embrace the true faith. He came up to Voltaire's deathbed and said, "Will you finally renounce the devil?" Voltaire looked up at him and replied: "Father, now is not the time to make new enemies."

The Development of Scientific Socialism

The principal Enlightenment work advocating and expounding a system of communism was *The Code of Nature* by Morrelly, who asserted:

> "While natural law is fully operative, crime is unthinkable. If man is free of the tyranny of private property, it is quite impossible for him to be a wrongdoer, a thief, a murderer, or a marauder. Abolish private property and its attendant evils and men will not need to arm themselves for attack or defense. There will be an end to savage passions and savage deeds."

This was the basic theoretical premise underlying the communist and socialist movements prior to Marx and was expressed in different ways by Robert Owen and his followers, the Saint-Simonians, the Fourierists and the like.

The doctrine of natural law and natural right by its very nature, so to speak, posits that all men of all social classes, as members of the human species, have the same basic values and common interests. The task of the communist movement, so conceived, was to enlighten men as to their true nature and interests. The principal organization of German communism in the 1840s was the League of the Just, which changed its name to the Communist League around the time Marx joined it in 1847. Its main slogan was "All men are brothers."

Thus the early communist and socialist movements were marked by a fundamental contradiction between their actual

National Portrait Gallery, London

Beheading of Charles I in 1649 during the English Revolution led by Oliver Cromwell.

social character and their theoretical doctrines. These movements were *in fact* movements of the artisan proletariat and in England also of the early industrial proletariat. They were *in fact* movements of class struggle against the new bourgeois order. But they espoused a trans-class doctrine, inherited from the Enlightenment, of universal moral regeneration through a return to natural law and natural right.

Marx resolved this contradiction. When he joined the Communist League he objected to its slogan, "All men are brothers," saying there were some men whose brother he was not and had no desire to be. Instead he proposed the slogan: "Workers of all countries unite."

Fundamentally, Marx changed the theoretical basis of communism from natural right to the historical development of society, centrally the interaction between the development of productive forces and the class struggle. Society is not governed by natural law but is the self-creation of mankind. Thus society has its own laws which cannot be reduced to biology and instinct, such as the instinct of self-preservation. All societies which have ever existed, from old Stone Age hunter-gatherers to the Europe of early industrial capitalism, are compatible with the biological make-up and instinctual needs of *homo sapiens*. Otherwise they couldn't exist. One is reminded here of Gore Vidal's response to religious bigots who claimed that sex between males was "unnatural." If it were unnatural, he said, you couldn't do it.

The social nature of man—and that is what people mean when they speak of human nature—*changes* over the course of history and is, moreover, class differentiated. An infant born into a family of bankers and an infant born into a family of weavers have similar biological constitutions and needs. But they soon acquire different social natures appropriate to their antagonistic class roles. The five-year-old son or daughter of a banker thinks and acts differently from the five-year-old son or daughter of a weaver.

Existing societies can neither be justified nor condemned by appealing to universal natural rights which supposedly stand higher and are more powerful than existing social institutions and attitudes. As Marx later wrote: "Right can never be higher than the economic structure of society and its cultural development which this determines" ("Critique of the Gotha Programme" [1875]).

To understand the complex relationship of Marxism to the rational humanism of the Enlightenment one has first to consider the Enlightenment, itself a complex movement with different and contradictory tendencies and its own course of historical development.

The Enlightenment and the Revolution in Science

The Enlightenment was an expression at the intellectual level of the three basic factors which transformed Europe from a feudal social order ruled by a landed nobility to a capitalist, though not yet industrial, economy in which the dominant class was the mercantile bourgeoisie. First and foremost in this transformation was the rapid and continual development of science and technology. Secondly, there was the global extension of European power and influence through colonial conquest and commerce. The third major factor was the bourgeois revolution at the political level—the overthrow of

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Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris

Cartoon published in 1800 shows how "electricity" of French Revolution will spark overthrow of thrones of Europe.

Enlightenment...

(continued from page 9)

the absolutist monarchies, the last political form of the rule of feudal nobility—and their replacement by governments representing ascendant mercantile capitalism. The Enlightenment was the link at the intellectual level between the English bourgeois-democratic revolution in the mid-17th century and the French Revolution at the end of the 18th century.

The Enlightenment was in its original and central axis a defense of science against religious obscurantism and religious-sanctioned dogmatism. In the late Middle Ages the writings of the ancient Greek philosophers, above all Aristotle, on the natural world acquired a status almost on a par with the writings of the early church fathers. And while some of Aristotle's ideas about the natural world were right, many were wrong, such as the notion that the sun revolved around the earth. Thus scientific progress required a critical attitude toward the so-called wisdom of the ancients.

The birthplace of modern science was northern Italy during the Renaissance of the 16th and early 17th centuries. The cities of this region—Florence, Milan, Genoa, Venice—were the first major European polities to be ruled by the mercantile bourgeoisie. It was, as they say, no accident that the age in which the Florentine banking house of the Medicis dominated the financial life of Europe was also the age of Galileo and Leonardo da Vinci.

However, the scientific revolution which began in Renaissance Italy was crushed under the weight of the Catholic Counterreformation. Thus the scientist and radical humanist philosopher Giordano Bruno was burnt at the stake in Rome as a heretic. Galileo, the greatest physicist of the day, was threatened with torture by the Inquisition, unless he recanted his view that the earth revolved around the sun rather than the reverse, which he did. At the social level, the Counterreformation represented a counter-offensive by the feudal nobility of Spain, France and Italy against the bourgeois-dominated cities of northern Italy, a region which then fell into political, economic and cultural decline.

The center of capitalist economic dynamism and the new bourgeois culture then passed to the Protestant countries of northern Europe, especially England. The grandfather of the Enlightenment was not a dissident and persecuted intellectual but a one-time lord chancellor of England, Sir Francis Bacon. Writing in the early 17th century, Bacon maintained that observation and experiment were the only means to acquire knowledge of the natural world:

> "Man, being the servant and interpreter of Nature, can do and understand so much and so much only as he has observed in fact or in thought of the course of nature: beyond this he neither knows anything nor can do anything.
>
> "Neither the naked hand nor the understanding left to itself can effect much. It is by instruments and helps that the work is done, which are as much wanted for the understanding as for the hand. And as the instruments of the hand either give motion or guide it, so the instruments of the mind supply either suggestions for the understanding or cautions.
>
> "Human knowledge and human power meet in one, for where the cause is not known the effect cannot be produced. Nature to be commanded must be obeyed....
>
> "It is idle to expect any great advancement in science from the superinducing and engrafting of new things upon old."

This is an attack on Aristotelian dogmatism.

> "We must begin anew from the very foundations, unless we would revolve forever in a circle with mean and contemptible progress."
>
> —*Novum Organum* (1620), excerpted in Isaac Kramnick, ed., *The Portable Enlightenment Reader* (1995)

Bacon's work was one of the first and certainly the most influential to project the possibility of ***unlimited*** progress in scientific discovery and technological innovation, and by implication in the development of society in general. It is precisely here that the term "progress" became a central concept of European intellectual life.

At the same time it is important to emphasize that the Enlightenment represented a ***transition*** to a thoroughgoing materialism; it was not an expression of it. The most influential Enlightenment figures rather sought to reconcile scientific empiricism and a belief in god. Thus the great English physicist, Isaac Newton, used his immense intellectual authority to prop up the authority of the Anglican church, the state church of England. He argued "that the Motions which the Planets now have could not spring from any natural Cause alone, but were impressed by an intelligent Agent."

Cabasson

Galileo faces the inquisition, forced on pain of torture to recant his heretical view that the earth revolved around the sun.

Religion and the Enlightenment

While Newton sought to reconcile science with an established Christian church, the mainstream of the Enlightenment developed a new quasi-religious doctrine which was later called deism. The role of god was limited to creating the world and setting the laws of nature, including human nature. The standard analogy for the deist conception of god is that of a "divine watchmaker." For a watch to exist it has to be made by a skilled craftsman. But once a watch is made, its mechanisms are permanently fixed. The hands cannot suddenly revolve in the opposite direction. Similarly, the laws of gravity cannot suddenly be reversed and bodies repel rather than attract one another. Scientific investigation was thus presented and justified as a kind of natural theology, the study of god's work and god's laws in nature.

All of the big names of the Enlightenment—Newton, John Locke, Voltaire, Rousseau, Thomas Jefferson—not only rejected atheism but were positively hostile to it. The explanation for this lies not so much on the plane of philosophy as on the plane of politics. A belief in the existence of a god-given natural order was regarded as necessary to uphold the authority of the existing social order. If the common people ceased to believe in god, it was argued, they would feel free to rearrange social and economic relations at the expense of the propertied classes. A modern historian, Margaret Jacob, explains quite well why the founding fathers of the Enlightenment, Newton and Locke, were so insistent that the laws of nature must also be the laws of god:

> "In general the adherents of the Newtonian Enlightenment can be identified as proponents of the new science and natural philosophy who insisted on the existence of a supernatural being separate from nature, and who also held the concomitant social assumption that the deity imposes order in nature and society, his function resembling that of a strong, but not arbitrary, monarch.... Without the postulate of a deity—however remote—it seemed that there could be no order in nature or society, and that inevitably, therefore, strong yet enlightened monarchy offered the only viable form of political organisation in the various nation-states of Europe."
>
> —*The Radical Enlightenment: Pantheists, Freemasons and Republicans* (1981)

However, the attempt of Enlightenment thinkers to reconcile science and religion was a failure in social and historical terms. Obviously, deism did not replace Christianity as the religion of the masses. It was the doctrine of an intellectual elite and is today known only through historical scholarship. Deism with its concept of a watchmaker god could not fulfill the ***social function*** of religion which Marx later described as "the opiate of the people."

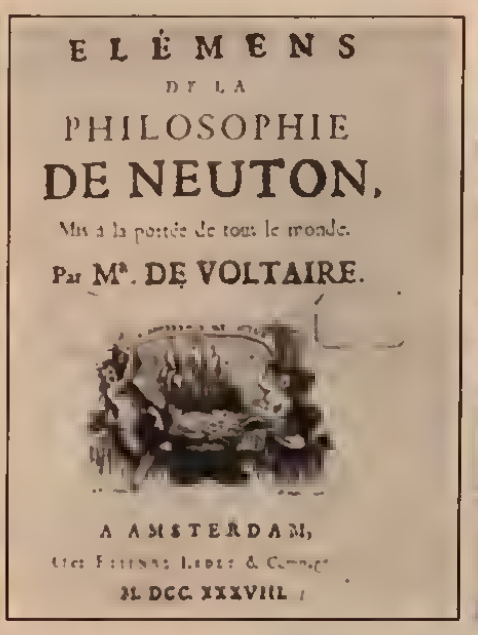
Library of Decorative Arts, Paris

Eighteenth-century English explorers in Tahiti. Left-wing Enlightenment thinkers like Diderot and Condorcet opposed European colonialism.

Religious opiate works at two levels. First is the promise of an afterlife. No matter how unhappy, miserable and tragic one's life, one could hope for eternal happiness through piety, faith and obedience to god's laws. Religion also offers the prospect of divine, that is, supernatural, intervention on behalf of the devout this side of the grave. A religion without a heaven and hell, a god that is indifferent to the individual fate of believers is not a religion many people will choose to practice or a god many people will choose to worship. As my old Jewish grandmother would have put it: "Who needs it?"

French peasants and English yeoman farmers in the age of Voltaire and Locke went to church, prayed to god in the belief that this would bring them good harvests, that when their children became sick, they would get well and not die. If a French peasant or English farmer came to understand that better harvests required improved agricultural

James Macaidel



Musée Carnavalet

Seventeenth-century English scientist and mathematician Isaac Newton (left), whose ideas were introduced in France by Voltaire (right).

techniques, that curing their sick children required medical science, they would regard belief in god as superfluous.

The attraction of religion lies precisely in its *super*natural character. The concept of a natural religion, as it was sometimes called, is socially irrelevant. In historical retrospect, the deism of the Enlightenment served as a transition from traditional Christianity to atheism and thoroughgoing materialism. In this sense Vaclav Havel is quite right: the effective message of the Enlightenment was the power of the scientific method to unlock universal prosperity. And here I want to emphasize universal.

On Non-European Peoples and Cultures

It was standard for adherents of the Enlightenment to declare themselves citizens of the world. But to regard oneself as a citizen of the world, one has to know the world or at least know about the world. The global extension of European power and influence through colonial conquest and trade confronted educated men with a wide diversity of non-Christian cultures from primitive, pre-class peoples such as North American Indians to ancient civilizations like Persia and China.

Those thinkers who were critical or hostile toward Christian orthodoxy, the privileges of the feudal nobility and political and economic inequality found a powerful reinforcement for their views in non-European cultures. Thus the North American Indian tribes were manifestly egalitarian and democratic in comparison with Europe. All men carried arms and went to war on an equal footing. Chiefs were chosen on the basis of personal capacity, not hereditary right. There was no aristocracy or class of serfs among the Huron Indians of French Canada in the age of Voltaire and Rousseau.

Enlightenment thought was also reinforced by certain aspects of advanced non-European civilizations. For example, many different religions were practiced in China and were tolerated by that state. The first major European account of China, Marco Polo's *Travels*, published in the 14th century, emphasized the accepted diversity of religion there precisely because it was unknown and unthinkable in the states of Christian Europe.

A major component of Enlightenment literature—by Montesquieu, Voltaire, Diderot and others—was a savagely critical view of European society as seen through the eyes of non-Europeans. Montaigne, a 16th-century forerunner of the Enlightenment, wrote a famous essay on cannibals. In it he recounts how a cannibal in Brazil was captured and taken to France, where he learned the French language and became acquainted with French society. When someone asked him what he thought of France, he replied that there he had seen many admirable and wonderful things, but one thing he didn't understand. He sees rich people bloated with fat, jeweled rings on their pudgy fingers, and at the same time he sees starving beggars in the streets. How come the starving poor people didn't kill and eat the fat rich people? A very primitive conception of communism, but not a bad impulse.

Library of Congress

Black Africans aboard slave ship bound for the American colonies.

Diderot wrote a tale about Tahiti in order to attack the sexual repressiveness of Christian, especially Catholic, Europe. He has a Tahitian elder denounce French Catholic colonialism for perverting the healthy sexuality of his people:

> "But a little while ago, the young Tahitian girl blissfully abandoned herself to the embraces of a Tahitian youth and awaited impatiently the day when her mother, authorized to do so by her having reached the age of puberty, would remove her veil and uncover her breasts. She was proud of her ability to excite men's desires, to attract the amorous looks of strangers, of her own relatives, of her own brothers. In our presence, without shame, in the center of a throng of innocent Tahitians who danced and played the flute, she accepted the caresses of the young man whom her young heart and the secret promptings of her senses had marked out for her. The notion of crime and the fear of disease have come among us only with your coming. Now our enjoyments, formerly so sweet, are attended with guilt and terror. That man in black [that is, a Catholic priest], who stands near to you and listens to me, has spoken to our young men, and I know not what he has said to our young girls, but our youths are hesitant and our girls blush. Creep away into the dark forest, if you wish, with the perverse companion of your pleasures, but allow the good, simple Tahitians to reproduce themselves without shame under the open sky and in broad daylight."
>
> —"Supplement to Bougainville's 'Voyage'," (1772) in Denis Diderot, *Rameau's Nephew and Other Works* (1964)

As you may surmise, Diderot was big into sex. In fact, he wrote a pornographic novel which is one of his few works available in English translation and still in print. You can buy it at Barnes & Noble.

It's become common to attribute to Enlightenment thinkers such as Voltaire and Rousseau the concept of the "noble savage." This is a distortion of Enlightenment thought, usually hostile in intent. Neither the term "noble savage" nor the underlying concept was employed by major Enlightenment thinkers. They did not idealize primitive peoples nor consider them in general morally superior to contemporary Europeans. Thus in the very work in which Diderot exalts the sexual permissiveness of Tahitians he condemns the barbaric practices of other primitive peoples, such as female genital mutilation and human sacrifice. More fundamentally, Enlightenment thought regarded advances in science and technology as the key to human progress. Thus it did not and could not hold up technologically backward cultures, however attractive in many ways, as a social ideal.

Frederic Remington

Meriwether Lewis, Thomas Jefferson's secretary, and William Clark sought to enlist Native American Indian cooperation in trading ventures during 1805 expedition to Pacific Ocean.

The best representatives of the Enlightenment—Diderot, Condorcet, Tom Paine—were categorically opposed to European colonial subjugation or other forms of domination over non-European peoples, such as the enslavement of black Africans. Diderot has his Tahitian elder voice a passionate indictment of French colonial conquest in the name of natural rights:

> "You are neither a god nor a devil—by what right, then, do you enslave people?... You are not slaves; you would suffer death rather than be enslaved, yet you want to make slaves of us! Do you believe, then, that the Tahitian does not know how to die in defense of his liberty? This Tahitian, whom you want to treat as a chattel, as a dumb animal—this Tahitian is your brother. You are both children of Nature—what right do you have over him that he does not have over you?"

The concept of natural law and natural right logically leads to the idea of the equality of all peoples, that there are no superior and inferior peoples, no progressive and reactionary peoples, no people who should dominate or who should be dominated. The real world, however, is *not* governed by ideas and logic but by class interests and class conflict. Thus important figures in the Enlightenment such as the Englishman David Hume, a Tory and political rightist, and Thomas Jefferson held that blacks were inherently inferior to whites. Jefferson wrote of blacks:

> "Comparing them by their faculties of memory, reason, and imagination, it appears to me that in memory they are equal to the whites; in reason much inferior, as I think one could scarcely be found capable of tracing and comprehending the investigations of Euclid; and that in imagination they are dull, tasteless, and anomalous."
>
> —*Notes on the State of Virginia* (1787), excerpted in *The Enlightenment Reader*

Jefferson had to believe something like this to justify his role not merely as an individual slaveowner but as a political leader of a class of slaveowners. Jefferson took over from Enlightenment thinkers such as Montesquieu, who had opposed slavery, only those doctrines compatible with the interests of the American Southern slaveowners and he rejected those doctrines which were not. The case of Jefferson underscores the basic fallacy of Enlightenment rationalism: the belief that reason and respect for scientific knowledge can transcend class interest.

While right-wing elements in the Enlightenment like Hume and Jefferson pointed to the superiority of European civilization in the field of science and technology to justify the subjugation of non-European peoples, the left wing of the Enlightenment not only opposed colonialism but held that Europeans had a responsibility to share their scientific and technical knowledge *in an entirely benevolent manner* with other peoples. Thus Condorcet wrote:

> "Survey the history of our settlements and commercial undertakings in Africa or in Asia, and you will see how our trade monopolies, our treachery, our murderous contempt for men of another color or creed, the insolence of our usurpations, the intrigues or the exaggerated proselytic zeal of our priests, have destroyed the respect and goodwill that the superiority of our knowledge and the benefits of our commerce at first won us in the eyes of the inhabitants. But doubtless the moment approaches when, no longer presenting ourselves as always either tyrants or corrupters, we shall become for them the beneficent instruments of their freedom."
>
> —*Sketch for a Historical Picture of the Human Mind* (1793-94), excerpted in *The Enlightenment Reader*

It is no accident that this vision of universal prosperity and enlightenment was written during and under the impact of the French Revolution.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

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New Edition of Spartacist Pamphlet

The Struggle for Revolutionary Leadership

Lenin and the Vanguard Party

We are pleased to announce the publication of a slightly edited and expanded edition of *Lenin and the Vanguard Party*. The core of the pamphlet, originally published in 1978, is a series of articles by Spartacist League Central Committee member Joseph Seymour tracing Lenin's struggle to build a proletarian vanguard party, from the beginnings of organized Marxism in tsarist Russia in the 1890s to World War I. Supplementing this series are two articles by other leading members of our tendency. "In Defense of Democratic Centralism," included in the original edition, consists of excerpts from a 1973 speech by James Robertson to a conference of a short-lived West German group, Spartacus (Bolschewiki-Leninisten), which was typical of radicalized young West European intellectuals at the time who saw themselves as Trotskyists. Added to the original pamphlet is a presentation to a 1995 Spartacus Youth Club gathering in the Bay Area by Al Nelson, titled "The Fight for a Leninist Vanguard Party," which provides a historical and political summation of the question of the Leninist party.

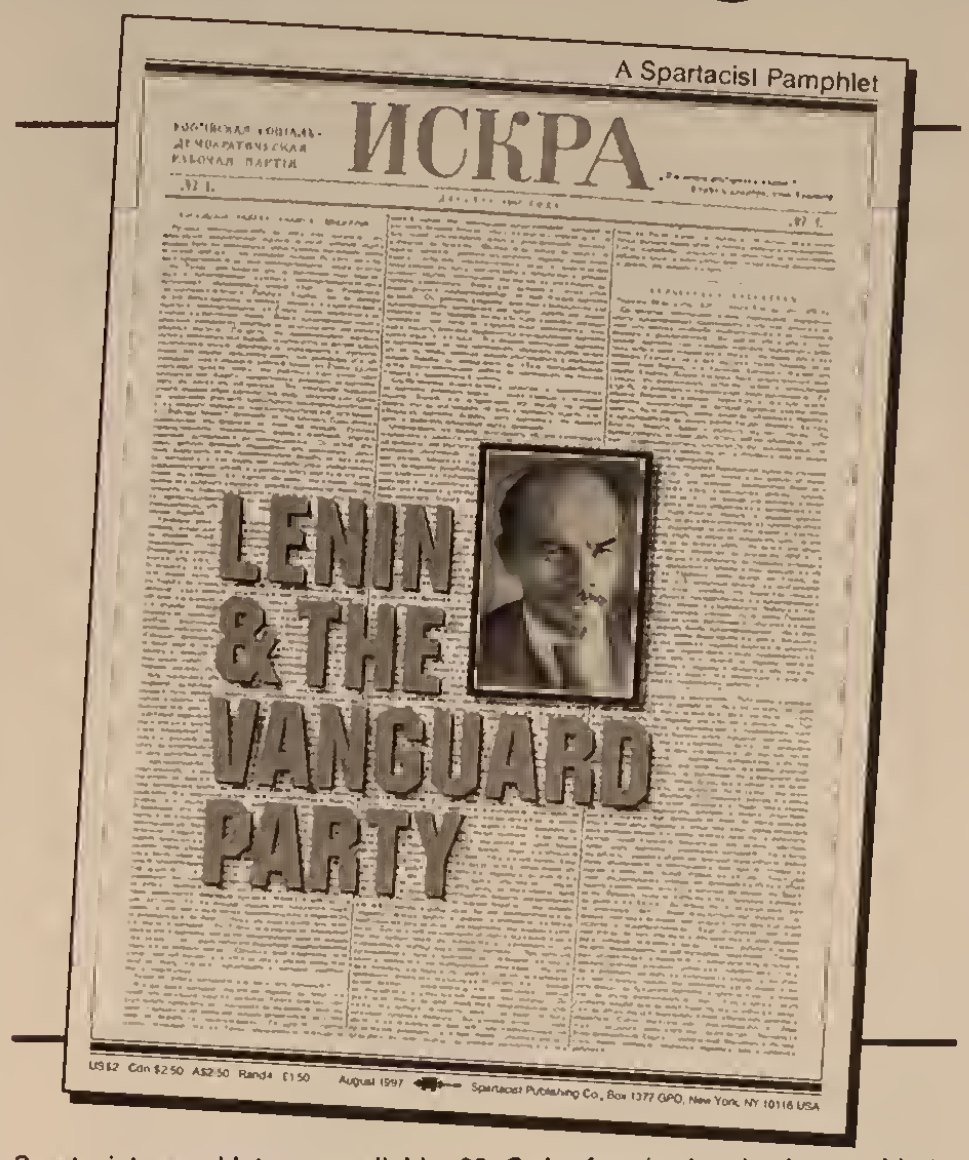
The indispensable role of a Leninist vanguard party in leading the struggles of workers and the oppressed was decisively demonstrated by the 1917 Russian Revolution led by Lenin and Trotsky's Bolshevik Party. As we wrote in the preface to the new edition:

> "We of the International Communist League fight for new October Revolutions. In reissuing *Lenin and the Vanguard Party* we intend to arm those who seek to oppose this system, which is based on the exploitation and oppression of the many by the few, with the program desperately needed to eradicate it. Serving as the memory of the working class, imbuing the proletariat and the new generations of youth with the historic lessons of those who fought before them, is a vital purpose of the vanguard party, necessary to lead the working class to new victories."

Particularly in the case of a pamphlet which is substantially polemical in content, its reissue after a significant length of time poses problems of comprehension and relevance for younger readers. The positions, views, stock of knowledge and terminology prevailing on the left invariably change. In many cases, the groups and tendencies polemicized against have adopted a very different political stance or have disappeared entirely. The pamphlet nonetheless remains a valuable pedagogical introduction to the history and development of Leninism for youth drawn to radical causes whose notions of the Communist movement are largely derived from bourgeois public opinion, college courses, etc.

The difference between the political conditions and climate of opinion in the post-Vietnam War period, when *Lenin and the Vanguard Party* was written, and the post-Soviet world of today is especially great. During the 1970s, it would have been very unusual to find a serious left-wing activist, whether in San Francisco, Paris or Calcutta, who did not own a copy of Lenin's *What Is To Be Done?* Today, virtually all major left-wing currents have adapted to the bourgeois ideological climate defined by the supposed "death of communism," while youth drawn to struggles against social oppression generally have little knowledge of Leninism or the history of the Bolshevik Party and Communist International.

The bitter, victorious struggle by the heroic workers and peasants of Vietnam against U.S. imperialism produced a sharp radicalization, especially among student youth. In North America and West Europe, one saw a proliferation of Maoist and ostensibly Trotskyist groups. It is now little known or appreciated that the most significant expression of black radicalism in the U.S. in that period—the Black Panther Party of Huey Newton, Bobby Seale and Geronimo Pratt—labeled itself a "Marxist-Leninist" party. In the neocolonial countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, many left-wing nationalists likewise claimed to be building Leninist-type vanguard parties.



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Lenin and the Vanguard Party did not primarily address the perversion and falsification of Leninism by Stalinists (including the Maoists) or more leftist variants of petty-bourgeois nationalism. Rather it was centrally concerned with a different current of revisionism which emerged in the mid-1970s. This period saw the beginnings of a rightward turn in Western imperialist countries which a few years later would lead to the anti-Communist frenzy of Cold War II. Reacting to the changing political climate, certain groups claiming the Trotskyist tradition promoted a social-democratic "reinterpretation" of Lenin, asserting that the Bolshevik leader was really committed to building an inclusive mass workers party containing both reformists and revolutionaries. Such a view was put forward by the British section of Ernest Mandel's United Secretariat of the Fourth International.

A broadly similar version of Lenin's position on the party question was trumpeted at the time by the tendency led by Tony Cliff, centered on what is now the Socialist Workers Party in Britain and represented in the U.S. by the International Socialist Organization. Beginning with Cliff's refusal to defend the Chinese and North Korean deformed workers states against imperialism during the Korean War, this tendency has always been a left social-democratic grouping habitually appealing to Cold War anti-Communism. At the same time, Cliff has sought to adapt to the changing political fashions among leftish student youth in West Europe and North America. In the early 1970s, a "Bolshevik" posture was most fashionable in this milieu. Hence in 1975, Cliff came out with a sympathetic three-volume study of Lenin which, however, portrayed the Bolshevik leader in Cliff's own image as an eclectic left-reformist.

The immediate purpose in publishing *Lenin and the Vanguard Party* was to counter this current of social-democratic revisionism through careful historical study. In practice, Lenin built in Russia a programmatically homogeneous revolutionary vanguard party. However, it was not until and under the impact of the first imperialist world war that Lenin theoretically generalized the *concept* of a vanguard party of the working class and sought to extend it on an international scale. In its central theme, this pamphlet traces the *development* of Lenin's ideas on the party question from that of a revolutionary social democrat to the founding leader of the Communist International.

In this regard, the pamphlet's discussion of Rosa Luxemburg's initial opposition to Bolshevism is especially significant. A brilliant Polish Marxist, Luxemburg was a major figure in the left wing of the socialist workers movement in both Germany and the Russian Empire. Her 1904 polemic against Lenin, "Organizational Questions of Russian Social Democracy," has subsequently been exploited for anti-Communist purposes, both on the left and in bourgeois liberal circles. In contrast to Karl Kautsky—the official theoretician of "orthodox" Marxism at the time, who later became a virulent opponent of the Bolsheviks—"Red Rosa" remained a revolutionary until her murder in 1919 at the hands of German reaction (in collaboration with the Social Democratic leaders). However, a careful analysis of Luxemburg's 1904 polemic demonstrates that her opposition to the Bolsheviks in that period was based on the *same theoretical premises* as that of Kautsky: the social-democratic concept of "the party of the whole class" and a belief that the overthrow of the tsarist autocracy in Russia would be followed by a lengthy period of *bourgeois* democracy.

The Russian October Revolution of 1917, prepared and made possible by the entire previous development of the Bolshevik Party, marked the highest political level yet attained by the international proletariat. However, the failure to extend the revolution to the advanced capitalist countries, in large part due to the absence of communist vanguard parties similar to the Bolsheviks, led to the isolation of Soviet Russia in a world dominated by hostile imperialist forces. This isolation conditioned the bureaucratic degeneration of the Soviet workers state under Stalin and his heirs. Undermined for decades by Stalinist bureaucratic rule and confronted by powerful imperialist states, in 1991-92 the Soviet Union was destroyed through a capitalist counterrevolution.

The aftermath has seen a capitalist offensive against the working class and oppressed peoples throughout the world and a corresponding reactionary ideological climate. Under these conditions, it is crucially important to convey to a new generation of militant workers and leftist intellectuals *how* this capitalist system of exploitation, oppression and impoverishment can be overthrown and replaced by a just and egalitarian society based on the highest levels of science and technology. It is in the context of this broad purpose that we have republished *Lenin and the Vanguard Party*. ■

Lenin at First Congress of Communist International, March 1919.

Brazil: The LBI and Police "Strikes"

Cops Out of the Unions!

Earlier this summer, a wave of police "strikes" spread through a dozen states in Brazil. In an ominous show of force, these armed thugs of the capitalists and wealthy landowners rampaged through the cities, demanding more money for their murderous terror. For the workers movement, there can be no question of extending any support to these deadly mobilizations by the guardians of capitalist class rule. This is particularly clear in Brazil, where even by the standards of Latin America's death-squad-infested bourgeois regimes, the cops are notorious for raw racist terror, continuing the dirty work of the military dictatorship which ruled the country for two decades beginning in 1964.

Coldblooded massacres of black street children and landless peasants are commonplace. Death squads intimately linked with the Military Police (PM)—an "elite" police force under the control of state governors—murder as many as five street children *every day* with impunity. In 1992 in São Paulo alone, police killed some 1,200 people. A few months ago, Military Police there were captured on video killing a passenger in a stopped car. And last year, at least 19 peasants were massacred in Eldorado dos Carajás by a PM regiment, not one of whom has been convicted in the bourgeois courts for this atrocity! Now, the cops have staged riots all over the country, particularly in the desperately impoverished states of Ceará and Alagôas in the overwhelmingly black Northeast.

The cop "strikes" were one of the key issues taken up at the sixth national congress in August of Brazil's CUT trade-union federation, which was attended by an International Communist League reporting team from *Workers Vanguard* and *Espartaco*, journal of the Grupo Espartaquista de México. The CUT originated in a wave of militant strikes in the late 1970s which paved the way for the downfall of the dictatorship and proclaims its commitment to "the historic interests of the working class" and "the transformation of Brazilian society in the direction of democracy and socialism." The CUT is aligned with the reformist Workers Party (PT) of Luiz Inácio "Lula" da Silva, and delegates to the congress included representatives of virtually every group in Brazil which claims to stand to the left of the PT.

Yet far from denouncing the cop rampages as a deadly threat to the workers movement and the deeply oppressed black masses, the CUT leadership supported the police "strikes," endorsing pro-cop demonstrations in many cities. Nor was there a peep of opposition to this treacherous line from any of the numerous self-styled "revolutionaries" seated as delegates at the congress. This included, despite its pretensions to "orthodox Trotskyism" and its paper opposition to the police "strikes," the centrist Liga Bolchevique Internacionalista (LBI), which is associated with the Argentine Partido Bolchevique por la Cuarta Internacional (for more on this group, see "Discussions Between the ICL and the PBCI of Argentina," *International Information Bulletin* No. 31, October 1992).

Such shameless capitulation is characteristic of the Brazilian fake left, which peddles its wares in the shadow of the class-collaborationist popular front led by Lula's PT. Fostering the suicidal illusion that the bourgeois state can be pressured into serving the interests of workers and the oppressed, and that socialism can be achieved through a series of gradual reforms, the reformists look to the capitalist courts for "justice" and embrace the racist, strikebreaking cops as "workers" who belong in the trade unions. And, their occasional revolutionary verbiage to the contrary, the centrists take their cues from the reformist misleaders of the working class.

We as Marxists, however, know that the police are not workers, but rather the armed fist of the capitalist ruling class. Along with the courts, the prisons and the army, the cops are at the core of the bourgeois state, which in its essence consists of armed bodies of men committed to the defense of the property and power of the capitalists and dedicated to safeguarding the exploitation of the working class and the oppression of women, blacks and indigenous peoples. The bourgeois state cannot be taken over and run in the interests of the proletariat; it has to be smashed through socialist revolution and replaced by proletarian organs of power.

The role of the police is to smash picket lines, to bloodily repress the movements of the *sem terra* (landless peasants) and to terrorize the overwhelmingly black urban *favelas* (shantytowns). Elements of the Military Police in the state of Minas Gerais last year showed how they "fought" for higher wages, as they systematically murdered black youths and threatened to continue until their demands were met. Now, insisting on more money for their massacres of protesting peasants, they have gone out on "strike" at a moment of mounting unrest among the *sem terra*. Police mobilizations and "strikes" necessarily have a bonapartist thrust, aimed at making these paid killers even more independent from society at large and enhancing their ability to carry out bloody repression without any interference. To even begin to cope with these crazed killers, it is elementary to demand: *Cops out of the unions!*

AFP

Police death squads are rampant in Brazil. Victims of cop "drug" sweep in Rio de Janeiro shantytown.

Centrists in the Shadow of Lula's PT

The CUT, representing a relatively young and combative industrial proletariat, was founded only in 1983, in an open break with the corporatist tradition of government-led labor federations. The CUT bureaucracy—as well as much of the "revolutionary" left—is heavily interlinked with Lula's PT, which contested the last two presidential elections in popular-front alliances with openly bourgeois parties and proclaims its fealty to Brazilian capitalism and the military/police establishment.

In addressing the police "strikes" during the first two days of the congress, CUT leader Vicentinho correctly labeled the cops the "armed fist of capital." But in the same breath, he hailed the recent cop actions for supposedly giving rise to the leadership of what would be a "popular police," which "would not repress workers and the population." With the police "fighting for better wages" in the face of stringent austerity measures, said Vicentinho, it was necessary to "unify the struggles of all public employees to combat imperialism's neo-liberal plan."

This call for workers to "unite" with their sworn class enemies was echoed across the spectrum of the supposedly revolutionary left. Indeed, the "high point" of the discussion was a speech by a "Trotskyist" cop (!)—one José Carlos Fernandes Neto, president of the civil police "union" in Alagôas and a supporter of O Trabalho, affiliated with the French Lambert group. Fake Trotskyists like the PSTU (followers of the late Argentine political adventurer Nahuel Moreno) and the TPOR (associated with the Bolivian current of Guillermo Lora) have also loudly proclaimed their "solidarity" with the police.

For its part, the centrist Partido Causa Operária (PCO, connected with the Argentine current of Jorge Altamira) occasionally advocates the "dissolution" of the Military Police—but only in order to replace them with "the creation of municipal police under the direct control of the population" (*Causa Operária*, 1 July). This parallels calls raised by liberals and reformists in the U.S. for "civilian review boards" or "community control," implying that the capitalists' hired thugs can be made to serve the interests of working people and the oppressed.

Class hatred for the cops should be basic not only for self-proclaimed Marxists, but for anybody with elementary working-class consciousness or with any experience of social struggle. Notably, our reporters found that it was among black delegates to the congress that opposition to the cop "strikes" was most pronounced. Brazilian reformists and centrists echo the bourgeoisie's myth of "racial democracy" and spit on the struggle against black oppression. The disgusting "colorblindness" and outright bigotry promoted by the fake lefts allows CUT bureaucrat Vicentinho (who is himself black) to pose as a champion of "racial justice."

An all too typical example was seen at the congress. When guest speaker William Lucy from the U.S. Coalition of Black Trade Unionists was about to give a report, a Morenoite trade-union leader got up to sneer that there were "more important issues" waiting to be discussed. A black supporter of Vicentinho rightly tore into the Morenoite, declaring that he was "sick and tired of waiting for discussion on the black question." Meanwhile, nobody challenged Lucy, an official of the AFSCME public employees union, on how his union "organizes" large numbers of cops and prison guards in the U.S.

In contrast to the open support to the cops by much of the rest of the left, the centrist LBI tries to look "orthodox," publishing a polemic against the PCO on this issue in its newspaper *Luta Operária*

continued on page 14

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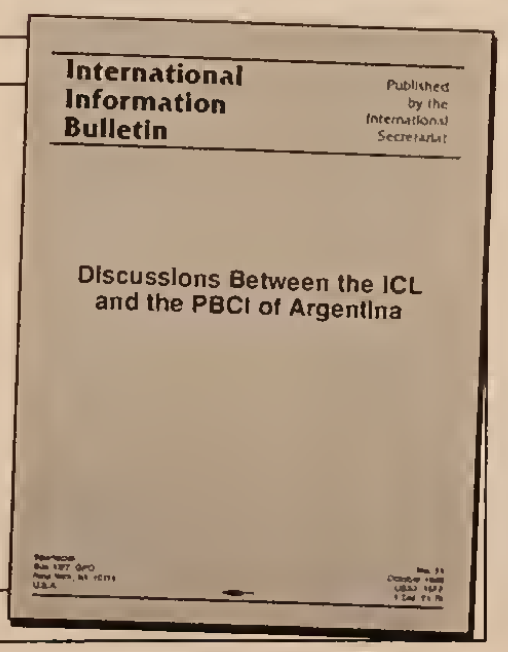
International Information Bulletin
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Discussions Between the ICL and the PBCI of Argentina

LBI...

(continued from page 13)

(April 1997). In a statement boldly headlined "No Support to the Strike of the PM!" a month before the CUT congress, the LBI declared:

> "Any worker who already participated in a strike or a demonstration where there was a confrontation with the repressive forces of the state knows very well that the police are the armed fist of our exploiters, that better working conditions and better wages for them immediately mean more repression for us."

But these fine words are flatly contradicted by the LBI's own practice on the ground. As we have previously exposed in our press, in the SFPMVR municipal workers union in Volta Redonda ***the LBI has been behind a sinister operation on behalf of cops in the union, including a provocative invasion of a workers assembly by the murderous Military Police.***

Indeed, the spokesman of the pro-cop faction in the SFPMVR, Artur Fernandes, was at the CUT congress as a delegate of the "Revolutionary Trade Union Tendency" (TRS), which the LBI, in its words, "promotes" as an "alternative to the CUT leadership." At the congress, the LBI hid its literature against the police "strike" while prominently promoting a call for "a strike of all public employees"—a statement which in the present context could *only* be interpreted as support to Vincentinho's appeal for unity with the police. Moreover, as our reporters noted:

> "In more than ten interventions at the congress, they said *absolutely nothing about their 'principled position' on the cops and their 'strikes'*! Now, given the position of the CUT bureaucracy regarding these 'strikes,' this should have been *the* issue raised at the congress. This fundamental class line must be established for the basic health of the labor movement. Raising it would have rendered the Brazilian labor movement a great service, regardless of how unpopular the position may be today. But the LBI, their 'orthodox' position on the matter notwithstanding, had no intention of taking the heat for this, and writes things it does not believe in."

The LBI's lying cynicism was revealed also in a letter to the ICL calling on "all organizations with claims to revolutionary Trotskyism" to participate in a debate it would sponsor at the CUT congress on "the left's strategy for the Latin American and world revolution." Yet no one on the Brazilian left we spoke to knew of any such debate, and in fact it didn't happen.

The LBI presents a textbook definition of centrism: revolutionary in words, reformist in deeds. At a distance and informed only by their slick publications, one could erroneously think that the LBI is a serious contender for Leninism today. But *you are what you do*. An examination of the LBI's practice shows how its revolutionary rhetoric is a cover for securing its position in the syphilitic chain that ties the exploited to their exploiters through the mechanism of the popular front.

Courting the Class Enemy in Volta Redonda

The LBI's real politics are clear in the despicable role it has played in the Volta Redonda SFPMVR municipal workers union through its man Fernandes, who has served as spokesman for the sizable number of *guarda* cops within the SFPMVR and now runs the union. He was part of the Municipários em Luta (MEL) slate which was elected to the leadership of the union in November 1995, with Geraldo Ribeiro as president. The MEL slate was a lash-up of various political tendencies, including the LBI and the Luta Metalúrgica group (LM), now called the Liga Quarta-Internacionalista do Brasil (LQB); Ribeiro was an LM supporter. Though including an abstract statement of opposition to the police, the MEL platform said nothing about the cops *inside the union* and in any case was distributed so sparsely that a majority of the municipal guard members voted for the slate.

When the International Communist League, which at the time had fraternal relations with LM, learned in early 1996 that the SFPMVR was infested with cops, we urged LM to take up an urgent fight to oust the *guardas* from the union (see "A Break in Fraternal Relations with Luta Metalúrgica," *WV* No. 648, 5 July 1996). When LM finally took up this fight, there was a falling out between Fernandes and Ribeiro as the LBI's man came out fulsomely in support of the police. In a leaflet calling for a 13 March 1996 union meeting, Fernandes urged the membership to attend "in order to defend together the *guardas* in our assembly." One of Fernandes' goons then provoked an invasion of the meeting by Military Police armed with shotguns. In response, the ICL launched an international campaign for labor solidarity in defense of the SFPMVR (see "Brazil: Police Hands Off Volta Redonda Union!" *WV* No. 642, 29 March 1996).

But even when LM responded to our insistent appeals to wage a struggle to oust the cops from the SFPMVR, they tried to use this simply as a factional club against their rivals for the union presidency, eventually losing out to Fernandes. In June 1996, the ICL broke with the LQB over its refusal to fight to forge a Trotskyist vanguard and to break from its course of trade-union opportunism. The LQB then hooked up with the so-called Internationalist Group (IG), a handful of defectors from Trotskyism expelled from the ICL. Even when they were still in the ICL, those who went on to form the IG had sought to blunt our fight against LM's trade-union opportunism. Now, falsely claiming that the cops were "disaffiliated" from the SFPMVR, the IG has been touting the LQB as principled fighters for the class independence of the workers movement. To maintain this façade, the new issue of the LQB paper denounces the recent police "strikes" and calls for "struggle for the disaffiliation of any kind of police from the CUT."

This is all a cynical sham: neither the LBI nor the LQB gives one whit for the elementary Marxist principle of the class independence of the unions from the bourgeois state. This is clearly revealed by the fact that both sides have resorted to the capitalist courts in their squalid fight for control of the union (see "Court Papers Prove They Sued the Union—IG's Brazil Cover-Up: Dirty Hands, Cynical Lies," *WV* No. 671, 11 July). Inviting the courts into the labor movement is fundamentally no different than calling in the cops. The police serve as enforcers for court sanctions and the courts in turn act to uphold the cops' murderous attacks. Last December, a Brazilian court acquitted members of the police death squad which perpetrated the 1993 Candelária massacre in which eight street children were murdered. More recently, a judge essentially absolved five racist terrorists who last April burned alive Galdino Jesus dos Santos, a leader of the Pataxó indigenous people, in Brasilia.

That the IG/LQB's claims of a "historic victory" over the cops in Volta Redonda is purely intended for international consumption is revealed by the fact that the LQB barely bothered to attend the CUT congress—much less to wage a fight against cops in the unions—appearing only on the last day.

For a Trotskyist Party in Brazil!

The Trotskyist ICL has a proud record of struggle for the complete independence of the working class from the bourgeoisie and its state apparatus. We have consistently raised this issue in our work in Brazil and internationally, repeatedly stressing it in our correspondence with Luta Metalúrgica (see "The Fight for a Trotskyist Party in Brazil," *International Bulletin* No. 41, April 1997, published in English, Spanish and Portuguese). For example, in a 23 February 1996 letter to LM, we wrote:

> "***Cops out of the labor movement!*** must be written on the party banners of Trotskyists in Brazil and elsewhere. This is not an esoteric position of the ICL, but an expression of basic Marxism and even trade-union consciousness. It is the experience of the workers movement internationally, synthesized as program. If our position appears unique, it is only due to decades of Stalinist and social-democratic degeneration of the left and the union movement which has blurred the line between the proletariat and the bourgeois state, masking who is and is not the class enemy of the workers."

AP

Protest against privatization by striking oil workers in Rio de Janeiro, May 1995.

To raise the working class to the consciousness of its historic task of overthrowing capitalist rule through proletarian revolution, the first and most obvious thing is to fight for the proletariat to separate its organizations from the bourgeoisie's political parties and to oppose any intervention by its cops and courts.

Instead, through its man Fernandes in the SFPMVR the LBI defends the cops, runs to the courts and capitulates to the nationalism and social reaction fostered by the Brazilian bourgeoisie. At the same time as Fernandes was opening up the SFPMVR to deadly provocations by the Military Police, the LBI urged him to launch a political attack on the ICL by pandering to nationalist sentiments and backward prejudices. Thus, in a 1 March 1996 letter to Fernandes, the LBI scurrilously claimed that the ICL "dedicate themselves to an activity restricted to the social milieux of the rich middle class of imperialist countries where the struggle against the bosses regime is not at stake." Such diatribes are typical of the "anti-Yankee" nationalism which passes for "anti-imperialism" among the Latin American left.

Shortly after this, Fernandes distributed a leaflet to the union membership which included a ***phony*** ICL international directory—showing only our sections in the U.S., Britain, Canada and Japan—with the caption: "Would you credit the United States, Japan, England or other imperialist countries with wanting the true class independence of the workers?" This nationalist demagoguery identifies the workers of these countries with the capitalist rulers, thus writing off a revolutionary perspective for the proletariat in the imperialist centers. Instead of debating the real political differences between our organizations, Fernandes and his LBI tutors resort to lies, base Yankee-baiting and pandering to every form of social backwardness.

In the same March 1996 letter, the LBI wrote: "Spartacism limits itself to campaigns of a purely superstructural character (campaigns in defense of gays and lesbians, blacks) without linking them to any political class content nor to the daily struggles of the working class." And in another letter written later that month to an LM member "warning" him about the dangers of Spartacism, the LBI similarly decried "an orientation to personal interests, for example, the woman question, the question of homosexuals and the rights of blacks, detached from the class struggle of the workers." In both cases, the LBI carefully *avoided* making any positive statement about the need to combat racial and sexual oppression or anti-gay bigotry. Behind the "superstructural" doubletalk, this is an attack on us precisely for fighting to mobilize the workers movement around the burning issues of special oppression.

Centrists, even when they address the oppression of blacks, women and gays, carefully separate these "sectors" from their economist propaganda directed toward the workers. The LBI carries articles in its press on black and women's oppression, but this is sheer hypocrisy for a group which descends to the sort of vile baiting of the ICL quoted above. It is the likes of the LBI that Lenin was polemicizing against when he insisted that a revolutionary workers party must act as a tribune of the people. We are proud of bringing, for example, the campaign to save the life of Mumia Abu-Jamal to Brazil and initiating labor-centered rallies there and elsewhere to save this courageous fighter for black freedom. It is largely through our efforts that this cause has been taken up in the international labor movement. The LBI's indifference to the strategic importance of combatting special oppression as part of the fight for proletarian revolution goes hand in hand with its embrace of the racist police.

It is not surprising that in its July statement against the Military Police "strikes," the LBI advances the perspective, much like the reformist CUT bureaucracy, of "winning over" and "uniting" with these racist killers—"only" on the utterly absurd condition that these paid enforcers of bourgeois rule go over to the side of the workers and "subordinate" themselves to the leadership of the LBI:

> "The workers can only unite with sectors of the Army, the corporals and rank-and-file soldiers of the PM and the army when these turn against the military hierarchy and discipline, place their weapons in the service of the mass movement and against the regime, refusing to suppress strikes, plant and land occupations or any other manifestation of the mass movement and subordinate themselves politically to the discipline of the mass organizations, under a class struggle and anticapitalist leadership."

This is like taking the side of Jack the Ripper, but only on the condition that he come out in defense of abortion clinics and join your party.

By willfully amalgamating the Military Police and the army—which can and must be split in revolutionary situations along class lines, winning over the proletarian and peasant-based ranks from the bourgeois officer corps—the LBI effectively amnesties the cops. As Trotsky wrote in the *History of the Russian Revolution* about the proletarian masses in February 1917:

> "Toward the police the crowd showed ferocious hatred. They routed the mounted police with whistles, stones and pieces of ice. In a totally different way the workers approached the soldiers.... The police are fierce, implacable, hated and hating foes. To win them over is out of the question."

Such bitter hostility toward the police is completely alien to the LBI. In the July issue of their newspaper, they go a step further, advocating "the formation of red trade unions within the troops of the Armed Forces and the Military Police" and arguing that it is possible to do "patient political work" in the Military Police by building "communist cells together with the soldiers and the sergeants, who in their totality come from

NYPD...

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same time, the victorious UPS strike pointed to the power which can defeat *and bring down* this system of raw racist terror and vicious exploitation.

The question is how? Labor's social power cannot be unleashed if the working class is bound to the Democratic Party, which is no less a representative of the capitalist ruling class than the Republicans. Key to any class-struggle perspective is the fight for revolutionary leadership. It is the labor bureaucracy which ties the proletariat to its class enemies. In New York City, those union officials who don't actively promote Democratic Party politicians are instead in the hip pocket of Giuliani himself. Only through a political struggle against the pro-capitalist union tops can a revolutionary leadership be forged which champions the cause of working people and all the oppressed. The Spartacist League intervened at the August 29 protest to hammer home the need for a revolutionary workers party, selling over 900 pieces of literature and distributing hundreds more of our special *Workers Vanguard* supplement on the lessons of the recent Teamsters strike.

Liberals Push Impotent Cop "Reforms"

At the August 29 protest, when liberal Democrat Dinkins intoned that "the overwhelming majority of 38,000 officers on the [NYPD] force are good, honest men," there was an audible groan from the crowd. You don't have to be a Marxist to know that's a lie—that at their core, the cops are brutes and sadists. But it does take a Marxist understanding to know that the cops are at the core of the capitalist state and that this apparatus of repression cannot be "cleaned up" but must be swept away through a thoroughgoing socialist revolution which places the working class in power.

Al Sharpton was cheered at the rally when he declaimed, "Crime has gone down everywhere in New York City except in the Police Department." But Sharpton's main pitch for combatting police brutality is to put more "teeth" in the Civilian Complaint Review Board (CCRB). The impotence of the CCRB is revealed in the fact that since its formation in 1993, while the number of complaints of police brutality has skyrocketed, fewer cops than before have received even a slap on the wrist. That is in the nature of such boards, whether or not cops serve on them, because their purpose is to *enhance* the credibility of the police—if necessary, occasionally going after a few supposed "rogue" cops—and to streamline the system of repression.

Sharpton, himself a former FBI fink, also pushes the call for more black cops. This is not surprising coming from Sharpton, who cut his teeth in politics by helping to organize vile boycott campaigns against Asian shopkeepers in the ghettos. But the call for more black cops doesn't exactly resonate among Haitian immigrants, who have had plenty of experience with the murderous terror of the all-black police force in Haiti. Indeed, Giuliani has given Sharpton's demand his own twist by replacing a number of white cops transferred out of the 70th Precinct with some of the black New York City cops who had been sent to Haiti to "train" the police there. Whether they are black or white, whether they live in Harlem or Westchester, it is the cops' job to repress the ghetto masses and break workers' strikes; the liberals beseech them only to carry it out in a less overtly brutal and indiscriminate manner.

The reformist left, while occasionally offering some rhetoric about class struggle, fundamentally share with liberals like Sharpton the notion that the capitalist state can be "cleaned up" and made to serve the interests of minorities and the working class. Thus the Workers World Party, in a leaflet distributed at the Louima protest, called for "disarming the cops, conducting an independent investigation of the racist brutality inside of the 70th Precinct and giving the power to the people to establish community control of the police." To argue that the capitalist rulers would "disarm" their hired thugs and relinquish control over their repressive forces is to sow the worst illusions in the reformability of the capitalist state.

In contrast, the Spartacist League intervened at the August 29 protest to advance a class-struggle strategy to fight racist repression, stressing the need for labor and minorities to break with the Democratic Party. As the SL leaflet distributed at the Louima protest stated:

> "The Spartacist League fights to forge a revolutionary workers party which will champion the cause of all the oppressed, to unchain the social power of the multiracial working class. Black and Hispanic workers, including Haitians and other immigrants, will play a crucial role in the workers revolution which is necessary to sweep away the entire system of racist capitalist repression. And in overthrowing capitalist rule in the U.S., the working class will break the yoke of imperialist subjugation of Haiti."■

Racist Cops: "Guard Dogs of the Capitalist System"

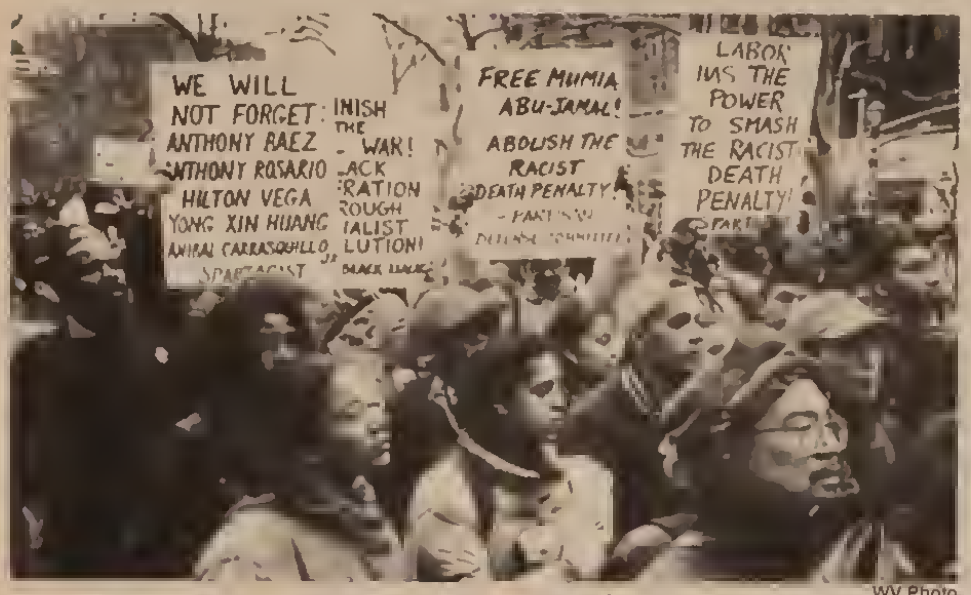
We print below a speech given by SL spokesman Bruce André at an August 16 protest in Brooklyn against the police torture of Abner Louima.

The torture of Abner Louima is part and parcel of the attacks that the bourgeoisie is carrying out against poor people, blacks and all minorities. Everyone knows that Giuliani has unleashed his cops in this city. They feel free to commit any racist atrocity they want—and they're doing it. But don't forget that the problem is not simply Giuliani. The entire ruling class is behind these racist attacks and this racist terror.

A number of people have spoken here about the need for "justice." But if you want to know if you can get "justice" in this rotten system, look at Mumia Abu-Jamal. He must be freed. He's an innocent man, a former Black Panther who was framed up by the cops and is now facing possible execution.

The problem is not simply Giuliani. Don't forget that under Dinkins 6,000 more cops were brought in. Don't forget that it was under the Democrats that U.S. troops invaded Haiti in 1915 and massacred the *cacos* insurgents. The problem here is not just a few "rotten apples." The problem is the nature of the cops as guard dogs of the capitalist system.

The answer is not to simply get a police station closed, to have an inquiry or a civilian review board. What's needed is to mobilize the power of the working class against the capitalist system. Right now, there's a strike at UPS. There are almost 200,000 workers—integrated workers—with a lot of social power. And that's typical of the unions in this city, whether it's hospital, transit or city workers. It is the power of the integrated working class that can change things. There should have been delegations here from all the UPS pickets to demonstrate the power of the working class and put a stop to racist terror. But that requires a fight against the present leaders of the workers movement, who support capitalism. And that means a fight against the very foundations of the capitalist system, a fight by a revolutionary party for socialist revolution!



WV Photo

Some among the numerous victims of police killings recalled at March 1996 protest against police brutality outside New York City Hall.

proletarian families." Is this what the LBI had in mind when shotgun-wielding Military Police broke up an SFPMVR union meeting?! In demolishing similar illusions in the police promoted by the German Social Democracy when the danger of fascism loomed, Trotsky wrote: "The worker who becomes a policeman in the service of the capitalist state, is a bourgeois cop, not a worker" ("What Next? Vital Questions for the German Proletariat," January 1932).

While shamelessly apologizing for the "proletarian base" of the Military Police, the LBI has made a name for itself as the most "radical" proponent of armed confrontations with the cops by *sem terras* and *sem tetos* (homeless) involved in land occupations. In a word, these centrists are ready to fight to the last drop of blood...of the last landless peasant and homeless person.

Repudiating the fight for an internationalist Leninist vanguard party to lead the proletariat to power at the head of all the oppressed, the Brazilian fake left prefers to maneuver within the framework of Lula's Workers Party and the CUT bureaucracy. Although it did not call for a vote to the PT in 1994, the LBI does not oppose popular-frontism in principle and in fact supports voting for the PT when it ran in a popular front in 1989. Abjuring open programmatic struggle, these groups frequently resort to setting up their "own" trade unions from which they expel political opponents. This serves both to weaken the workers movement and to obscure the fight for programmatic clarity. As we wrote earlier on Brazil (*WV* No. 648, 5 July 1996):

> "While fighting for leadership within the unions, communists seek to build the strongest possible unity of the working class against the capitalist exploiters. The task of the communist vanguard, however, is to sharpen the differences between competing political tendencies in order to bring the workers to communist consciousness and assemble the cadre, through splits and regroupments, in a Leninist party whose purpose is to lead the workers to state power."

We fight to build a proletarian party based on the Trotskyist program of permanent revolution: in a country of belated development such as Brazil, only the working class has the historic interest and the social power, by seizing state power through a socialist revolution, to realize the unfulfilled tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution, such as agrarian revolution. This is the task to which the ICL is dedicated as we fight to reforge an authentically Trotskyist Fourth International.■

UPS...

(continued from page 4)

down a major U.S. corporation is extremely important, particularly after 20 years of relentless union-busting by the corporations with the aid of the government, the courts, the cops, and the proliferation of professional strikebreaking outfits. It's no secret why the capitalists have spent billions trying to smash unions. As noted in an article in the *New York Times* (31 August) headlined "On Payday, Union Jobs Stack Up Very Well," unionized jobs pay roughly 20 percent more than non-union jobs. Union members get benefits worth *four times* that of non-union workers and are 50 percent more likely to have health insurance.

The string of losses for the labor movement over the past two decades has been assisted by a bunch of weak-kneed union bureaucrats who wouldn't know *how* to win strikes. Instead, the union tops depend upon pressuring the enemies of labor like the Democratic Party—which no less than the Republicans represents the capitalists—and the government. All the while the labor bureaucrats play by the bosses' rules in refusing to unleash the unions' real power in mass picket lines and solidarity strikes.

But the courage and determination of the UPS strikers, despite the Teamsters tops' policy of utterly soft picket lines, shut down a major corporation from coast to coast, forcing it to surrender to demands it had rejected out of hand before the strike. This lesson has not been lost on America's corporate rulers and their government, which are all trying to figure out what went wrong. But you can bet that this victory has also scared the hell out of the AFL-CIO bureaucracy—the "labor lieutenants of capital"—who have tried to justify their surrenders and betrayals of hundreds of combative strikes with the mantra that strikes are "old-fashioned" and "can't be won." UPS workers proved they were wrong.

The task now for workers across the country is to carry the momentum of this strike into their own unions and their own fights. But while starting on the picket lines, the struggle to reverse the last 20 years of defeats is going to take more than just union militancy. It's going to take a new kind of *political* leadership that knows that the interests of labor and capital are absolutely counterposed. It means breaking from the Democratic Party and forging in struggle a fighting workers party that not only knows how to win strikes, but also knows that "labor peace" will only come when the workers take state power. Those who labor must rule!■

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Our address is:

vanguard@tiac.net

WORKERS VANGUARD

Outrage Over Sadistic Attack on Haitian Immigrant

NYPD: Racist Torturers!

Monaster/Daily News

WV Photo

Thousands march across Brooklyn Bridge on August 29 to protest police torture of Abner Louima (left).

Democrats, Republicans— Parties of Racist "Law and Order"

NEW YORK CITY, September 1—Thousands of protesters marched across the Brooklyn Bridge to City Hall on August 29 in the largest demonstration thus far against the sadistic cop torture of Abner Louima over three weeks ago. The 30-year-old Haitian immigrant remains in critical condition in a Brooklyn hospital with a punctured intestine and torn bladder. After being arrested while standing outside a Haitian dance club on the night of August 8, Louima was viciously beaten on the way to the 70th Precinct station. Once at the station, the cops dragged him into a bathroom, where they sodomized him with the wooden handle of a toilet plunger and then jammed it into his mouth, breaking his front teeth.

As they marched to City Hall, many of the protesters chanted, "PBA, KKK—different name, same game," referring to the Patrolmen's Benevolent Association. The overwhelmingly Haitian crowd was joined by other West Indian and American blacks, Hispanics, Asians and others, many of them wearing hats identifying them as union members. Speakers at the rally included two Asian women, one whose son was gunned down by police and the other herself a victim of police violence. As the rally dispersed, cops seized the opportunity to arrest over 100 demonstrators who had walked back over the bridge into Brooklyn. Ninety of those arrested still face charges. We demand: Drop the charges!

Along with the video exposé of routine torture of Texas inmates by prison guards, the hideous brutalization of Abner Louima drew international attention to the cop terror which is rampant across the U.S. But no one who lives in the city's impoverished ghettos and barrios needed to see another grainy image on video of cops swinging their clubs into bleeding, defenseless black people to know that what happened to Abner Louima could have easily happened to them or their loved ones. As they were carrying out their gruesome torture, one of the cops screamed at Louima: "It's Giuliani time!" Republican mayor Rudolph Giuliani was catapulted to City Hall in 1993 in a campaign highlighted by a violent, racist riot by 10,000 cops who besieged the office of then-mayor David Dinkins, a black Democrat.

But what was done to Louima was so utterly gratuitous and depraved and the outcry over it so widespread that even Giuliani and the cops were on the defensive. Unlike countless other cases of police assault and killing, where the cops lyingly claim their victim was "resisting arrest" or "armed," this time Giuliani felt compelled to put on a show of "cleaning up" the 70th Precinct, ordering the arrest of several of Louima's tormentors and disciplining some of their superiors. The assault on Louima might never even have come to light had it not been for the courageous action of Magalie Laurent and another nurse at Coney Island Hospital, who refused to succumb to pressure from the police and hospital management to cover up for the cops.

Giuliani's Democratic opponents seized on the outcry in their bid to replace him in November's mayoral election. All three Democratic primary contenders—Ruth Messinger, Sal Albanese and Al Sharpton—were present at the August 29 protest. While Messinger and Albanese had until now vocally enthused over the NYPD's brutal crackdown on "crime," Sharpton has fueled his political career in recent years by posing as a champion of victims of NYPD terror and marched at the head of the protest. David Dinkins was a featured speaker on the platform. But, as we wrote in an August 26 New York Spartacist League leaflet:

> "Whether City Hall is being run by Democrats or Republicans, racist terror is standard operating procedure for the NYPD. No matter how many heads roll at the 70th Precinct, it will not change the fact that the cops are the armed enforcers of the racist capitalist system. The virtual police state of siege in the city's ghettos and barrios is part and parcel of the intensification of racist repression by America's capitalist rulers as they take the ax to welfare and other social programs, impose slave-labor 'workfare,' and drive minorities and all working people into ever deeper poverty."

Racist Rulers' War on the Ghettos and Barrios

Giuliani has been touted for his "quality of life" crackdown, with its policy of "zero tolerance" for even the pettiest alleged crime. But while Wall Street stockbrokers and bankers crow about how much safer *their* city streets are, in the ghettos and barrios this has meant giving free rein to the racist cops. Behind the glitz of the "New 42nd Street" is a policy of mass arrests for every conceivable offense, from taking up more than one seat on the subway to drinking in public. The *New York Times* has even taken to advising its largely white yuppie readership on what to do when they're handcuffed by "New York's finest."

But for minority youth in particular, a brush with the cops can be a brush with death. Even Amnesty International was compelled to issue a report last year which documented "ill-treatment, deaths in custody and unjustified shootings" and condemned the police for "excessive force amounting to torture or other cruel, inhuman and degrading treatment." Even according to the NYPD's own figures, the cops kill someone on average every ten days; in Brooklyn alone, 23 blacks, Hispanics and other minorities have been killed by cops since 1994. Liberal *New York Times* columnist Bob Herbert, who had the decency to refuse to serve on a whitewash commission set up by Giuliani after the Louima incident, has eloquently described the cop reign of terror. In a 21 August piece, Herbert wrote:

> "Each time I hear that the attack on Abner Louima was an aberration, I think of Carlton Brown, who was left paralyzed from the chest down after officers drove his head like a battering ram into the bulletproof glass doors at the entrance to Brooklyn's 63rd Precinct station house.... I think of the parents of young people killed by brutal officers, the sense of utter desolation that I've seen in the faces and heard in the voices of mothers and fathers who haven't yet learned to speak of their children in the past tense."

The rise in cop terror and killings, not only in NYC but from coast to coast, is aimed at intimidating the mass of the population, who have seen their living standards plummet while a handful at the top revel in soaring profits. With social struggle at an ebb, for years the city's dispossessed and downtrodden have despaired of any way to fight back other than to embrace demagogic politicians like Sharpton and illusory schemes to "clean up" the cops. But the upsurge of anger over racist cop terror and the thousands of working people who turned out on August 29 came as this country saw the biggest strike in years, the solid Teamsters walkout against UPS. The brutal and gratuitous torture of Louima cast a sharp spotlight on this whole system of daily police brutality, underscoring what the cops are all about: they are armed thugs whose job is to violently suppress workers and minorities in defense of the capitalist rulers' profits and power. At the

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 674

19 September 1997

U.S.-Sponsored "Peace" Fraud Means Zionist Terror

Israel Out of All Occupied Territories!

Defend the Palestinian People!

For a Socialist Federation of the Near East!

Reuters

Israeli troops unleashed against Palestinian protesters in occupied West Bank.

SEPTEMBER 15—The events directly preceding U.S. Secretary of State Madeleine Albright's trip to Israel are a stark reminder that the Near East remains a powder keg for nationalist slaughter and all-out war. For six weeks now, the Zionist rulers have subjected the Palestinian population of the Occupied Territories to a starvation blockade, confining residents to their towns and villages, preventing workers from going to their jobs, cutting off supplies of food and other necessities. At the same time, Israel has escalated air and artillery bombardment and murderous commando raids against southern Lebanon. And last month, the right-wing government of Likud prime minister Benjamin Netanyahu announced plans to construct a dam on land claimed by neighboring Syria.

Clinton sent his emissary to the Near East in the hope of reviving the fraudulent U.S.-sponsored "peace process" between Israel and Yasir Arafat's Palestinian Authority. While politely pleading with Netanyahu to be less provocative toward his Palestinian "peace partner," Albright arrogantly ordered Arafat to be more "relentless" in cracking down on Hamas, Islamic Jihad and other "terrorists." In fact, Arafat ordered a police sweep against alleged Hamas supporters on the eve of Albright's visit, and last year more than 900 were rounded up in a mass dragnet.

While the Clinton White House is far from happy with the current Israeli regime, whose flagrantly provocative actions have antagonized even such pliant U.S. client regimes as Egypt and Saudi Arabia, Washington continues to funnel billions in arms and aid to the Zionist state. As the London *Independent* (24 June) recently documented, the bombs and missiles used in Israel's "Operation Grapes of Wrath" last year to bombard southern Lebanon and drive one-third of the country's people from their homes were almost all supplied by the Pentagon. Meanwhile, a CIA representative serves as "mediator" for "security" collaboration between Israel and Arafat's forces targeting Palestinian dissidents. We say: ***Down with the bloody anti-Palestinian "Pax Americana"—U.S. imperialist hands off the Near East!***

At the time the agreement was signed on the White House lawn in 1993, numerous liberals and reformists echoed Arafat's Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) in hailing the Israel-PLO accord as a step toward Palestinian national liberation. In contrast, the International Communist League denounced this oppressor's "peace," which did "not offer even the most deformed expression of self-determination" and instead placed "the PLO's seal on the national oppression of the long-suffering Palestinian Arab masses" ("Israel-PLO Deal for Palestinian Ghetto," *WV* No. 583, 10 September 1993).

Arafat Fronts for Zionist Repression

In recent years, Arab areas of Gaza and the West Bank have been under an effectively continual state of siege even when they are not formally sealed off. The latest closure, imposed as "collective punishment" for an Islamic fundamentalist terror bombing in Jerusalem in late July, has served only to exacerbate already widespread desperation among the Palestinians. The predictable response came on the eve of Albright's visit, when three more suicide bombers blew themselves up in a crowded pedestrian mall in Jerusalem, killing four other people.

We condemn such reprehensible acts of indiscriminate terror, which are directed not at the Zionist state's armed forces or its fascistic "settler" auxiliaries but target all Jews, killing Arab residents as well. Such acts are in keeping with Hamas' vile anti-Semitic—and anti-woman—project, whose aim of creating a Khomeiniite regime in the Occupied Territories mirrors the fascistic religious Jewish reactionaries who seek to create a fully fledged Old Testament theocracy in Israel.

But it is the rankest hypocrisy for the far more powerful terrorist killers of the Israeli bourgeois state to scream about Arafat coddling Hamas and Islamic Jihad "terrorists." It was under Israeli sponsorship that Hamas came to prominence in the 1980s, deliberately nurtured as a counterweight to Arafat's Fatah group and other secular nationalist formations in and around the PLO. That Hamas now reportedly has the support of as much as one-third of the Palestinian population (including many former Fatah activists), whose workers and intelligentsia were until recently among the most cosmopolitan elements in the Near East, is a measure of the despair and frustration to which the masses of the Occupied Territories have been driven by the U.S.-sponsored "peace" accords.

Our warning at the time that the 1993

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Eyewitness Report from Havana Youth Festival

SEE PAGE SIX

Enlightenment Rationalism and the Origins of Marxism

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Court Upholds NPR Censorship of Jamal

Fight to Free Mumia!

The fight for freedom for death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal is a focal point in the struggle against the whole system of racist repression in the U.S. A spokesman for the Black Panther Party in his youth, later a journalist and supporter of the Philadelphia MOVE organization, Mumia was sentenced to death in 1982 on false charges of killing a Philadelphia policeman. Today, as the appeal of his frame-up conviction and sentence sits before the Pennsylvania State Supreme Court, the struggle for Mumia's freedom is more urgent than ever.

As part of their efforts to silence forever this impassioned spokesman for the oppressed, the cops and courts are doing what they can to gag Mumia now. On August 21, U.S. District Judge Royce C. Lamberth dismissed a lawsuit by Jamal challenging the 1994 cancellation by National Public Radio (NPR) of a series of Mumia's commentaries from death row. After announcing its plans to air these broadcasts, NPR came under intense pressure from the Fraternal Order of Police (F.O.P.), which for years has led a rabid campaign to kill Mumia and vilify his supporters. Joining the F.O.P.'s howls was Republican Bob Dole, who as Senate leader threatened to cut off NPR's funding. NPR caved in just days later.

The District Court ruling is a serious blow, giving the seal of approval to the cops' efforts to take away one of Jamal's most powerful weapons: his voice. As an award-winning radio journalist in Philadelphia, Mumia earned the title "voice of the voiceless" for his searing commentaries on police terror and the all-sided oppression of minorities and the poor. In the last several years, millions of people around the world have become acquainted with Mumia's case through reading his newspaper columns and his book of prison writings, *Live from Death Row*, which was published shortly before the signing of a death warrant against him in June 1995, which was later stayed. Jamal has subsequently published *Death Blossoms: Reflections from a Prisoner of Conscience*. Despite innumerable obstacles thrown up by the courts and state prison authorities, Mumia continues to speak out on behalf of the dispossessed of this society.

Meanwhile, the cops, courts and prosecutors continue to pursue their vendetta against Jamal to ensure his legal lynching. Earlier this summer, as part of the State Supreme Court's review of Jamal's 1995 Post-Conviction Relief (PCRA) appeal, an evidentiary hearing was held in the Philadelphia court of "hanging judge" Albert Sabo, who presided over Mumia's original trial as well as the 1995 PCRA proceedings. The hearing centered on a new defense witness, Pamela Jenkins, who testified that police coerced the key prosecution witness at Mumia's 1982 trial. In response, Sabo baldly declared that *even if this evidence of police misconduct were true*, it did not warrant a new trial! Jamal's attorneys offered other witnesses and documents supporting Jenkins' testimony and pointing to other examples of the cops' frame-up methods. Sabo—notorious as a "prosecutor in robes" who has sent more people to death row than any other sitting judge in the U.S.—responded, "I don't care who you subpoenaed. They are quashed."

Mumia's case exemplifies the racist bourgeois *in*justice system. Jamal's 1982 "trial" was marked by racist jury-rigging, a "confession" concocted by the police, "witnesses" intimidated into retailing the cops' story and suppression of evidence of Mumia's innocence by police and prosecutors (see the Partisan Defense Committee pamphlet, *The Frame-Up of Mumia Abu-Jamal*).

This mockery of justice has continued right up through Jamal's current appeal. There is a growing mountain of evidence of Mumia's innocence. But all of this weighs absolutely nothing on the rigged scales of American racist "justice." As the defense papers on Sabo's latest ruling against Mumia state:

> "The simple reality is that the judge has colluded with the prosecution from the outset to secure a conviction and death sentence, assisting the prosecution in its misconduct and in concealing that misconduct. At trial, the court would not let Jamal represent himself, saddled him with an unprepared and ineffective counsel, manipulated the jury composition, and tailored its rulings to prevent the jury from hearing key defense evidence. The court has engaged in the same obstructionist maneuvers throughout these PCRA proceedings, denying discovery, quashing defense subpoenas right and left, and precluding evidence and claims."

The papers conclude by demanding that the frame-up conviction and death sentence be overturned, insisting that at the minimum there be a new full PCRA hearing in front of a new judge, with full right of discovery of evidence for the defense.

Sabo's blatant bias, along with the decision upholding NPR's censorship of Mumia, show in a crystal-clear way that *Mumia did not, cannot and will not get justice in the racist capitalist courts.* From the time the Spartacist League and PDC first took up Jamal's cause more than a decade ago, we have stressed that what is needed is mass social protest centered on the power of organized labor to demand freedom for Mumia and abolition of the racist death penalty.

The PDC, a class-struggle legal and social defense organization which takes up cases and causes in the interests of the whole of the working people, has brought Jamal's case to the labor movement from the U.S. to Latin America, Japan, Europe and South Africa. As we wrote in an article on Jamal in a *WV* supplement (27 August) on the lessons of

continued on page 11

Jennifer Beach

Mumia Abu-Jamal

TROTSKY

Marxism and Historical Progress

LENIN

The current reactionary ideological offensive around the supposed "death of communism" has been extended back to attacks on the rational humanism of the Enlightenment and the ideals of the French Revolution. In its own way, the imperialist bourgeoisie thereby acknowledges that Marxism embodies the principles of scientific rationality as the basis for liberating mankind from all forms of social oppression. In 1913, Lenin explained that Marxism is rooted in the progressive ideas generated by the struggle against feudal backwardness, religious obscurantism and monarchical absolutism.

The Marxist doctrine is omnipotent because it is true. It is comprehensive and harmonious, and provides men with an integral world outlook irreconcilable with any form of superstition, reaction, or defence of bourgeois oppression. It is the legitimate successor to the best that man produced in the nineteenth century, as represented by German philosophy, English political economy and French socialism....

The stormy revolutions which everywhere in Europe, and especially in France, accompanied the fall of feudalism, of serfdom, more and more clearly revealed the *struggle of classes* as the basis and the driving force of all development.

Not a single victory of political freedom over the feudal class was won except against desperate resistance. Not a single capitalist country evolved on a more or less free and democratic basis except by a life-and-death struggle between the various classes of capitalist society.

The genius of Marx lies in his having been the first to deduce from this the lesson world history teaches and to apply that lesson consistently. The deduction he made is the doctrine of the *class struggle*.

People always have been the foolish victims of deception and self-deception in politics, and they always will be until they have learnt to seek out the *interests* of some class or other behind all moral, religious, political and social phrases, declarations and promises. Champions of reforms and improvements will always be fooled by the defenders of the old order until they realise that every old institution, however barbarous and rotten it may appear to be, is kept going by the forces of certain ruling classes. And there is *only one* way of smashing the resistance of those classes, and that is to find, in the very society which surrounds us, the forces which can—and, owing to their social position, *must*—constitute the power capable of sweeping away the old and creating the new, and to enlighten and organise those forces for the struggle.

Marx's philosophical materialism alone has shown the proletariat the way out of the spiritual slavery in which all oppressed classes have hitherto languished. Marx's economic theory alone has explained the true position of the proletariat in the general system of capitalism.

—V.I. Lenin, "The Three Sources and Three Component Parts of Marxism" (March 1913)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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EDITOR Len Meyers

EDITOR, YOUNG SPARTACUS PAGES: Joe Sol

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WV Photo

When NPR censors banned Mumia's commentaries from the airwaves, Partisan Defense Committee organized June 1994 protest speakout chaired by Ossie Davis in New York City.

Fascists March Behind Pauline Hanson

Australian Politician Rides Wave of Racist Reaction

We reprint below, in slightly edited form, an article which appeared in Australasian Spartacist *No. 161 (Spring 1997), publication of the Spartacist League/Australia.*

The election of the vile racist bigot Pauline Hanson to the Australian Parliament last year was a sharp pointer to the reactionary social climate fostered by the capitalist rulers' assaults on immigrants, Aborigines and working people. Hanson won election to the formerly "safe" Labor Party seat of Oxley, Queensland, calling for an end to immigration until Australia's unemployment "problem" is "solved" and for reversing the pitifully minimal social programs and land rights rulings gained by the brutally oppressed Aborigines over the last two decades.

With the official (vastly understated) jobless rate at close to 9 percent and youth unemployment over three times that, Hanson's racist scapegoating and calls for higher tariffs to save "Aussie jobs" have found an audience among both economically insecure shopkeepers and farmers and among many backward white workers. Her fascistic ravings that Australia is being "swamped" by Asians and that "multiculturalism" is "sapping the lifeblood of the nation" proved too embarrassing for the right-wing Liberal Party, which withdrew its endorsement of her before the elections. And the Australian bourgeoisie isn't too happy that her tirades against Asian people and cultures have already lost them business in the booming markets of Asia. On the other hand, the launching of Hanson's One Nation party has become a rallying point for outright fascists like National Action, which sells Hanson T-shirts and writings from their "bookshop" bunkers, while on the streets there has been a dramatic rise in racist assaults.

The vaulting of this certified racist pig from her Ipswich fish-and-chips shop into Parliament was part of the right-wing shift that brought John Howard's "Conservative Coalition" to power over the Labor Party. Howard's Tory regime has already moved to impose drastic restrictions on immigration, block even token measures benefiting Aborigines and enforce strikebreaking laws. But it was the previous 13 years of Labor Party governments which paved the way for Howard and Hanson. On behalf of the capitalist rulers, the Labor Party oversaw the smashing of militant unions like the Builders Labourers Federation and imposed austerity measures on working people. Under Labor, killings of Aborigines in police custody soared, while thousands of immigrants were deported or locked up in concentration camps.

Hanson is but the most naked face of Australia's deeply racist capitalist profit system. By targeting in the first instance the most vulnerable sectors of society like immigrants and Aborigines, the ruling class seeks to divide the working class and weaken the trade unions in order to slash wages, working conditions and social benefits. This is not unique to Australia. Around the world, the capitalist rulers have launched vicious attacks against immigrants and others as a wedge to destroy trade-union rights and social welfare programs as they drive up the rate of exploitation.

Neil Eliot

AFP

May 4 protest in Perth, Western Australia, against vile racist bigot Pauline Hanson (right), who is embraced by fascist skinheads.

While skinheads and other fascists have been openly welcomed at meetings launching the One Nation party, these events have also been met with protest demonstrations drawing hundreds, sometimes thousands, of radical youth, Chinese, Vietnamese and South Asian immigrants, Aborigines and trade unionists. Earlier this year, a militant demonstration of some 700 anti-racist protesters in Tasmania shut down a One Nation founding meeting. The demonstrations peaked on 7 July with an outpouring of well over a thousand protesters in the heavily immigrant Melbourne suburb of Dandenong.

The reformist left have centred many of these protests around calls to "fight the right," chanting "Howard and Hanson have got to go!" This is nothing but an attempt to *derail* the fight against racist reaction into the dead-end of the Labor Party "lesser evil." In contrast, the Spartacist League has called for building a revolutionary workers party which champions the cause of all the oppressed. Our contingents at anti-Hanson protests have raised such slogans as: "Bipartisan war on minorities emboldens Hanson, [virulently racist former Labor parliamentarian] Campbell—For workers action against bosses' racist attacks!" and "Full citizenship rights for all immigrants—Close the deportation camps!" We fight for socialist revolution to get rid of the capitalist system of exploitation which has given rise to Hanson's filth. Key to this perspective is splitting the proletarian base of the Labor Party—a bourgeois workers party—from the racist, pro-capitalist Labor parliamentary and trade-union tops.

Assault on Democratic Rights

In response to the large, voluble demonstrations against Hanson, the government has increasingly turned to brutal cop repression, with phalanxes of hundreds of cops and charges by mounted police against protesters. Dozens of arrests have been made, including of five anti-racist protesters at Dandenong. We say: Drop all charges against anti-racist protesters!

Following the Dandenong rally, where a fracas led to the wounding of a Hansonite bigot, the bourgeois press launched a smear campaign labelling leftist protesters as "violent." The Melbourne *Herald Sun* (9 July) referred to "the Militant Organisation, the Socialist Left and Spartacus [sic]" as "familiar faces to the police"—an ominous threat to set up leftists for stepped-up repression.

The targeting of anti-Hanson demonstrators as "violent" is only the latest in a series of moves by the bourgeois state to curtail the democratic rights of the left, minorities and the trade-union movement. In 1992, the then Labor government of Joan Kirner in Victoria staged early morning Gestapo-style raids on seven students, including members of the International Socialist Organisation (ISO). This was accompanied by a smear campaign blaming leftist groups for "violence" at student protests against education cutbacks, naming the ISO, Left Alliance and the "Sparticist" League.

At the time, the police announced the establishment of a "special investigation unit aimed at cracking the violent socialist organisations," i.e., the resurfacing of the notorious cop "Red Squad" (see "Student Anger Mounts at Keating's Austerity," *Australasian Spartacist* No. 145, Winter 1992). Since then, the state has victimised a range of leftists and minorities for "speech crimes," including the ongoing attempt to prosecute radical former editors of the student newspaper *Rabelais* for printing a tongue-in-cheek article advising how to shoplift. The aim of these repressive moves is to intimidate *all* who seek to fight for the rights of workers and the oppressed.

Hanson and her mob are especially feeding off the Howard regime's efforts to vastly curtail immigration and cut the state's meagre benefits for the brutalised

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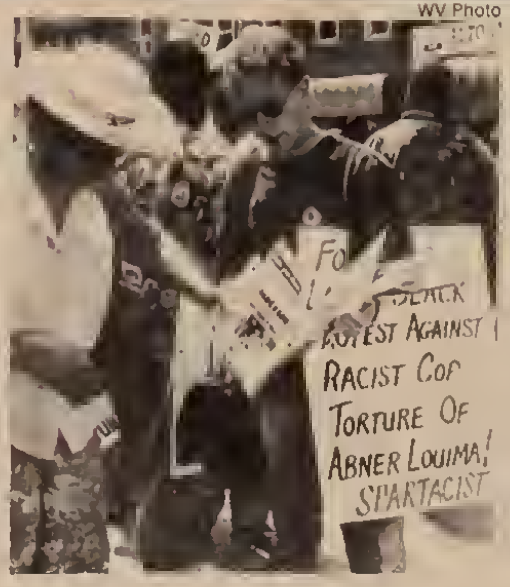

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Zionist Terror...

(continued from page 1)

"peace" deal would lead to "PLO cops, armed and paid by Israel, shooting down young Palestinian rebels on behalf of the Zionist state terrorists" has been amply confirmed. Arafat's puppet regime is effectively a police state, with Palestinian cops replacing Israeli occupation forces as torturers and tormentors. This repression is particularly directed against the Palestinian working people. Thus, when West Bank teachers walked out for two months earlier this year in the first workers strike under Arafat's regime, Palestinian cops were deployed to arrest union leaders and break the strike.

Particularly since Netanyahu's election 16 months ago, Israel has gone out of its way to grind down and provoke the Palestinian masses, from last year's opening of a pedestrian tunnel under a Muslim holy site in Jerusalem and the ensuing coldblooded slaughter of more than 60 Arab protesters to the decision last spring to construct yet another Jewish housing development in Arab East Jerusalem. In the past year, Israel has also revoked "residency permits" for over a thousand Palestinians who were lifelong residents of Jerusalem. Land seizures and the bulldozing of Arab homes and businesses have continued apace. The vaunted deal placing the West Bank town of Hebron under Palestinian "autonomy" handed a fifth of this Arab city of 100,000 over to several hundred gun-toting Zionist "settler" fanatics while dividing the remainder into two Palestinian ghettos surrounded by Israeli military checkpoints.

Such measures are aimed at rooting out any Arab population concentration within the ever-expanding boundaries of "Greater Jerusalem" and ensuring that the Palestinian Authority retains nominal suzerainty over only a handful of isolated Arab cantons in the West Bank. This, in fact, was the aim of the 1993 "peace" accords promoted by the former Israeli government headed by "Labor," a thoroughly bourgeois party which was the architect of the Zionist state's expansionist project and presided over the 1967 conquest of the Occupied Territories.

AP photos

Right-wing prime minister Benjamin Netanyahu (above) has stepped up land seizures and other provocations against Palestinians. Israeli cops evict Bedouin to make way for new Zionist settlement near Jerusalem.

Near East Flashpoint

Erected on the expulsion of hundreds of thousands of Arabs from their homes and homeland—first in 1947-48 and again in 1967—and encircled by hostile Arab regimes, Israel has been a highly militarized garrison-state from its creation. This makes Israeli Jewish society keenly sensitive to any hint of military defeat at the hands of Arab forces. Thus the uproar over the deaths of a dozen members of an elite Israeli naval unit, "Flotilla 13," during a commando raid in Lebanon earlier this month.

The rising death toll in Israel's 15-year occupation of its southern Lebanon "security zone" has led even ultra-chauvinist politicians like Ariel Sharon—who headed the 1982 invasion of Lebanon and ordered the massacre of hundreds of unarmed Palestinians in the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps—to call for withdrawal of Zionist forces from that country. We demand that Israeli troops and "settlers" get out of southern Lebanon, the Golan Heights *and* Gaza and the West Bank!

The Near East has historically been a powder keg for imperialist conflict and war, and Zionist provocations are pushing it ever more in that direction. There will be no peace in this volatile region under capitalist rule. The Zionist state's very existence is premised on the national oppression of the Palestinian people. In neighboring Jordan, the Hashemite kingdom lords it over a predominantly Palestinian population, while hundreds of thousands of "stateless" Palestinians have languished for two generations in wretched refugee camps policed by the Arab bourgeoisies.

The International Communist League has consistently championed the national rights of the Palestinian people. But unlike the plethora of phony "leftists" who tailed petty-bourgeois Palestinian nationalism right into the embrace of the anti-Palestinian "Pax Americana," Trotskyists fight for a proletarian class perspective in the Near East. The Palestinian masses clearly cannot wrest freedom from the Zionist state through military confrontation, much less by relying on the "good offices" of U.S. imperialism. And the Arab bourgeoisies and feudal sheikdoms, despite the myth of a classless "Arab Revolution" promoted by groups like the fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat in the 1960s and '70s, are no less the enemy of the Palestinian people—and all the workers and oppressed of the region—than are the Zionist butchers. To justify tailing after the Arab bourgeoisies and revanchist nationalists, these "leftists" equated the Hebrew-speaking masses with the Zionist rulers and denied that an "oppressor people" has any national rights, effectively calling for a reversal of the terms of oppression.

Like Cyprus, Northern Ireland, Sri Lanka and the former Yugoslavia, among other places, Israel/Palestine is a case of interpenetrated peoples, of two or more peoples claiming the same territory. In such situations, under capitalism—in which the state power is necessarily dominated by a single nation—the democratic right of national self-determination cannot be achieved for one people without violating the national rights of the other.

The recent history of the Balkans offers stark confirmation of this, both in the positive and in the negative. It was only as a result of a social revolution—albeit deformed from its inception under the leadership of Tito's Stalinists—that the diverse South Slav peoples were able to amicably coexist. On the other hand, the capitalist counterrevolution which destroyed the Yugoslav deformed workers state was accompanied by an all-sided nationalist slaughter, as each people sought to compact a homogenous bourgeois nation-state by driving the others from "its" territory through pogroms and forced population transfers.

This has been true not only for the more numerous and militarily powerful Serbs, who were singled out for vilification by the Western press, but for the Croats and Bosnian Muslims as well. Indeed, Bosnia has provided an object lesson in what happens when the terms of oppression are reversed. As territorial control shifted from one side to another in the past few years, chauvinists among the Bosnian Muslims, when given the opportunity, have been no less ruthless in terrorizing and evicting Bosnian Serbs than the Serbs had been in driving out Muslims.

In the Near East, the conflicting national claims of the Hebrew-speaking and Palestinian Arab masses can only be equitably resolved by sweeping away all the bourgeoisies of the region. It is necessary to explode the Zionist state from within by breaking the Hebrew-speaking workers from the grip of racialist chauvinism and winning them to the cause of proletarian revolution in league with their Arab class brothers and sisters. Decades of Zionist state terror and murderous nationalism on all sides have poisoned relations between Hebrew-speaking and Arab workers. But there is a rich history of proletarian class unity in this region which points the way forward.

Alfred/Sipa

Yasir Arafat runs Palestinian Authority as police state for Zionist rulers.

The early Communist parties in Iraq, Egypt and other Arab countries were marked by significant numbers of Jews and other minorities in their ranks and leaderships. And in the years before the creation of the Zionist state, there were numerous instances of class unity in British-controlled Palestine as well. In September 1945, only two years before the outbreak of nationalist slaughter, hundreds of Arab and Jewish strikers marched through the streets of Tel Aviv chanting "Long live unity between Arab and Jewish workers" and "The Arab and Jewish workers are brothers" while, as the Hebrew-language daily *Ha'aretz* reported at the time, "masses of people crowded both sides of the streets to watch this extraordinary sight" (quoted in Zachary Lockman, *Comrades and Enemies*, University of California Press [1996]).

We fight for Trotskyist parties which will reappropriate this history of united class struggle as part of the struggle to win the working masses—standing at the head of the peasantry and numerous oppressed nationalities—of the region to the banner of proletarian internationalism. ***Far a socialist federation af the Near East!***■

Spartacist Events

BOSTON

Eyewitness Report

Cuban Revolution in Danger

Saturday, September 27, 7:30 p.m.
Room 3-343, MIT, Cambridge

For more information: (617) 666-9453

CHICAGO

Unchain Labor's Power—Those Who Labor Must Rule!

Saturday, September 27, 7 p.m.
Location to be announced

China on the Brink: Workers Political Revolution or Capitalist Enslavement?

Saturday, October 11, 3 p.m.
University of Chicago
Location to be announced.

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series
Alternate Saturdays, 2 p.m., Next classes, September 20: ***The State***; October 4: ***Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism***;
328 South Jefferson, Suite 904

Information and readings: (312) 454-4930

NEW YORK CITY

China on the Brink: Workers Political Revolution or Capitalist Enslavement?

Saturday, October 18, 3 p.m.

Location to be announced

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series
Alternate Mondays, 7 p.m.
Next classes, September 22: ***The Origins of Marxism***; October 6: ***The Capitalist State and Revolution***;
41 Warren St. (one block below Chambers St., near Church St.)

Information and readings: (212) 267-1025

OAKLAND

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series
Alternate Tuesdays, 7 p.m. Next classes, September 30: ***The Marxist Understanding of the State***;
204 Wheeler, UC Berkeley

Information and readings:
(415) 777-9367 or (510) 839-0851

SAN FRANCISCO

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series
Alternate Thursdays, 6 p.m. Next class, September 25: ***The Marxist Understanding of the State***;
SFSU Student Union, Room C114

Information and readings:
(415) 777-9367 or (510) 839-0851

Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste Events

TORONTO

China on the Brink: Workers Political Revolution or Capitalist Enslavement?

Saturday, October 4, 7:30 p.m.
St. Paul's Centre, 427 Bloor Street W.

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series
Alternate Wednesdays, 7 p.m. Next class, September 24: ***The Principles of Marxism***; International Student Centre, 33 St. George Street

Information and readings: (416) 593-4138

VANCOUVER

Eyewitness Report

South Africa: The Struggle for Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution

Friday, October 3, 7:30 p.m.
Britannia Community Centre,
Room L4, 1661 Napier Street

For more information: (604) 687-0353

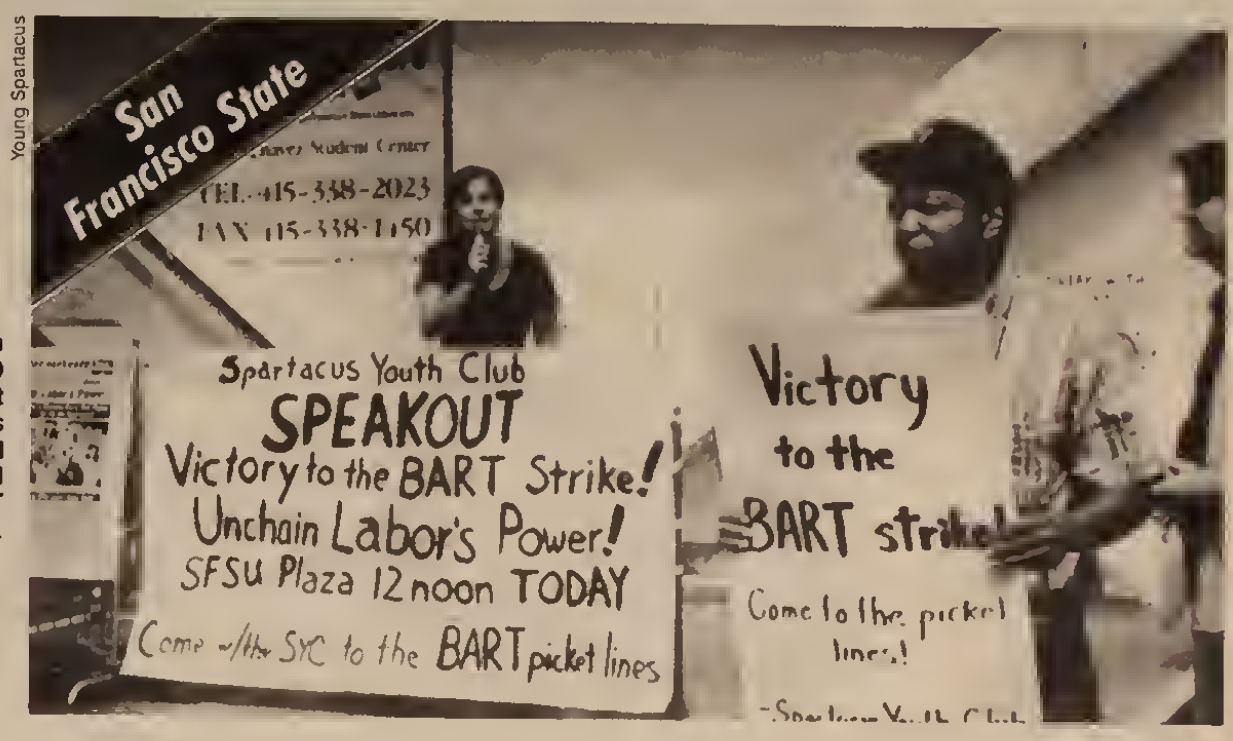
Young Spartacus

SYC Builds Campus Support for BART Strike

SAN FRANCISCO—On September 9, the Spartacus Youth Club (SYC) at San Francisco State University rallied students to the side of striking Bay Area transit workers with the call: "Victory to the BART strike! Unchain labor's power!" Bay Area Rapid Transit (BART) workers struck for six days, fighting for equal pay for equal work (see article on page 12), a crucial issue to all workers which moved many to support the successful Teamsters strike against UPS last month. The two-tier system in which newer workers—predominantly women, minorities and youth—are paid less for doing the same work is nothing but a vehicle to divide the working class, pitting one worker against another for the benefit of the bosses.

At the speakout, the SYC called on students to help build the BART picket lines. We made the point that because the multiracial working class produces all wealth in this society and can stop production, it has tremendous social power to change society. Nicole, an SYC supporter at SF State, explained:

> "Students who want to fight racism and exploitation need to understand that the power to win that struggle lies only with the multiracial working class. Right now BART union workers are on strike demanding equal pay for equal work. If they win this it will be an important victory against the capitalists' attempt to divide society along racial and sexual lines. We as students need to ally ourselves with these workers and help win their strike, not by appealing to our capitalist administrator [SFSU president] Corrigan or Democrat strikebreaker Willie Brown [mayor of San Francisco]—these are the class enemies of the workers. Instead students should come with us to the picket line which is where labor's battles are won."



SYC spokesman at September 9 campus speakout addresses students on need to stand behind striking BART transit workers.

Many students at SF State work to put themselves through school and are in fact many of those "new hires" working on lower wage scales at places like UPS. What the recent strikes at UPS and BART make clear is that racist capitalist America is fundamentally divided between two hostile classes: workers who are forced to sell their labor power in order to survive and the property-owning capitalist class to whom their labor power is sold.

Throughout California, once known as the "Education State," public education has been gutted as rising fees, bolstered by Proposition 209's outright elimination of affirmative action programs, drive minorities, immigrants, the working class and the poor out of school. Don Cane, a Spartacist League speaker at the rally, highlighted the need for labor to mobilize in the interests of all the oppressed: "Many of you might say, 'What does labor have to do with students and what do students have to do with labor?' What is important about the UPS strike and the BART strike is that they show the way that the multiracial working class of this country can struggle against this racist capitalist system. Just imagine the power of a BART strike that denounced Prop. 209 and a UPS strike that denounced the racist purge of the universities, that defended the rights

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Eyewitness Report from Havana Youth Festival

Defend Cuba—U.S. Hands Off!
For Proletarian Political Revolution!

From July 28 to August 5, Havana and other Cuban cities hosted the 14th World Festival of Youth and Students, where some 12,000 youth from over 130 countries gathered in solidarity with Cuba. Despite the U.S. government's attempt to prevent young people from traveling to the festival, about 800 youths came from the U.S., making this the biggest foreign delegation (see our protest letter against this attempted exclusion in Workers Vanguard *No. 672, 8 August). Other delegates came mainly from Latin America and West Europe, with large delegations from Asia and Africa. Two International Communist League comrades, one from the Grupo Espartaquista de México, and the author of this report, Charles from the Trotskyist League/Ligue Trotskyste of Canada, attended the festival and saw firsthand the intense economic pressures and extreme social contradictions facing the Cuban deformed workers state.*

Cuba obviously suffers from three and a half decades of the cruel U.S. blockade. Havana, where I stayed, is in dire need of infrastructure repair. The fuel shortage remains acute, leading to a poor and polluting transit system and two- to three-hour power outages daily. Since there is a scarcity of buses, the government has converted giant trucks, formerly used to transport the sugarcane harvest, into buses called *camellos*. Waits are often as long as two hours. And many food

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Spartacist Canada

World Youth Festival participants rally at University of Havana, July 28.

Enlightenment Rationalism and the Origins of Marxism

We print below the second part of a presentation on the Enlightenment given by Spartacist League Central Committee member Joseph Seymour this summer as part of a series of internal SL classes on the origins of Marxism. Part One was published in WV *No. 673 (5 September).*

PART TWO

As I noted previously, the Enlightenment was an intellectual link between the English and French bourgeois-democratic revolutions. In the mid-17th century, England underwent a full-blooded revolution—the king was executed, the reactionaries driven into exile and a short-lived republic established under Oliver Cromwell. Toward the end of the 17th century, England had a semi-revolution. The existing king, who appeared to be moving toward absolutism and its ideological handmaiden, the Roman Catholic church, was deposed under threat of civil war and replaced by a Protestant king. When the dust settled around 1700, England had a bourgeois political order which proved quite stable. The main locus of political power shifted over time from the king's court to a parliament elected by wealthy property owners. Two bourgeois parties emerged, the Whigs and Tories, which would subsequently alternate holding governmental power.

Radio Times Hulton

Oliver Cromwell confronts Parliament in 1663, during short-lived English republic following execution of King Charles I.

The Enlightenment originated in England at this time—its principal figures being Isaac Newton and John Locke—as an ideological justification for the new bourgeois order. It can be characterized as liberal in that it was self-defined as occupying a middle ground between right and left. The right was represented by the absolutist monarchies of continental Europe—backed by the Roman Catholic church—which were seen as a powerful threat to the new English bourgeois state.

At the same time, the early English Enlightenment saw potential enemies on the left as well. During the English Revolution and Civil War, radical democratic tendencies had emerged among the working class which appeared threatening to the propertied classes, even to the most radical elements of the bourgeoisie represented by Cromwell. There's a good book on this subject, *Left-Wing Democracy in the English Civil War*, by David Petegorsky. So English bourgeois intellectuals in the post-revolutionary era of Newton and Locke were acutely aware of and afraid of social leveling from below. Locke was the first major thinker to declare that property was a natural right.

The basic principle of the early English Enlightenment was the promotion of advances in science and technology. This entailed a wide tolerance of intellectual discourse. Closely related was religious tolerance, especially since the English propertied classes—landlords, merchants, bankers—belonged to several different Christian sects and more than a few were privately nonbelievers. Voltaire, who visited England in the 1720s, reported in his usual wise-ass style:

> "Enter the London stock exchange, that place more respectable than many a court. You will see the deputies of all nations gathered there for the service of mankind. There the Jew, the Mohammedan, and the Christian deal with each other as if they were of the same religion, and give the name of infidel only to those who go bankrupt."
>
> —quoted in Peter Gay, *Voltaire's Politics: The Poet as Realist* (1959)

The second phase of the Enlightenment took place when a current of French intellectuals, the most important being Montesquieu and the young Voltaire, sought to import, so to speak, the institutions and ideological climate of England into their own country. After his visit to England, Voltaire wrote a book, *Lettres Philosophiques*, presenting a highly favorable picture of England with its constitutional monarchy, religious toleration and public respect for scientists and philosophers. Here is what happened to Voltaire and his book:

> "The government issued a *lettre de cachet* for Voltaire's arrest...arrested the printer, and confiscated copies of the book. And on 10 June 1734, on orders of the parlement of Paris, the common hangman solemnly lacerated and burned the *Lettres philosophiques* in the courtyard of the *Palais de justice* as 'scandalous, contrary to religion, good morals, and the respect due to authority'."
>
> —*Voltaire's Politics: The Poet as Realist*

This incident reveals why the Enlightenment in France had quite a different nature and radical political effect than in England. Newton and Locke were the intellectual representatives of an *already completed* bourgeois-democratic revolution. Voltaire, Montesquieu and Diderot were confronting a social and political order still dominated by the feudal nobility. The French nobility successfully resisted paying any significant level of taxation right down to the storming of the Bastille in 1789.

The England of Newton and Locke was possible only because there had previously been an England of Cromwell based on the revolutionary mobilization of the lower classes against monarchical absolutism and the old feudal order. Of course, the French *philosophes* did not understand this. They wanted to eat the cake of the bourgeois-democratic revolution without having to bake it. They wanted an intellectual climate which promoted scientific knowledge and technological innovation. They wanted religious toleration. They wanted a prosperous, dynamic economy. They wanted a more humane and just legal system. They wanted a government responsive to the interests of the productive classes.

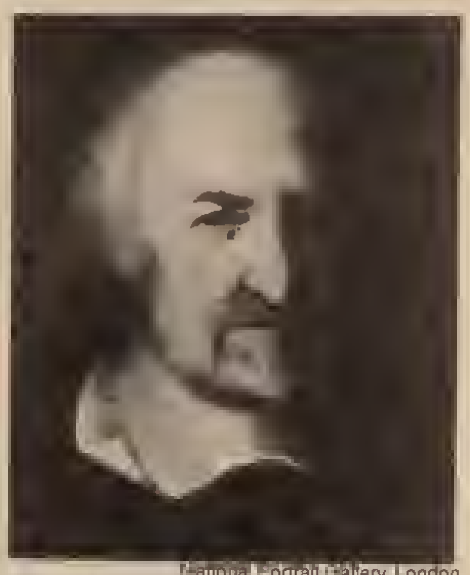
But they didn't get any of these things. The efforts of the *philosophes* to reform France along English lines was continually frustrated and so resulted in a radicalization of this movement. Contrary to the usual pattern, the old Voltaire was more radical than the young Voltaire. The older he got, the more strongly he denounced the existing social and political order in France and the rest of continental Europe.

Thus the direction of motion of the Enlightenment in its central country, France, was steadily and strongly *to the left* at both the philosophical and political levels. Newton and Locke sought to reconcile scientific empiricism with Protestant Christianity. Half a century later, French *philosophes* such as Holbach openly advocated atheism and a thoroughgoing materialism. Locke declared property to be a natural right. Half a century later, Rousseau argued that property was a great perversion of natural right and the root of all evil in the modern world. In this way, Enlightenment thought helped prepare the ground for the French Revolution and the birth of the communist movement.

The Challenge of Thomas Hobbes

The great British naturalist, Charles Darwin, observed that you always learn more from the exception than from the norm. The norm in the age of the Enlightenment was for philosophical and political radicalism to go together. All countries in Europe, even the most liberal (England and Holland) had state churches. So anyone who advocated radical changes at the political level necessarily had to attack the authority and legitimacy of the state churches, if not the Christian religion in general. Atheism was conventionally associated with republicanism and social leveling. The notion of "godless communism," if not yet the term, was current in the 17th and 18th centuries.

There was, however, a significant exception: Thomas Hobbes. Hobbes was a materialist, effectively an atheist and an advocate of royal absolutism of the most absolute sort. It is difficult to convey to you how utterly aberrant and contradictory Hobbes was in the framework of the late 17th century. It's hard to think of a present-day analogy, even hypothetically. The best I can come up with is to imagine a big-time corporate operator like Donald Trump or Michael Milken who says he's a Marxist and what he's doing is making capitalism more efficient to ease the transition to communism. Hobbes represented that magnitude of contradiction in his time.



National Portrait Gallery, London

Thomas Hobbes, 17th-century English philosopher.

As a young man Hobbes served as assistant to Francis Bacon, the leading materialist philosopher of the era. But the shaping, indeed a traumatic, experience of his life was the English Revolution and Civil War. This was not like the American Civil War in which there were two well-organized sides, each with recognized governments. The English Civil

T. Allom

Richard Arkwright's textile factories utilizing the power loom exemplified the technological dynamism of early English capitalism.

War involved several political factions, including the Scottish nobility, each with its own armed force. And on occasion they shifted sides so that yesterday's ally became today's enemy. Many people saw England beset by murderous anarchy, with men fighting only to acquire wealth and power without regard for any professed religious and political principles.

The condition of revolutionary turmoil also allowed the emergence of left-wing groups based on the working classes, which were well represented for a time in Cromwell's New Model Army, the main revolutionary force. There was a famous debate in the New Model Army about allowing the lower classes to vote for parliament. Cromwell's son-in-law, Henry Ireton, spoke against this, arguing:

> "All the main thing I speak for, is because I would have an eye to property.... "You may have such men chosen or at least the major part of them (as have no local or permanent interest) why may not these men vote against all property?"
>
> —quoted in Petegorsky, *Left-Wing Democracy in the English Civil War* (1940)

Hence the propertied classes felt themselves threatened by what would later be called "Red Republicanism."

Hobbes, who was a member of a well-to-do capitalist family—they manufactured and merchandised gloves—shared the fears of his class in this regard. His political doctrines represented a bourgeois, not an aristocratic, reaction against the threat of social revolution from below. He maintained that men were by nature murderously selfish with an unlimited appetite for wealth and power. Here is his famous description of the so-called "state of nature": "No arts; no letters; no society; and which is worst of all, continual fear and danger of violent death; and the life of man, solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short" (*Leviathan* [1651]). To prevent a reversion to the state of nature so described, Hobbes advocated a government exercising total and undivided political power which would suppress all political factionalism lest this engender civil war.

Hobbes constituted a far more formidable intellectual challenge to Enlightenment political thought than did the adherents of the divine right of kings, since from thoroughly materialist premises he reached the same reactionary conclusion. The Enlightenment had to confront the proposition that the innate selfishness of man was an insuperable barrier to a benevolent society with a wide latitude of individual freedom. There were three basic answers to Hobbes among Enlightenment thinkers: that given by Holbach, that given by Adam Smith and that given by Rousseau.

Violliet

Brutal slave trade was key to development of English capitalism and thriving ports such as Liverpool (right). The most progressive Enlightenment thinkers opposed slavery.

Social Morality Versus Egoism

Holbach argued that man is a social animal; he does not and cannot exist in individual isolation. Hence men have a vital interest in behaving so as to gain the respect and approval of other members of society and avoid their disrespect and hostility: "Does not everyone see, that he has the greatest interest in meriting the approbation, esteem, and benevolence of the beings who surround him, and in abstaining from everything, by which he may incur the censure, contempt, and resentment of society?" (*Common Sense, or Natural Ideas Opposed to the Supernatural* [1772], excerpted in Isaac Kramnick, ed., *The Portable Enlightenment Reader* [1995]).

Holbach's reasoning, however, contains an obvious fallacy which deprived it of much influence both at the time and subsequently. True, man does live in society, but society also divides men into different classes, castes, nations, religions, etc. Men are thus surrounded, to use Holbach's phrase, by members of their own class, nation, religion, etc. A French merchant, for example, may have an interest in gaining the esteem of his fellow merchants but he does so by going partners with them in the slave trade. He has no interest in gaining the esteem or avoiding the resentment of the black Africans he is enslaving. Quite the contrary.

The fundamental problem facing Enlightenment political thought was: Why should a man respect the natural rights of *all* other men even when it is not in his individual material interests to do so? This question was posed in the clearest and sharpest way in one of the most interesting and unusual works of the Enlightenment, *Rameau's Nephew* by Diderot. It takes the form of a fictitious dialogue between Rousseau and a cynical, amoral con man. The latter, Rameau's nephew, more than holds his own in the argument; nothing Diderot says fazes him. He sums up his personal philosophy thus: "I say hurrah for wisdom and philosophy—the wisdom of Solomon: to drink good wines, gorge on choice food, tumble pretty women, sleep in downy beds—outside of that, all is vanity." To the extent that Rameau's nephew feels the need to justify his behavior in terms of general philosophical principles, which isn't very much, these principles are strictly Hobbesian: "In Nature all species live off one another; in society all classes do the same."

Der Spiegel

Adam Smith maintained that a competitive, capitalist market economy would maximize labor productivity and the "wealth of nations."

The genius and intellectual honesty of Diderot was such that he recognized the fundamental contradiction of Enlightenment rationalism though he could not resolve it. A materialist understanding of the world does not necessarily lead to a benevolent attitude toward humanity. In the language of the day, reason and virtue do not always go together. Diderot once wrote to his friend and lover, Sophie Volland: "To do good, to know the true—that's what distinguishes one man from another. The rest is nothing." But this was a personal philosophy. He was intelligent and honest enough to understand that most men did not share it and he could not convince them to do so.

Adam Smith and Classic Bourgeois Liberalism

A far more influential and historically significant response to Hobbes was that of Adam Smith. Smith agreed with Hobbes that men were naturally selfish and acquisitive, which did not exclude altruistic feelings either. But he argued that individual selfishness could be channeled to serve the interests of society as a whole through a certain set of institutions.

These institutions were those which formed a competitive capitalist market economy. Within this system men could acquire wealth only by producing more efficiently than their competitors, thereby increasing the total goods available and benefiting all members of society, even the poorest. Take, for example, Sir Richard Arkwright, the leading cotton textile magnate of the day and a pioneer of the factory system. Arkwright, who came from a working-class background, may have been motivated solely by a desire to acquire wealth for himself and his heirs, perhaps for social respectability. But to achieve this goal, Arkwright invented and employed machinery which radically reduced the labor time needed to produce cotton textiles, thereby leading to a reduction in the cost of clothing for everyone.

Adam Smith was the primary theorist of classic bourgeois liberalism. This doctrine held that inequalities in income and wealth and social conflict over the division of wealth were the necessary cost, so to speak, for a technologically dynamic economy combined with a high level of individual freedom.

Today, especially in the U.S., Adam Smith is identified with the "free market" right wing. However, in the late 18th century and for many decades after, classic bourgeois liberalism had its progressive aspects and even revolutionary implications. Personal wealth was justified insofar as one contributed to production, to the "wealth of nations" in Smith's term. This might apply to British manufacturers, merchants or even enterprising landlords. But it did not apply to the landed nobility of France and other continental countries, living off rent from the peasantry, who did nothing to acquire their wealth except to be born.

Adam Smith was also an early and influential opponent of slavery in Britain's American colonies. He opposed slavery on economic as well as moral grounds. He argued that slaves had no incentive to work efficiently since unlike free wage laborers they could not, through hard work and frugality, ever rise above their servile condition. At the same time, slaveowners had far less incentive to improve productivity than capitalists employing wage labor in a competitive environment. The idea that a society based on free labor was superior—economically as well as morally—to one based on slave labor would become the main ideological doctrine of the North in the American Civil War. There's a good book on this subject: *Free Soil, Free Labor, Free Men* by Eric Foner.

Rousseau: Primary Theorist of the Left

Getting back to the Enlightenment. If Adam Smith was the primary theorist of classic bourgeois liberalism, Rousseau was the primary theorist of the left as it emerged from the French Revolution a decade after Rousseau's death. Rousseau argued that Hobbes falsely attributed to human nature the vices engendered by society: "All these philosophers talking ceaselessly of need, greed, oppression, desire and pride have transported into the state of nature concepts formed in society" (*A Discourse on the Origins of Inequality* [1755]).

Rousseau maintained that man was originally *pre*-social, existing as an individual hunter-gatherer with only casual and transitory contact with his fellow men. The idea of a pre-social man, while having no basis in anthropological fact, nonetheless had profoundly revolutionary implications, even though Rousseau himself did not draw out these implications. All attempts to justify the existing social and political order on the basis of tradition were thrown out the window, since the oldest tradition of all was that of pre-social individualism. Thus all social institutions—property, organized religion, monarchy, feudalism—could be justified in Rousseauean terms only if they contributed to the well-being and happiness of the people. And the people always had the right to tear up and renegotiate the "social contract," as Rousseau stated in his work of that name:

> "When it happens that a people sets up a hereditary Government, either monarchical in one family or hereditary in one class of citizens, it is in no sense entering into a binding undertaking, but only giving a provisional form to the administration, until it decides to order things differently."

In 1789, the French people decided, so to speak, to order things differently.

Rousseau also held that while man was originally pre-social, he was not thereby indifferent to his fellow men. In addition to the instinct for self-preservation, there exists an instinctual compassion for the suffering of others: "I believe I can discern two principles antecedent to reason: the first gives us an ardent interest in our own wellbeing and our own preservation, the second inspires in us a natural aversion to seeing any other sentient being perish or suffer, especially if it is one of our kind."

How then did natural man—free, independent and compassionate—turn into civilized man, driven by greed, envy and ambition and subject to oppression at the

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Cuba...

(continued from page 5)

products, like meat and fruit, are only available at expensive private markets. The average worker's monthly ration includes only 4 kilograms of rice, 4 kilos of beans and three kilos of coffee. This highlights the urgency of our demand: ***Down with the U.S. imperialist embargo!***

I immediately noticed the economic disparity which is becoming ever greater. The Cuban festival organizers, centrally the youth group of the Communist Party, housed many foreign delegates, especially from big investor countries like Canada, in posh neighborhoods. My host was a computer programmer who delighted in telling me about the latest edition of Microsoft Windows and lived in Playa Miramar, a ritzy neighborhood with many foreign embassies. Cubans living there have access to dollars—through private dealings or otherwise. Their homes often have air conditioning, VCRs, computers. Some even have maids. When supplies are available, they buy fish, pork, good fruit. In other parts of town, however, I saw people living in cramped quarters and houses falling apart. On a state salary of 200 pesos (US$9) a month or less, daily life for Cuban workers is a struggle, while those who have access to the newly legalized dollar economy—entrepreneurs, black marketeers or those with relatives abroad—can live more comfortably. The introduction of market mechanisms like legalizing the dollar has sharply increased inequality.

Time WV Photo

Introduction of dollar economy has exacerbated economic inequality. While foreign tourists frolic (left), Cuban workers must wait hours for transportation in crowded trucks.

"Defend Canadian sovereignty"!

Economic inequality also exacerbates race distinctions—Miramar, for instance, is overwhelmingly white, while most black people live in run-down neighborhoods. This is particularly egregious, as blacks (who constitute as much as half of the population) are among the strongest supporters of the revolution, while most of the counterrevolutionary *gusanos* (worms) who fled the revolution were white. That it is mainly the (largely white) relatives of these exiles back home who benefit from the U.S. dollars also aggravates racial tensions.

Cuba in the Post-Soviet World

Although the U.S. embargo is certainly starving Cuba, the counterrevolution in the Soviet Union paved the way for the present dire situation there. As our pamphlet, *How the Soviet Workers State Was Strangled* (1993), noted:

> "The ascendancy of counterrevolution in the former USSR is an unparalleled defeat for working people all over the world, decisively altering the political landscape on this planet. The Soviet masses have been plunged into desperate poverty unknown since the darkest days of the war against Nazi Germany."

This also plunged Cuba—which depended on massive Soviet assistance and trade—into mortal economic danger, as the Cuban economy shrank by ***one-third*** between 1991 and 1994.

Editorial Letras Cubanas

Bay of Pigs, 1961: Heroic Cuban soldiers and workers militia crushed invasion attempt by CIA *gusanos*.

Through such "reforms," the ruling Cuban bureaucracy is strangling the revolution and paving the road toward capitalist restoration. What is necessary is the construction of an ***internationalist*** Trotskyist party in Cuba to place political power in the hands of the workers through overthrowing the ***nationalist*** bureaucracy through political revolution. The ICL seeks to forge such a party as part of our struggle for international socialism, including—and especially important for Cuba—in the "belly of the beast," the U.S. This is the only way to safeguard the Cuban Revolution.

In contrast, the various Stalinist Communist parties not only applaud Cuban president Fidel Castro's nationalism, but also the nationalist hype of their own bourgeoisies. Each delegation was identified by its national flag, so much so that the closing ceremony at Pan American Stadium resembled a World Cup soccer game. For its part, the American Communist Party declared that "the U.S. delegation carrying the [American] flag...sent an especially powerful message" (*People's Weekly World*, 30 August). Coming with the English-Canadian delegation (which was organized by the Communist Party), I had to make a point of refusing to carry the bloody Canadian flag! The Canadian CP supports the chauvinist crusade of the Canadian ruling class against Quebec's independence. And, in "fighting" against the U.S. Helms-Burton bill, which seeks among other things to ban representatives from companies which trade with Cuba from entering the U.S., they join liberals in calling to

But much of the liberal North American "Cuba Solidarity" milieu, even its supposedly "socialist" component, is willfully blind to the devastating impact of the counterrevolution in the Soviet Union. The clearest and most idiotic example is provided by the American Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and its Canadian affiliate, the Communist League, who were among the biggest builders for the festival in North America. In its 25 August *Militant*, the SWP argues:

> "The return of Hong Kong to China, opposition by workers and farmers to the capitalist demands for 'sacrifice' in Argentina, the United States, France and other capitalist countries, and resistance to the effects of 'market reforms' from Albania to Yugoslavia and Russia are signs of the weakness of imperialism.... The U.S. government is using its military might because it lost the cold war. It could not defeat the Soviet Union the cold way and has not been able to reestablish capitalism there yet."

The SWP absurdly denies reality because they ***supported*** counterrevolution in the Soviet Union, calling the breakup of the Soviet Union "one of the most progressive things that has happened in decades" (*Militant*, 11 November 1996). The *Militant* (6 September 1991) backed Boris Yeltsin's counterrevolution, exclaiming, "Soviet Workers Win Giant Victory by Defeating Coup." In contrast, the ICL called for proletarian political revolution to sweep away Yeltsin counterrevolution, and after the consolidation of a capitalist state, for socialist revolution.

The SWP's embrace of Castroism in the early 1960s was one of the decisive factors marking its break with Trotskyism, which we fought within the SWP as the Revolutionary Tendency, forerunner of the Spartacist League. Unconditional military defense of, and a perspective of proletarian political revolution in deformed workers states from Cuba to Vietnam still remain integral to our Trotskyist program. Today, the SWP seeks to attract radical-minded youth by proclaiming itself the most consistent defender of the Cuban Revolution. In fact, as its support to the counterrevolution in the Soviet Union makes clear, the SWP's politics are counterposed to genuine defense of the Cuban workers state.

Defend Cuba Through Proletarian Political Revolution!

Everywhere I went, I saw billboards celebrating Castro's fallen comrade-in-arms, Ernesto "Che" Guevara, and the festival delegates snapped up thousands of Che books, T-shirts, posters, cigarette lighters, you name it. The foreign "socialists" who uncritically tail Castro lapped up this quasi-religious adulation of Fidel and Che. Castro's various appearances during the festival were greeted with chants of "Fi-del, Fi-del" or "Fi-Fi-Fi, Del-Del-Del, Viva Fidel!" But Castro and the bureaucracy he heads are strangling the revolution, above all through their anti-revolutionary Stalinist dogma of "socialism in one country."

The Cuban Revolution, on one small island 90 miles off Florida, could not survive for long in isolation. Following the 1959 Revolution, despite overtures by Castro to appease them, U.S. imperialism hard-lined it against the victorious 26th of July Movement. Castro and Che responded with sweeping nationalizations of the U.S.-owned sugar plantations, banks and other firms and by grabbing the lifeline offered by the Soviet Union, the other Soviet-bloc countries and China. Consequently, they consummated the overthrow of the old dictatorship with a ***social revolution***, collectivizing everything down to local ice cream vendors. Modeling itself on the Soviet Union and the Stalinist countries in East Europe, Cuba became a ***deformed workers state***: the bourgeoisie was expropriated and the economy collectivized under central planning, yet political power rests in the hands of a Stalinist bureaucracy instead of the working class.

The elimination of capitalist class rule meant enormous gains for Cuba's working people. Aside from the necessary military defense against imperialism—and the bureaucracy's privileges—the resources of Cuban society were invested in a centralized, planned economy, with everyone guaranteed a job, housing, food, education. The Cuban health care system, despite the crippling effects of the U.S. blockade, is still the best among "developing countries." The revolution also greatly helped women: great attention is paid to prenatal care and the infant mortality rate is lower than in parts of the industrialized world, like Harlem. Cubans enjoy one of the highest literacy rates in the world. In fact, the Cubans' level of general culture—thanks to making education a basic right—is amazing. For example, my host had read all of the classics of literature, adventure and detective novels by the age of fifteen, when he turned to more "serious stuff" like politics and science. A friend of his, still in his mid-twenties, is fluent in Spanish, English, German, Russian and Polish. These are all results of a planned economy which, by eliminating private property and profit, lays the basis not just for satisfying basic human needs but also for developing human potential.

Similarly, the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution, by placing the working class in state power, laid the basis for a planned economy and the tremendous development of Soviet productive forces. However, unlike the Cuban Revolution, which was led by

WV Photo

New York City, September 1991: Spartacist protest against cutoff of Soviet aid, which devastated already weakened Cuban economy.

a petty-bourgeois guerrilla movement seeking only democratic reforms, the Russian Revolution was consciously made by the Russian working class under Communist leadership. The Bolshevik leadership of Lenin and Trotsky fought to *extend* socialist revolution across the planet. Yet because of the great backwardness of Russia and the failure of revolutionary opportunities elsewhere, a bureaucracy developed in the new Soviet republic in the early 1920s. Represented by Joseph Stalin, it wrested political power from the working class through a political counterrevolution, turning the Soviet Union into a degenerated workers state. The essence of Stalinism is summed up in its theory of "socialism in one country": that it is possible to create socialism, the abolition of class inequality, in an isolated and backward country.

Trying to maintain its privileged position, the Stalinist bureaucracy instead sought "peace" with imperialism, later dubbed "peaceful coexistence." It became extremely hostile to extending the Russian Revolution abroad, and in fact sabotaged such attempts and murdered those Bolsheviks, like Trotsky, who remained internationalists. The Stalinist bureaucracy built up a whole system of lies and repression against the Soviet working class. The working class was atomized and demoralized. After decades of slowly strangling the revolution, the Stalinists, more hostile to the workers than to capitalist restoration, stood by during—or actually led—capitalist counterrevolution.

Cuban Stalinists Open Gates of Counterrevolution

At the festival, I got a snapshot of how the Stalinist politics of the Castro leadership has led Cuba into a dead end. The themes of many meetings—such as "Young Entrepreneurs" and "Young Religious Believers"—were far from what I expected at a leftist conference. The main slogan, "For Anti-Imperialist Solidarity, Peace and Friendship," explicitly left out any mention of socialism or the working class in its attempts to cuddle up to pro-capitalist forces. I personally attended a meeting at Havana's Capitolio Nacional where an official of the Cuban government, looking just like a Western yuppie, declaimed the necessity and irreversibility of the "mixed economy"—a bit of socialism and a bit of capitalism. Yet it is this counterrevolution on the installment plan which threatens the revolution.

Bosio/Gamma-Liaison

Castro advised Sandinista leader Daniel Ortega (far right) against expropriating Nicaraguan bourgeoisie and creating "another Cuba."

Following the destruction of the Soviet Union, the Cuban leadership introduced mass layoffs and legalized private entrepreneurship, foreign capital investment and the use of the U.S. dollar. These policies are eerily reminiscent of those introduced by many East European and Soviet Stalinists during their terminal crises—e.g., the *perestroika* introduced by the last Soviet leader, Mikhail Gorbachev. Castro proclaims that he hopes to avoid the "horrible experiences" that destroyed the deformed workers states in East Europe by slowly introducing these reforms, but this is undermining the fibre of the revolution.

Contrary to what Castro and his bureaucrats maintain, it is impossible to build socialism on a tiny island alone. As we wrote in "Cuba, Castro and Che: The Mystique of the Guerrilla Road" (*WV* No. 630, 6 October 1995): "The future of the Cuban Revolution hangs in the balance of class struggle outside the Caribbean island, and this fact underlines the urgent necessity for revolutionary struggle here in the U.S., in Latin America, and elsewhere." But like Stalin and his successors who sought only to maintain their own nationally limited planned economies, Castro is viscerally hostile to the struggle for socialist revolution abroad. In the 1980s, Castro warned leftist guerrillas in Nicaragua against "the Cuban road," advising them not to expropriate the Nicaraguan capitalists and landlords.

This in turn feeds cynicism within the Cuban working class. While I expected to encounter some illusions in capitalism, I was nonetheless appalled by the degree to which Cubans believe in the "wonders" of the capitalist world, especially in "friendly" countries like Canada. Cubans were shocked when I told them about the homelessness, racism and the general material misery of the capitalist world. The bureaucracy's censorship of international news and, more fundamentally, its appeals to world imperialism reinforce these illusions.

But while the U.S. pursues its gunboat version of imperialism toward Cuba, other imperialist countries, such as Canada, simply have a different plan for fomenting counterrevolution. They think it more productive to work *through* the Cuban Stalinist bureaucracy, which is only too happy to oblige. Through tourism, mining and other industries, Western companies are making large profits on the backs of the Cuban working class. The chairman of the Canadian company Sherritt International, Corp., which now runs Cuba's biggest nickel smelter, declared that Cuba "is the best investment opportunity in the world."

Under the rubric of "solidarity," organizations such as the CP and SWP are in fact egging on the final demise of the Cuban Revolution. All youth who are genuinely interested in defending the gains of the revolution should understand this. Only the ICL's internationalist Trotskyist perspective can defend the Cuban deformed workers state. U.S./Canada: Hands off Cuba! Defend Cuba! For proletarian political revolution and international socialism!■

Campus Support...

(continued from page 5)

of minorities. That's the power of labor."

The striking BART workers faced a torrent of anti-union abuse from the capitalist media like the *San Francisco Chronicle*, which railed to its yuppie readers about "greedy" strikers and the commuting problems of the suburban wealthy. Comrade Don concluded the speakout, "This is not a question of public opinion, this is a question of raw class power. The capitalist class and the BART management have the power of the capitalist state and the police on their side. The BART police union signed their contract with an agreement that they would not only get their raise, but on top of that they would get the raise that the BART unions would get through struggle. The *Chronicle* is not crying about overpaying the cops. The cops are on their side. The *Chronicle* is on the side of the bosses. *Workers Vanguard*, the newspaper of the Spartacist League, is on the side of the workers. You should get it and read it. Unchain labor's power! Victory to the BART strike!"

One self-professed "socialist" group, the International Socialist Organization (ISO), capitulated to this anti-strike hysteria and tried to make the strike more acceptable to "inconvenienced" students. The ISO's "support" for striking BART workers on the campus was limited to pushing a mealy-mouthed petition begging President Corrigan to "openly support the strike and to excuse students who are absent or late to classes." According to the *Golden Gater*, some of the students who signed this petition opposed the strike! This is the same Corrigan who ordered a cop riot squad to brutally disperse a multiracial group of students who were trying to defend a mural of Malcolm X against administration attempts to remove it in 1994.

Thus it was no surprise that the ISO refused to participate in our openly communist demonstration; instead they held a tiny five-minute "rally" at which the *only* speaker was a union bureaucrat whose speech apologized for the effect the strike was having on the public!

In contrast to our call for the independence of the working class from the bosses and their political parties, the ISO seeks simply to pressure the current pro-Democratic Party misleaders who are wedded to upholding the racist capitalist system. At the same time, the ISO believes that security guards, prison guards and even cops can "collectively rebel" against capitalism! (See "ISO: Looking for a Few Good Cops," *WV* No. 664, 21 March.) The cops' scab-herding attacks against strikers and the ever-present threat of federal intervention showed clearly which class the government and its thugs in blue "protect and serve."

The SYC attacked the anti-union smear job of the capitalist press aped by the administration's lackeys on the campus newspaper, the *Golden Gater*, which whined that the "strike strands students." The ISO essentially echoed this line of reasoning: "If there was a hurricane and all the bridges were washed out, you wouldn't be dropped out of your classes because you missed three classes because the bridge washed away" (*Golden Gater*, 9 September). For real socialists, a strike isn't a disaster but an ***opportunity*** to fight oppression!

Our class-struggle program is not predicated on public opinion polls, or begging representatives of the class enemy like Corrigan, Brown or Clinton. We seek to win students and youth to the side of the working class in the struggle against capitalist exploitation and oppression. The Spartacus Youth Club seeks to win students to an understanding of the necessity of allying with the working class in the struggle for communist revolution. Join us!■

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Enlightenment...

(continued from page 7)

hands of his fellow men? For Rousseau, the basis of society and the root of all evil in the modern world was the institution of property:

> "The first man who, having enclosed a piece of land, thought of saying 'This is mine' and found people simple enough to believe him, was the true founder of civil society. How many crimes, wars, murders; how much misery and horror the human race would have been spared if someone had pulled up the stakes and filled in the ditch and cried out to his fellow men: 'Beware of listening to this impostor. You are lost if you forget that the fruits of the earth belong to everyone and that the earth itself belongs to no one!'"

Man, of course, can never return to a pre-social "state of nature." Thus Rousseau's ideal—and it was an *ideal*, not a program—was a democratic and egalitarian society in which there would be "no citizen so rich as to be able to buy another, none so poor as to be forced to sell himself." He envisioned small, self-governing communities of independent farmers and artisans.

From a Marxist standpoint, two fundamental criticisms can be leveled against Rousseau, leaving aside his myth of a pre-social state of nature. The first of these criticisms was also made by other Enlightenment thinkers, especially Voltaire. This was Rousseau's economic primitivism, his aversion to technological progress and to what would now be called a rising standard of living.

Rousseau and Adam Smith shared the same basic premise but drew opposite conclusions from it. Both maintained that a technologically dynamic economy necessarily generated widespread inequalities. The men who invented and financed new machines or improved agricultural techniques would exploit these advantages to acquire riches for themselves. New items of consumption could not be made available to everyone but would be enjoyed only by the wealthy. Hence Rousseau's democratic republic had to be based on Spartan austerity and a static technology. The actual society which came closest to his ideal was that of the mountaineer peasant villages of his native Switzerland, an economically backward region even by the standards of mid-18th century Europe.

At the beginning of this talk, I quoted a contemporary of Marx to the effect that he had united, among other thinkers, Rousseau and Voltaire. The main way in which Marx did this was to combine Rousseau's commitment to a democratic and egalitarian society with Voltaire's understanding that advances in science and technology are key to social progress.

The second fundamental criticism of Rousseau from a Marxist standpoint is one which is applicable to Enlightenment social thought in general. Rousseau maintained that it was the institution of property which caused men to become selfish, envious, ambitious. At the same time, the desire for wealth and power drives men to acquire and maintain property. How then is it possible to break out of this vicious circle?

As Plekhanov explained in *The Development of the Monist View of History*, Enlightenment social thought was in a sense circular. Prevailing opinions or attitudes are said to be determined by existing institutions. And existing institutions were sustained by prevailing opinions. How then did Enlightenment thinkers expect social and political progress to come about, how did they expect to bridge the gulf between what existed in the present and what they wanted in the future?

[TO BE CONTINUED]

Australia...

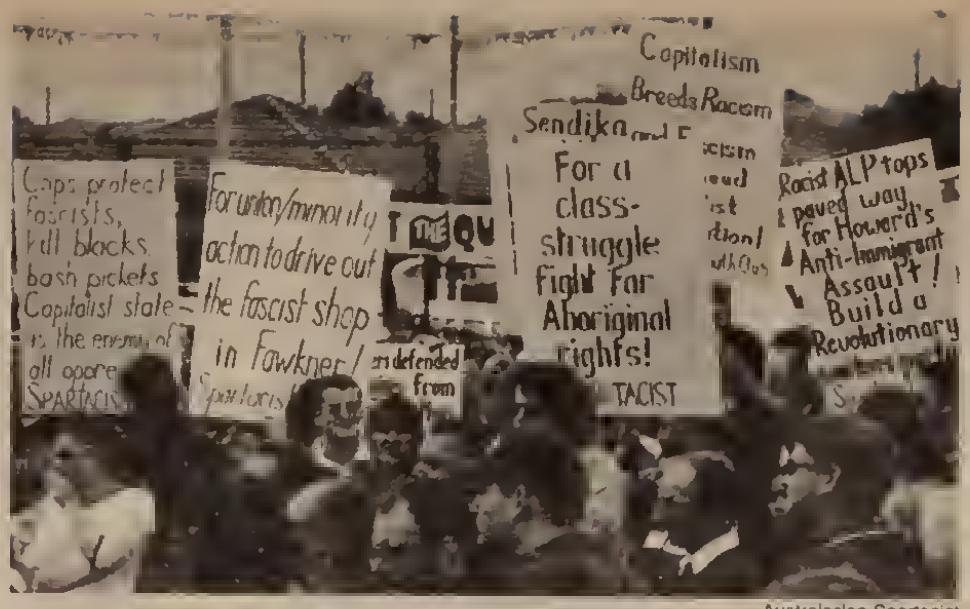
(continued from page 3)

and utterly dispossessed Aboriginal peoples. In August this year, the High Court denied financial awards to Aboriginal families subjected to decades of state-enforced kidnapping of their children under the rubric of "assimilation." The ruling came just over two months after the government's own Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission described the monstrous kidnapping of up to 100,000 Aboriginal children between 1910 and 1970 as "genocide" and called for monetary redress for Aborigines. Howard responded by announcing he would refuse to abide by the finding, intoning against "extremist views" portraying Australia's history as "little more than a disgraceful record of imperialism, exploitation and racism" (*Australian*, 27 May). And in the face of a racist backlash by farming and mining interests, Howard has moved to cut off even the minimal social programs and land rights decisions for Aborigines from previous governments.

Along with the exclusion of Asian labour codified in the "White Australia" policy adopted at the turn of this century, the murderous dispossession of Aboriginal peoples was part of the bedrock of Australian capitalism. Today, the very survival of these marginalised people, who are condemned to lives of unemployment and abject poverty and subject to unmitigated racist cop terror, demands nothing less than sweeping away capitalist rule through workers revolution.

Especially now, with the Howard government employing its arsenal of anti-strike laws to break the unions, it is in the immediate interests of the organised working class to mobilise in defence of the rights of Aborigines and all the oppressed. The Common Youth Allowance, which cuts off tens of thousands of youth from unemployment benefits, was prepared by the Keating Labor government's denial of social security benefits to newly arrived immigrants. The "work for the dole" scheme, which conscripts thousands of unemployed youth for forced labour, undercutting union wages and conditions, was first piloted on Aboriginal people. The virulently racist underpinnings of such measures are meant to poison the consciousness of the multi-ethnic proletariat, so that the capitalists can continue to divide and rule.

As communists, we aim to forge a Leninist vanguard party that would be a tribune of the people, fighting all manifestations of national, racial and sexual oppression. The storming of Parliament during a trade-union demonstration in August last year, which was sparked when workers came to the defence of an Aboriginal contingent attacked by the cops, gave a small taste of the sort of integrated class struggle that is desperately needed. But such a struggle requires politically combatting the hold over the working class of the Labor Party and pro-capitalist ACTU union tops, who responded to the August demonstration by collaborating with a vicious state witchhunt, fingering militants and purging trade unionists who acted in defence of their Aboriginal brothers and sisters.



Australasian Spartacist

Spartacist contingent at protest last March against fascist National Action "bookshop" in Fawkner, heavily immigrant suburb of Melbourne.

"Leftists" in Labor Party's Shadow

At the moment, Hanson's virulent racism has galvanised previously quiescent layers of the society into political motion. Significantly, protest demonstrations have included large numbers from the increasing immigrant component of the Australian working class. Opposition to Hanson is also growing in ruling circles, who understand she is very bad for business. The previously booming tourist trade from Japan has been dropping precipitously, while university officials bemoan the fact that Hanson's anti-Asian xenophobic tirades have caused a severe drop in the enrollment of fee-paying students from South Korea to Malaysia.

With even the most despotic right-wing Asian regimes chastising their Australian counterparts over Hanson, Canberra's foreign trade office recently established a special division dedicated to promoting Australia's "image" in Asia! The federal government has gerrymandered Hanson's electoral district to push her out in the next elections.

Now that it is out of office, the Labor Party occasionally likes to posture as opponents of Hanson's xenophobia and blunt racism. This is even as Labor parliamentarians give their assent to virtually all of the Howard government's vicious racist initiatives, while New South Wales Labor premier Bob Carr is in the forefront of whipping up hysteria against "Asian drug gangs" and pushing for tighter immigration restrictions. But closer to the ground, Labor spokesmen have been prominent in many anti-Hanson protests.

The reaction in the bourgeoisie and Labor officialdom against Hanson has opened the door for the reformist left to push the line of class collaboration. Thus, while the ISO is portrayed in the bourgeois press as some sort of wild-eyed radicals for their demand to "shut down" Hanson, in reality the ISO is making this call on *the bourgeoisie and its state*. The ISO is circulating a petition calling on Parliament to oust Hanson, appealing to the same racist capitalist government that produced this fascistic menace to clean up its act. *Socialist Worker* (4 July) also hails the measure taken by the Ashfield City Council in Sydney, put forward by a Labor councillor, to ban meetings of Hanson's followers.

Even the ISO's tepid reformist approach can seem positively militant, however, when compared to the civil-libertarian Democratic Socialist Party (DSP). Feeling heat from the media's witchhunting, the DSP wrote in *Green Left Weekly* (6 August) that "only a small minority of the left (the International Socialist Organisation and the Spartacist League) advocate closing down One Nation meetings." The DSP not only wilfully confuses the SL's perspective for a class-struggle fight against racist oppression with the ISO's liberal reliance on the state, but spits on the thousands of Asians, Aborigines, students and other activists who have mobilised to stop Hanson and her racist rabble.

While the DSP's attempts to pose as "reasonable" leftists as opposed to the ISO would repel anyone seeking to fight racist oppression and the profit system that breeds it, the ISO's appeals to the bourgeois state and its Labor councillors to ban bad people and bad ideas are no less a danger. The ISO sows the illusion that the bourgeois state—at its core composed of the police, army, prisons and courts, providing the armed fist of capitalist rule—can be pressured to act in the interests of the oppressed. The cops' attacks on anti-Hanson protesters and other assaults on democratic rights are a warning that whatever measures the state may take against Hanson and her followers will only be triply enforced against anti-racists, the left and the unions.

For their part, the centrists of Workers Power (WP) have emblazoned their articles on Hanson with the call "no free speech for racists." This demand is inherently absurd. Racism is endemic to capitalist society, so who exactly would WP deny a platform to? Certainly not the chauvinist swine who run the Labor Party, which WP assiduously tails. In practice, this slogan boils down to another liberal appeal to clean up the system of racist oppression. WP also claims that this demand is not a "call upon the capitalist state to censor racists" (*Workers Power*, July/September 1997). But this is precisely what is happening, as Labor-run city councils from the Sydney and Melbourne suburbs to Ipswich and Brisbane ban Hanson's meetings from premises they control.

As to the fascists increasingly active around Hanson, the question is not one of speech but of *deeds*. The fascists are not based on a program of ideas, but of racist violence and murder, ultimately aimed at destroying the organised workers movement. They must be stopped through mass united-front mobilisations centred on the trade unions and uniting behind them all of the fascists' intended victims. In regard to the fight against the opening of National Action's "bookshop" in Fawkner, Melbourne, the ISO, WP and other fake socialists in the Coalition Against the Nazis *opposed* this proletarian perspective.

The Fight for Revolutionary Leadership

What unites reformists like the ISO with the centrist WP is their common fealty to the Labor Party and the trade-union bureaucracy—the "labour lieutenants of the capitalist class." This is captured in the call trumpeted on ISO leaflets to "fight the right" and mimicked in *Workers Power*'s lead headline on Hanson, "Fight the Racist Right." Historically, "fight the right" has been the watchword for class-collaborationist coalitions tying the working class to a supposed "progressive" wing of the bourgeoisie. In Australia, this is accomplished through the instrumentality of the Labor Party and trade-union tops. The Laborite left forms a syphilitic chain between these pro-capitalist misleaders and militant workers, minorities and youth, religiously calling for support to Labor in *every* election.

It is remarkable but predictable that in its two articles on Hanson, *Workers Power* studiously avoids taking up the issue of protectionism—one of Hanson's chief calling cards—because it is the Labor/trade-union tops who are today among the most rabid proponents of high tariffs to "protect" Australian industry. National-chauvinist protectionism is poison to the class struggle, sowing the lie that workers and their exploiters have joint class interests.

The submersion of the "left" in Laborite social democracy has given the misnamed "Socialist Equality Party" (SEP) a chance to posture as somewhat orthodox Marxists, condemning the ISO for acting "to keep any movement of workers and youth chained to the Labor and union bureaucracies" (*Workers News*, 13 June). But potential buyers of the SEP's Marxist pretences should beware. In their articles on Hanson, the SEP offers no concrete demands in defence of the oppressed while denouncing in *Workers News* (30 May) the "'anti-Hanson' campaigns being waged by the various radical groups" as "hysterical"—a charge which rather neatly dovetails with the current media/police witchhunt against the left.

Furthermore, *Workers News* (13 June) dismisses Aboriginal land rights altogether on the grounds that "the very conception of ownership of land was completely alien" to Aboriginal society. Unfortunately for the colour-blind SEP, the colonial conquerors *did* have a precise concept of property, which they proceeded to steal outright. On top of this, the SEP has written off the trade unions as no longer workers organisations of any kind. In equating the mass economic organisations of the working class with their traitorous, pro-capitalist misleaders, the SEP renounces the necessary political struggle against the union bureaucrats every bit as much as the Laborite left.

The all-sided ruling-class assault on immigrants, Aborigines, youth and the unions highlights that the struggles of workers and minorities must advance together or they will surely all fall back. To address the near-record levels of unemployment, we call for a shorter workweek at no loss in pay to provide jobs for all. Against the racist, chauvinist protectionism pushed by the Labor/trade-union misleaders, which helped prepare the ground for Hanson, we fight for internationalist proletarian struggle against all the capitalist rulers of the region. Asian immigrant workers will play a key role in the class struggle in Australia, and form a bridge to workers in the rest of Asia. For a workers republic of Australia, part of a socialist Asia!

The fight for socialist revolution requires above all the forging of a revolutionary leadership for the working class and the oppressed—a communist vanguard party. Such a party can only be built through irreconcilable political struggle against the Laborite misleaders and their reformist and centrist tails. ■

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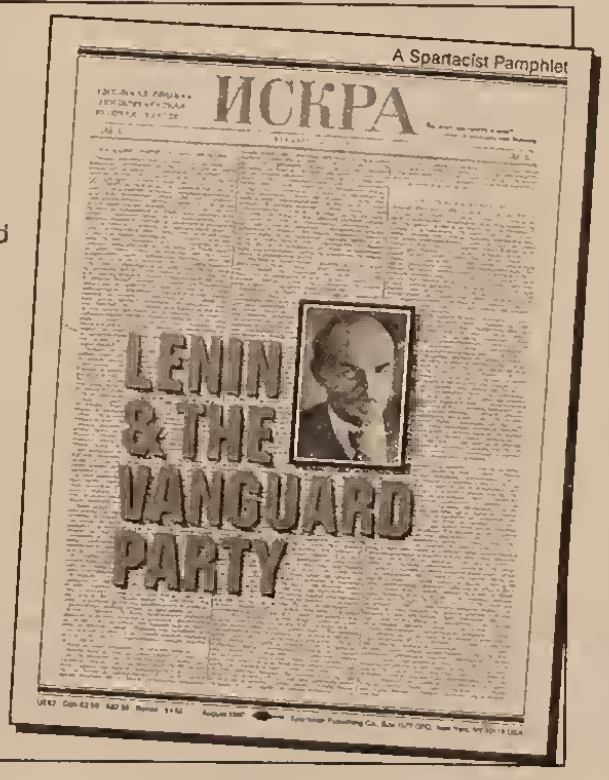


BART Strike...

(continued from page 12)

That is what is behind the howls against "overpaid" city workers, whose relatively higher wages expose just how far the wages of industrial workers have fallen. To bring these unions down is largely why Brown was brought in from his former powerful job as speaker of the state assembly. His predecessor, the ex-cop Frank Jordan, could never have gotten away with what Brown is doing. Brown's strikebreaking role underscores that the capitalist Democratic Party is the enemy of workers and the oppressed. ***Break with the Democrats—We need a multiracial, class-struggle workers party!***

In this class-divided society, with the capitalists on top amassing wealth from the labor of the working class, the police are there to defend the ill-gotten riches of their ruling-class masters against those they exploit. There were widespread illusions on the picket lines, however, that BART cops, who have been organized into another local of the SEIU, are different. These illusions were systematically spread by the union officials, including ATU Local 1555 president Bob Smith, who went so far as to thank the cops publicly and welcome their support at a September 12 union rally.

AP

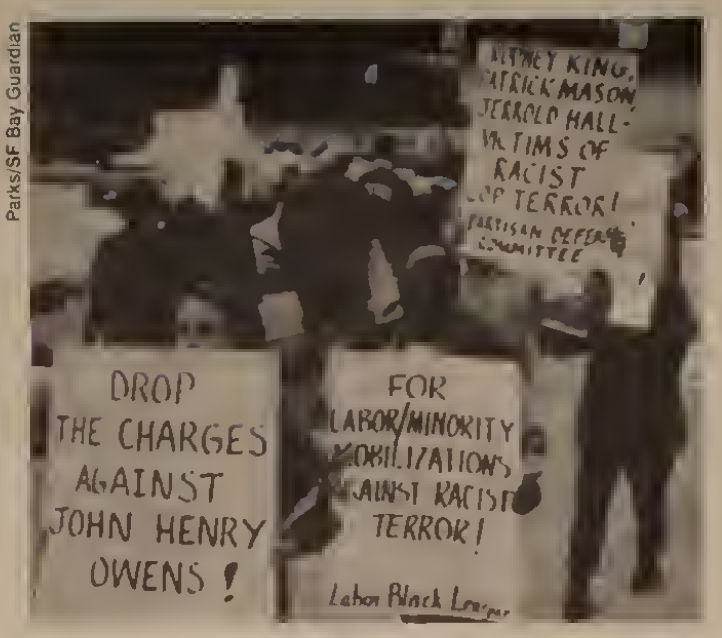
Strikebreaking San Francisco Democratic Party mayor Willie Brown.

Make no mistake: BART cops work for the racist, anti-union BART bosses—they are the ones who escort workers out when fired. Their job in any militant workers action is to smash it. During the 1979 conflict, BART police were assembled in a nearby building and readied for an assault on a militant union occupation of the Concord maintenance yard.

It was a racist BART cop who blew away black teenager Jerrold Hall with a shotgun blast to the back of the head in November 1992—just like the San Francisco cops who brutally beat to death black San Francisco resident Aaron Williams in 1995 and one year later did the same to Teamster trucker Mark Garcia; or the Rohnert Park cops who carried out the racist execution of Chinese American scientist Kuanchung Kao last April. Cops are not workers but racist, strikebreaking thugs for the capitalist class. BART cops have no place in the SEIU, any more than the cops and prison guards organized by AFSCME and the Teamsters belong in the ranks of labor. ***Cops out of the unions!***

For a Class-Struggle Leadership!

The program of the AFL-CIO labor bureaucracy is ***class collaboration***, sacrificing the economic and social interests of the workers to ensure the profitability of American corporations. Thus the union tops have overseen the drastic decline in workers' wages over the last two decades. This class collaboration is codified in their strategic alliance with the Democratic Party, which dates back to the "New Deal" of Franklin D. Roosevelt in the 1930s. Many top AFL-CIO officials sit on the central committees of state Democratic parties.



Oakland protest, March 1993, denounces BART cop killing of black teenager Jerrold Hall.

The fact that this collaboration with the class enemy is directly ***counterposed*** to the independent mobilization of labor's potential economic and political power was starkly revealed in the way the BART strike was ended behind the backs of union members. BART spokesman Larry Kamer credits the intervention of top state and regional AFL-CIO bureaucrats with ending the strike, remarking that the union negotiators "needed to have someone at a high level who had the kind of authority to pull people together and perhaps even knock a few heads" (*San Francisco Examiner*, 14 September).

The "high level" delegation included Art Pulaski, head of the California Labor Federation, and Walter Johnson, Owen Marron and John Dalrymple, who respectively head the San Francisco, Alameda and Contra Costa County Central Labor Councils. It was this crew of more "experienced" labor traitors which came up with the four-year wage deal that was calculated to deceive the workers. Meanwhile, top Democratic Party politicians like Brown, Oakland mayor Elihu Harris and state legislator (and anti-gun nut) Don Perata piled in behind the scenes to ratchet up the pressure for a settlement. With Democratic "friends" like these, who needs enemies like Republican governor Pete Wilson?!

The "new" leaderships elected in both ATU Local 1555 and SEIU Local 790 to replace the hated leaderships that sold them out in past contract fights proved to be no better. They, too, caved in to BART management and to political pressure from the ruling class. This had little to do with their supposed lack of experience. The real problem is that they ***share*** the same pro-Democratic Party policies and outlook as the people they replaced. As we wrote in "Government Hands Off the Teamsters!" (*WV* No. 673, 5 September):

> "While starting on the picket lines, the struggle to reverse the last 20 years of defeats is going to take more than just union militancy. It's going to take a new kind of ***political*** leadership that knows that the interests of labor and capital are absolutely counterposed. It means breaking from the Democratic Party and forging in struggle a fighting workers party that not only knows how to win strikes, but also knows that 'labor peace' will only come when the workers take state power. Those who labor must rule!" ■

Mumia...

(continued from page 2)

the UPS strike:

> "If the labor movement is to be revitalized, it must actively take up the fight against racist terror and champion all those victimized by the capitalist rulers. As Mumia continues to struggle and speak out from death row on behalf of the oppressed, it is urgent that labor and all fighters against racist injustice take up his cause."

In 1994, the PDC responded to NPR's cancellation of Mumia's broadcasts by organizing a united-front speakout in New York City hosted by actor Ossie Davis. Participants heard Mumia's own voice through messages taped from behind prison walls, as well as dramatic readings by Davis and others of his commentaries. This effort helped propel wide notice of Jamal's cause, which swelled into a tidal wave of publicity and protest internationally, including by tens of thousands of anti-racist youth and workers, after the signing of his death warrant a year later. It was this mass public outcry that won a stay of execution in August 1995.

Mumia's case throws a glaring spotlight on the barbaric death penalty, which stands at the apex of the capitalist system of repression. While driving down wages and axing social welfare programs, this country's rulers are drastically beefing up their apparatus of state terror. Central to that is the speedup on death row, where executions are taking place at a rate greater than at any time since the 1930s. Last week, death row inmates in Mansfield, Ohio rebelled in desperation as the state prepares for its first execution in almost 35 years. Meanwhile, on the streets of the impoverished ghettos and barrios, racist cops feel emboldened to carry out the most heinous atrocities. This was recently seen in the sadistic torture by New York City cops of Haitian immigrant Abner Louima in Brooklyn.

It is in the direct interest of the labor movement to champion Mumia's cause as part of the fight against the entire system of racist capitalist repression. The kind of frame-up methods, spying and violence employed against Mumia and other fighters for the oppressed have time and again been used against strike militants and the trade unions. In August 1995, as Mumia's execution loomed, the PDC initiated labor-centered united-front protests in New York City and Oakland, California. These protests were based on the understanding of the social power residing in an aroused labor movement standing at the head of oppressed minorities. That power must be brought to bear now in the fight to free Mumia and abolish the racist death penalty. It is in the course of such struggles that the multiracial working class, under the leadership of a revolutionary party, can and must be armed with the consciousness of its historic task: to sweep away the murderous capitalist state through socialist revolution.

* * *

Join the fight to free Mumia! Pass resolutions and raise much-needed contributions for Jamal's defense in your unions and campus and community organizations. Contact the PDC—New York: P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013-0099, phone (212) 406-4252; Chicago: P.O. Box 802867, Chicago, IL 60680-2867, phone (312) 454-4931; Bay Area: P.O. Box 77462, San Francisco, CA 94107-0462, phone (510) 839-0852.

Contributions for Mumia's legal defense should be made payable to the Bill of Rights Foundation (earmarked "Mumia Abu-Jamal Legal Defense") and mailed to: Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, 163 Amsterdam Ave., No. 115, New York, New York 10023-5001. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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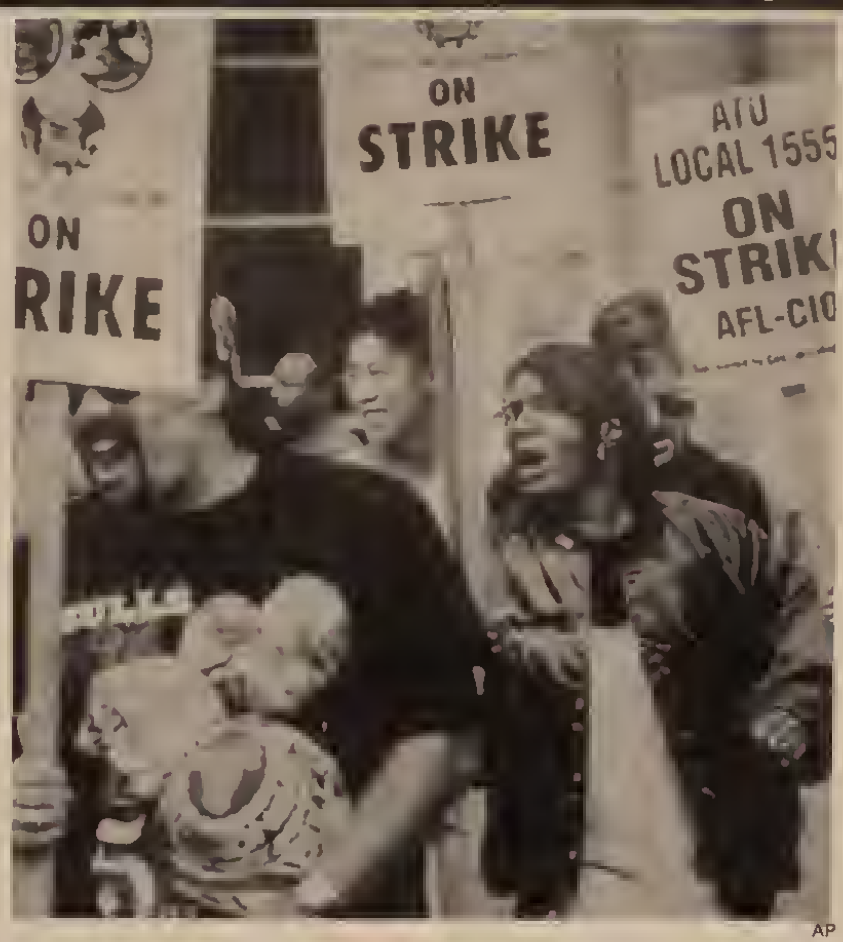
Break with the Democrats! Fight for a Workers Party!

SAN FRANCISCO, September 14—In a treacherous move by the labor bureaucracy working hand in hand with assorted Democratic politicians, a six-day strike against the Bay Area Rapid Transit (BART) system was ended abruptly early Saturday morning when union leaders came out of all-night negotiations and declared that a settlement had been reached with BART management. By 5 a.m., all picket lines had been dismantled and workers were instructed to report for work beginning at 9 p.m. that night. According to news reports, no membership vote is to be permitted until the end of the following week, long after the system is up and running.

From the limited information available, it is clear that this deal struck behind closed doors has ended the strike without winning on the two central issues. The first was an end to the hated two-tier wage system, introduced in 1994 with the connivance of the BART union bureaucrats. According to the tentative agreement, it will take three to four years for new-hires to reach full wages, and starting pay will remain about the same fraction of full pay as previously—as much as 25 percent less.

The second key demand was for a substantial wage increase. A wage package spread over the new four-year contract is deliberately intended to convey the illusion that workers are getting more money than the 3 percent per year over three years that represented BART's "best and final offer." That offer was overwhelmingly rejected by the membership before the strike began. The settlement provides for a four-year contract with *no* pay raise in the first year and 4 percent in each of the three remaining years, which averages out to the same amount that BART originally offered. A $3,000 bonus, which does not affect base pay, was thrown in as a sweetener. BART director Dan Richard claims the $43 million price tag on the contract is simply the number you get when you extend the original $28 million offer over four years instead of three (*San Francisco Examiner*, 14 September). This sleight of hand is now being pushed as a "victory" by the labor tops.

The six-day walkout was the longest shutdown of BART since 1979, when a combination lockout and strike lasted three months. Since then, however, BART ridership has more than doubled to 275,000 passengers a day, including 40 percent of those who commute from the expanding high-income bedroom communities of the East Bay to San Francisco's financial district. It was this white yuppie and upper-middle-class commuter crowd that was the core of a really savage outburst of anti-working-class hatred which was directed against the strike from the beginning and was orchestrated by the union-hating media. Newspapers and airwaves were filled with hysterical denunciations of the "highly paid" BART workers. And since the BART unions are heavily integrated, like other municipal workers unions, there was also an underlying racist component to this vicious union-baiting campaign.



AP

Integrated BART unions fought against hated two-tier wage system. Strike was called off in backroom deal by labor tops and Democratic Party politicians.

Train operators and station agents, organized in Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) Local 1555, and maintenance and office workers of the BART chapter of Service Employees (SEIU) Local 790 were ready to walk out when their contracts expired last June 30. On July 2, Republican governor Pete Wilson imposed a 60-day "cooling off" period, hoping to dissipate the workers' determination as in the past. But this ploy backfired, as BART workers were clearly energized by the example of the successful Teamsters strike against UPS that took place in the interim. At union meetings called to vote on BART's "last and final offer," workers gave the arrogant employers a resounding repudiation. Nearly two-thirds of the membership of both unions turned out. SEIU Local 790 members voted it down by an overwhelming 83 percent; in ATU Local 1555, only 13 votes could be found in favor.

Since the "tiers" took effect on New Year's Day 1995, recently hired BART workers have grown increasingly angry as their wages are held below those hired earlier. One placard at picket lines in Oakland declared simply: "Tiers of Rage." The strikers' demand for *equal pay for equal work* resonated with workers and minorities who have faced attack after attack: the racist ban on affirmative action; the witchhunting of immigrants; rampant police terror against blacks, Latinos and striking workers; "downsizing" and wage cuts, all to further bloat the enormous wealth of the rich capitalists at the top. This was a fight that all working people, minorities and poor in the Bay Area had a stake in winning.

Democratic Party: Enemy of Labor

The BART strike was not defeated on the picket lines, which remained solid throughout. Instead it was called off in the back rooms by the labor bureaucracy and their Democratic Party "friends of labor," without workers getting what they thought they were fighting for. As we said in our *Workers Vanguard* supplement (27 August)—"Teamsters Face Down UPS Bosses—Unchain Labor's Power!"—which was well received by many on the BART picket lines: "The union bureaucracy sees 'allies' in the agencies of the class enemy—the government, the cops, the courts.... In the U.S., the main obstacle to successful class struggle against the capitalists is the allegiance to the Democratic Party of the labor bureaucracy as well as of a majority of the working class itself."

BART workers deeply resented Wilson's intervention to postpone their strike. Right-wing State Senator Quentin Kopp has also tried to pass a law banning all strikes by transit workers. But when Willie Brown, San Francisco's Democratic Party mayor, complained last week that the strike was hurting the city and called both sides to his office to end it, the union tops cheered. Many workers on the picket lines also expressed illusions in Brown. Yet this was government intervention in another form, intended like Wilson's "cooling off" order and Kopp's move to restrain and curtail working-class struggle on behalf of the capitalist rulers all these politicians represent. The only difference is that in Brown's case, the class enemy was *welcomed* by the treacherous bureaucrats, who promote illusions in the Democratic Party, which is no less a capitalist party than the Republicans.

The SEIU was a major organizer for Brown's mayoral campaign in 1995, so it's no surprise that the Local 790 tops would welcome him with open arms. Likewise, the entire AFL-CIO bureaucracy mobilized to support Brown, one of the few remaining black mayors, who is seen as particularly pro-labor. But since he took office, Brown has made a special target of the heavily black transit workers in San Francisco's MUNI bus and streetcar system. Appointing his personal hatchet man, Emilio Cruz, as transit czar, Brown has carried out a vicious ongoing campaign against the MUNI drivers union and their "exorbitant" wages, the same theme used against the BART strikers. Cruz nearly provoked a wildcat sick-out in the spring by drivers furious over the firing of a veteran black woman driver.

When San Francisco's garbage workers, represented by the Teamsters, struck for the first time in 50 years last April, Brown threatened to use other city workers to scab, then engineered a sellout which ended the strike after three days. Furthermore, Brown is running a vicious slave-labor, union-busting "workfare" program, forcing largely minority unemployed people to work alongside union workers at half or one-third the wages with no benefits. Brown arrogantly sneers that "workfare" union organizing attempts are "silly."

As reflected in these attacks, the ruling class is targeting public employee unions, whose wages have remained relatively higher than in the more decimated private sector. And because of greater job security due to civil service laws, city workers are less easily pressured into concessions.

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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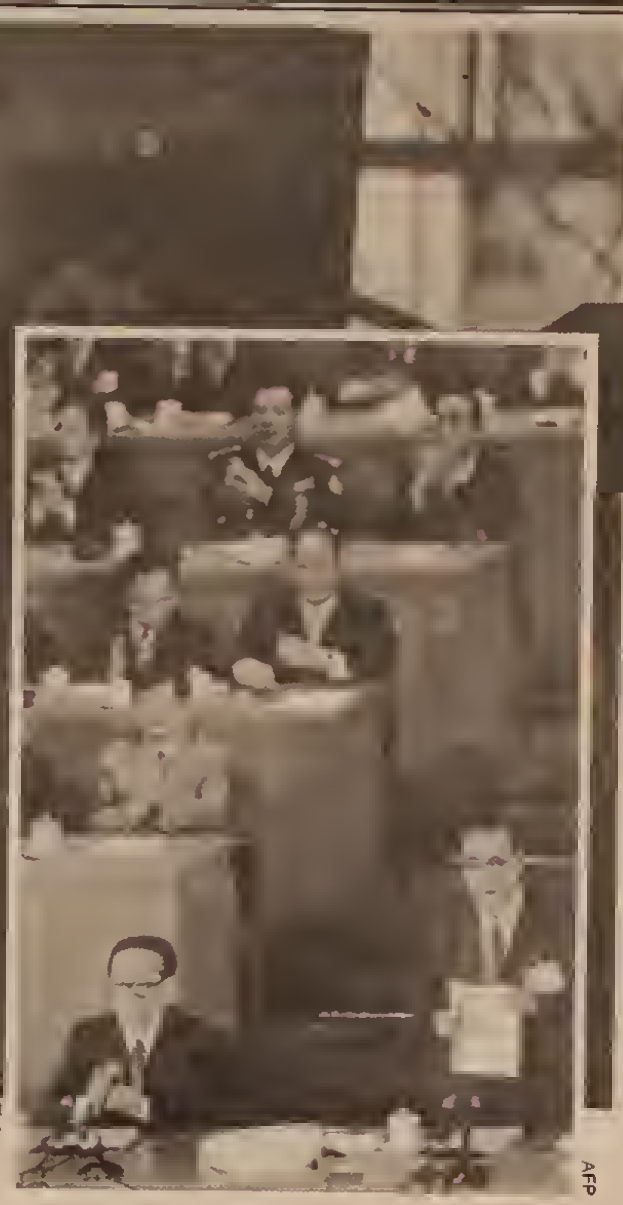
No. 675

3 October 1997

Chinese CP Plans Liquidation of State Economy

China on the Brink

For Workers Political Revolution to Stop Capitalist Restoration!



Plan to sell off state industry announced by CCP chief Jiang Zemin (inset, seated left) at September congress threatens restoration of capitalism, destitution for Chinese workers and peasants.

Fred Scott

AFP

China is moving rapidly toward a decisive crossroads. More than 15 years of "market reforms" have led to an ever-burgeoning capitalist sector, as more and more workers are subjected to brutal exploitation through direct foreign investment, "joint ventures" and profit-making "collective" enterprises. Now, at the 15th National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) held in September, the Stalinist bureaucracy has announced plans to sell off the bulk of state-owned industry.

If implemented, this proposal would meon the liquidation of what remains of the planned, collectivized economy ond tlie restoration of capitalism in Chino. This starkly underscores tlie urgent need for a proletarian political revolution wliich sweeps away the vile Stalinist bureaucracy, replacing it with the democratic rule of workers and peasants councils committed to tlie fight for socialist revolution througliout Asia and beyond.

While holding on to key strategic industries which account for about half the output of the state sector, the Beijing regime intends to privatize the vast majority of the 300,000 state-owned concerns which form the core of the industrial economy and employ over a hundred million workers. The elimination of state subsidies means that many of these plants would be shut down outright or their workforces slashed in the interests of "profitability," effectively shattering the already cracked "iron rice bowl" of guaranteed lifetime employment and social services. Untold millions of workers would face destitution, losing not only their jobs but the housing, medical care, education and retirement benefits which are tied to employment in state-owned industries.

When China took over Hong Kong on July 1, we welcomed the removal of the British colonialists while warning that the maintenance of capitalism in this stronghold of the Chinese bourgeoisie would be a dagger aimed straight at the deformed workers state. Now, the plan to privatize a massive number of state industries on the mainland itself can only further strengthen those forces inside and outside China aiming to overturn the remaining gains of the 1949 Revolution.

The latest measures, announced as Chinese premier and CCP head Jiang Zemin prepares for a summit meeting with U.S. imperialist chief Clinton later this fall, have long been demanded by the World Bank and other imperialist agencies. The Clinton administration immediately declared it "salutes and welcomes" the privatization plan. Beijing has also moved to slash protective tariffs—further undermining the state monopoly of foreign trade—as part of its effort to join the imperialist-dominated World Trade Organization.

Since the introduction of "market reforms" under the late Deng Xiaoping, the corrupt "Communist" bureaucrats have taken every opportunity to enrich themselves and their offspring, the notorious "princelings," as they dream of becoming a new exploiting class in their own right. But there has yet to be a final reckoning with the working masses. While glowingly praising Jiang's privatization proposal, *Business Week* (29 September) warned that "considering the risks of worker unrest, it's a bold agenda." China, it wrote, "is actually living dangerously close to the edge."

The outpouring of workers during the 1989 Tiananmen Square protests posed the imminent possibility of a proletarian political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracy. That uprising was bloodily suppressed. But in recent years there has been a rising tide of workers struggles against the effects of "free market" measures, initially centered on the capitalist "special economic zones" and now rapidly spreading to state factories in the country's industrial heartland.

Time has grown very short for the Chinese proletariat to defeat those who aim to throw the workers and peasants back to conditions of untrammeled exploitation and servitude. But as we wrote earlier this year, "Acts of militancy on the economic plane are not enough to stop the counterrevolutionary tide. It is necessary for the working class to enter the political plane" ("China on the Brink—Workers Political Revolution or Capitalist Enslavement?" *Spartacist* [English edition] No. 53, Summer 1997). The International Communist League fights to forge the Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard party needed to lead the Chinese proletariat in a political revolution to stop capitalist counterrevolution.

Turmoil in the Heartland

The 1949 Revolution resulted from the victory of Mao's peasant-based guerrilla forces over the brutal Guomindang regime of Chiang Kai-shek. While overthrowing capitalist rule and liberating the country from the tyranny of landlords

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Rallying 'Round the Queen

Blair's Labour Fashions Facelift for British Monarchy

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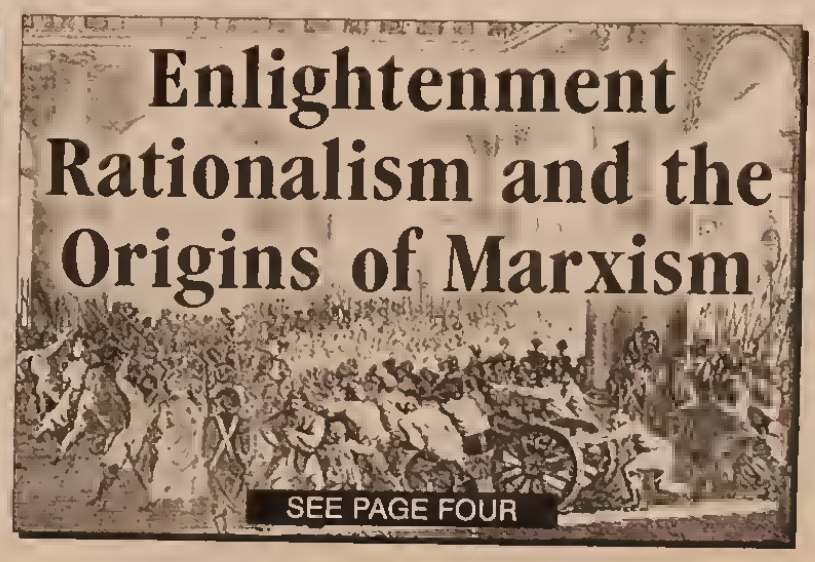
Enlightenment Rationalism and the Origins of Marxism



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State Vendetta Against Mumia Ensnares Son

Mumia's son Jamal Hart speaking at 1995 New York City rally initiated by Partisan Defense Committee and hosted by Ossie Davis (seated, left).

WV Photo

In a flagrantly vindictive act against a man who has campaigned for his father's freedom, 26-year-old Jamal Hart, son of death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal, has been thrown behind bars and faces a mandatory 20-year sentence on bogus weapons possession charges. Jamal Hart is the victim of a transparent frame-up cooked up by the Philadelphia police and taken over by the feds, who are now holding him in a Virginia jail. Jamal's arrest is a continuation of the deadly vendetta against Mumia, who adopted the surname Abu-Jamal—"father of Jamal"—when his son was born. At a court appearance, Hart stressed that his own arrest was carried out "very much with prejudice, because of my background and the individual that I am." Drop all the charges—Free Jamal Hart now!

Hart's car was stopped on a Philadelphia street last October after allegedly rolling through a stop sign. During the arrest, the cops put a gun to his head and stomped on him while he was on the ground. The cops claim to have found a Smith and Wesson .357 Magnum handgun in Hart's waistband. The cop who "found" the gun on Jamal was the same one who took down a report on the theft of this very same gun—three and a half years earlier—from a coffee shop steps away from the scene of Hart's arrest.

A couple of days after being arraigned on state weapons possession charges—which do not even necessarily carry jail time—Jamal was released without bail. The Philly police then provocatively circulated an official flyer looking like a "wanted" poster—with Hart's photo and arrest information—which was clearly aimed at alerting other cops that he was fair game.

When Hart appeared for his trial in a Philadelphia court on January 30, two federal marshals marched in and announced that the case was being taken over by the feds. Under the corresponding federal statute, the same weapons possession charge carries a ***mandatory sentence of 20 years***. The feds' move against Hart is but one example of the ominous expansion of federal jurisdiction over a vast array of crimes, almost all of which carry mandatory penalties enormously greater than those specified by corresponding state laws.

Jamal was immediately dragged off to jail, denied bail, and recently transferred to a prison in Virginia. As Mumia wrote in a letter to the PDC: "His transfer represents punishment *before* trial; as his bust itself is punishment for his efforts on behalf of his dad." The Virginia prison has no law library and is far away from Hart's lawyers, investigators and family. His case is coming to trial on October 14 in federal court in Philadelphia.

Even on death row, Mumia Abu-Jamal remains one of Philadelphia's "most wanted" in the eyes of the cops and their allies. In February 1995, Jamal Hart brought a moving personal voice to the fight for his father's life and freedom when he spoke at a united-front rally initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee in New York City. Jamal Hart told the audience, if we "unite for this cause and many other causes in the future we will open up gateways for all of us." Now we must fight to open the prison gates that have closed behind Jamal Hart as well. Free Jamal Hart! Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the racist death penalty!■

TROTSKY

LENIN

British Labourism, Monarchy and Revolution

While the pro-capitalist British Labour Party upholds reactionary institutions like the monarchy, Marxists seek to sweep away this anachronism, along with the established church and the House of Lords, as part of the fight against capitalist class rule. To this end, we struggle to win Labour's working-class base to a revolutionary program and party. In a 1925 polemic against the Labour misleaders, Bolshevik leader Leon Trotsky emphasized that the British workers must be imbued with an understanding of the traditions embodied in the bourgeois-democratic revolutions of the 17th and 18th centuries and the Chartist working-class movement of the 19th century.

The French bourgeoisie, distorting the Great Revolution, adopted it and, having reduced it to petty coin, put it into general circulation. The English bourgeoisie has erased even the memory of the revolution of the seventeenth century, and recasts its entire past in the form of "gradual changes." The vanguard of the English workers should discover the British Revolution and should find in it, under its ecclesiastical garment, the powerful conflict of social forces. Cromwell was by no means a "pioneer of labor," but in the drama of the seventeenth century, the English proletariat may find great precedents for revolutionary action. This tradition, which is also "national," is fully justifiable and fully in place in the arsenal of the working class.

The proletariat also has another great tradition in the Chartist movement. An acquaintance with these two epochs is indispensable to every class-conscious English worker. An explanation of the historical thought of the seventeenth century and of the revolutionary content of Chartism is one of the most important tasks devolving upon English Marxists....

If we may resort to a rather farfetched comparison, we might say that the Chartist movement may be compared with the prelude, which gives in undeveloped form the musical themes of the entire work. In this sense, the English working class can and should read in Chartism not only its past, but also its future. Just as the Chartists discarded the sentimental preachers of "moral action," having gathered the masses under the banner of revolution, so the English proletariat will be obliged to cast out from its midst the reformers, democrats, and pacifists, and rally around the flag of a revolutionary action.

—Leon Trotsky, *Where Is Britain Going?* (1925)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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EDITOR: Len Meyers

EDITOR, YOUNG SPARTACUS PAGES: Joe Sol

PRODUCTION MANAGER: Susan Fuller

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The closing date for news in this issue is September 30.

No. 675 **3 October 1997**

Spartacist Events

BOSTON

China on the Brink: Workers Political Revolution or Capitalist Enslavement?

Monday, October 20, 7 p.m.
Harvard University
Room to be announced

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series
Alternate Wednesdays at two locations. Next classes: October 8: ***The Origins of Marxism***; October 22: ***The Capitalist State and Revolution***. At 2:30 p.m.: UMass-Boston, McCormack Building, Room 1-212. At 7:30 p.m.: Harvard University, call for room information.
Information and readings: (617) 666-9453

CHICAGO

China on the Brink: Workers Political Revolution or Capitalist Enslavement?

Saturday, October 11, 3 p.m.
University of Chicago
Room to be announced

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series
Alternate Saturdays, 2 p.m., Next classes, October 4: ***Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism***; October 18: ***The Bolshevik Revolution***; 328 South Jefferson, Suite 904
Information and readings (312) 454-4930

LOS ANGELES

Unchain Labor's Power—Those Who Labor Must Rule!

Saturday, October 11, 4 p.m.
Mount Hollywood Congregational Church, 4607 Prospect Avenue
For more information: (213) 380-8239

OAKLAND

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series
Alternate Tuesdays, 7 p.m. Next class, October 14: ***How the Working Class Took Power—The Bolshevik Revolution***; UC Berkeley, 204 Wheeler
Information and readings:
(415) 777-9367 or (510) 839-0851

NEW YORK CITY

China on the Brink: Workers Political Revolution or Capitalist Enslavement?

Saturday, October 18, 3 p.m.
New York Law School, Room A700
47 Worth Street

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series
Alternate Mondays, 7 p.m. Next class, October 6: ***The Capitalist State and Revolution***; 41 Warren St. (one block below Chambers St., near Church St.)
Information and readings (212) 267-1025

SAN FRANCISCO

Unchain Labor's Power—Those Who Labor Must Rule!

Friday, October 17, 7 p.m.
The Women's Building, 3543 18th Street (at Valencia, BART stop: 16th and Mission)

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series
Alternate Thursdays, 6 p.m. Next class, October 9: ***How the Working Class Took Power—The Bolshevik Revolution***; SFSU Student Union, Room C114
Information and readings:
(415) 777-9367 or (510) 839-0851

Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste Events

TORONTO

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series
Alternate Wednesdays, 7 p.m. Next class, October 8: ***The State and Imperialism***; International Student Centre, 33 St. George Street
Information and readings: (416) 593-4138

VANCOUVER

Eyewitness Report

South Africa: The Struggle for Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution

Friday, October 3, 7:30 p.m.
Britannia Community Centre
Room L4, 1661 Napier Street
For more information: (604) 687-0353

Rallying 'Round the Queen

Blair's Labour Fashions Facelift for British Monarchy

AP

Hodgson/Reuters

LONDON—She was "the people's princess," opined Labour Party prime minister Tony Blair after the death of Diana Spencer in a car crash in Paris. Blair and his New Labour Party peddle the obscene myth of a "brave New Britain" in which people are not meant to notice that included in the words of the timeworn hymn "All Things Bright and Beautiful" is the squalid reality of the "rich man in his castle, the poor man at his gate." The "caring" image of Diana is supposed to obscure the gross social inequality and decrepitude of British capitalism in the New World Order.

From the standpoint of the working class, the death of the "Princess of Wales" was not a tragedy; special interest in the affairs of royalty, which places the life of an aristocrat above that of her chauffeur, betrays something of a servile instinct. The archaic institution of the monarchy should long ago have been consigned to the dustbin of history.

When the British ambassador in Paris announced the death of Diana Spencer, her companion Dodi Al-Fayed, who also died in the crash, was reduced to the status of a nameless manservant: in the eyes of the racist British establishment, even this fabulously wealthy, "nonwhite" Egyptian was not a suitable escort for an English princess. To this day his father, who owns the posh Harrods department store, is denied a British passport.

While huge throngs gathered outside palaces all over London, not everyone bought the hype: TV stations and newspapers got calls and letters objecting to having the Diana saga shoved down their throats morning, noon and night. And amidst the reactionary, oppressive media blitz, we could take some pleasure in the nervous jitters of the establishment, who became fearful that the royal family might be booed at the princess' funeral. When the funeral cortège arrived in Whitehall, one hapless TV commentator had to hastily correct himself for referring to the execution of Prince Charles instead of King Charles I.

Labourite Bureaucracy Bows to Queen and City

Diana Spencer came from a previously obscure aristocratic family whose wealth —described as "astonishing" by the bourgeois press—dates back to the wool trade in the days of early capital accumulation in the 15th century. Diana met the criteria for a suitable partner for the heir apparent: not a commoner and not a Catholic (and not too bright). In his column in the *Nation* (22 September), Alexander Cockburn remarked: "The adoration now poured on her is reminiscent of the groveling of Edmund Burke in 1790 toward that adornment to the feudal corruption of the French Bourbons, Marie Antoinette."

In the eyes of the establishment, "Princess Di" has proven herself of far more use in death than in life. Support for the monarchy has waned considerably in recent years, as even "respectable" media voices have begun mooting the heretical notion of a republic. At the same time, Britain has seen an accretion of centrifugal forces: the devastation of the country's industrial areas and the vindictive destruction of mining communities in Scotland, Wales and Yorkshire, particularly under the Conservative Thatcher government; the ever-widening chasm between the yuppie denizens in the southeastern "home counties" centred on the City of London financial district and the masses of unemployed elsewhere; the grinding racism against blacks and Asians. The orchestrated outpouring of grief and the ostentatious pageantry for the dead Diana were intended to "rally the nation" around a common cause.

It was Tony "I prefer monarchy" Blair who stepped into the breach to serve "his" Queen. He was key to urging the royals to get their act together: fly the damned flag outside Buckingham Palace at half-mast and make a credible show of mourning. It was Blair who dubbed Diana the "people's princess" and braintrusted Queen Elizabeth's reluctant television appearance praising her former daughter-in-law. It was Blair who saw to it that the funeral would be an affair of state and chose a Saturday "so that working people would be free to stand along the streets or watch on television" (*Newsweek*, 15 September). In so doing, Blair proved himself a very good prime minister for the British ruling class.

The fake-revolutionary left, ever in Labour's tow, was swept along, nominal disclaimers to the contrary notwithstanding. Diana Spencer may have been the girl from the 10,000 acres next door, but for the centrist Workers Power group, "Her depression, bulimia, suicide attempts and ultimately divorce provided a glitzy microcosm of the plight of millions of less wealthy women" (*Workers Power*, September 1997). That (and more) said, Workers Power assured its readers that it would "not be joining in the wave of national mourning" and even vowed to "do everything" to get the monarchy "scrapped forever"—everything, that is, but oppose Blair's Labour Party at election time.

Hulton Getty

Duke and Duchess of Windsor, notorious Nazi sympathizers, greet Adolf Hitler in 1937.

In the same vein, but even more nauseating, was the so-called Communist Party of Great Britain (CPGB), a small group which formerly published the *Leninist*. The CPGB's *Weekly Worker* (4 September) carried a front-page eulogy by chief spokesman Jack Conrad. While allowing that "even a bourgeois republic is preferable to the anti-democratic monarchy," Conrad outdid even Blair himself in his treacly musings for the "troublesome princess" who "represented a soul in a soulless world": "Her brief 36 years epitomise the struggle and fate of the 20th century personality who by chance and/or design has been iconised and thus commodified and sold by the uncontrollable, all pervasive power of capital."

For our part, we preferred the satirical *Private Eye*'s (5 September) take on the matter:

> "In recent weeks (not to mention the last ten years) we at the Daily Gnome, in common with all other newspapers, may have inadvertently conveyed the impression that the late Princess of Wales was in some way a neurotic, irresponsible and manipulative troublemaker....
>
> "We would like to express our sincere and deepest hypocrisy to all our readers on this tragic day and hope and pray that they will carry on buying our paper notwithstanding."

Underscoring the very real powers of the "figurehead" monarchy, this issue of *Private Eye* was effectively banned under *lèse majesté*—an affront to the crown—removed from sale by a number of large news outlets. The Blair government has seized on the uproar over "paparazzi" to push for further assaults on freedom of the press, while a sensationalist new book on *The Royals* by American writer Kitty Kelley has been banned from sale or publication in Britain under the country's already draconian libel laws.

Not surprisingly, both Workers Power and the CPGB studiously managed to avoid any reference to Blair's role in propping up the monarchy. Labour ran for office draped in the Union Jack. At the Trades Union Congress (TUC) in Brighton one week after Diana's demise, the Union Jack flew at half-mast. Delegates were addressed by business chiefs and the Archbishop of Canterbury, head of the established (state) Church of England. The "theme" of the conference: "partnership for progress." "Partnership" of capital and labour under the bloody flag of British imperialism, blessed by the established church, bowing and scraping to the Crown!

Blair's programme for "modernising" the monarchy is aimed at providing a facelift for this anachronism in order to *salvage* it and the "United Kingdom" which it symbolises. The United Kingdom means continued national oppression of the Northern Ireland Catholic population as well as of the Scottish and Welsh peoples. Marxists fight for socialist revolution on both sides of the Irish Sea—For a voluntary federation of workers republics in the British Isles, as part of a Socialist United States of Europe!

The cult of Diana, the "people's martyr," can only bolster the reactionary ideology of monarchism transcending the "person" of the monarch. A recent opinion poll found 54 percent in favour of the Prince of Wales standing aside, with Prince William succeeding the Queen. Writer Tom Nairn captures the necrophilic quality of Blair's "project" when he notes. "'Modernisation'—the chorus of the salvationists—already means something uncomfortably close to resurrection. The modernisers resemble those who used to throng the death-chamber of an absolute monarch moaning, even after the last breath: 'He hasn't really gone!'; 'God will not let him leave us!'" (Anthony Barnett, *Power and the Throne* [1994]).

The British monarchy is a relic of feudalism, a pre-Enlightenment system of

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Der Spiegel

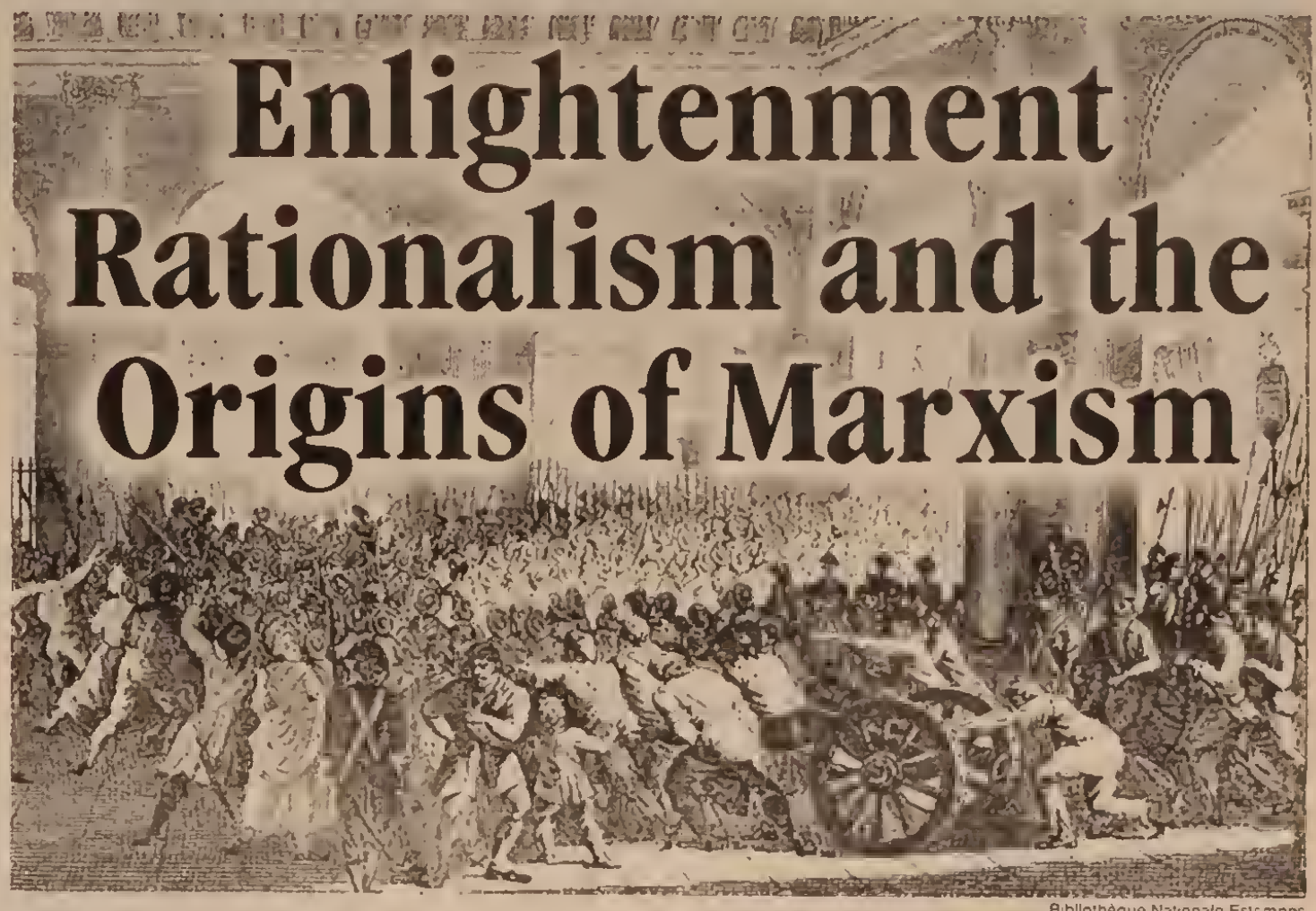
Britain in decay: Liverpool poor pick through garbage dumps.

Young Spartacus

We print below the third and concluding part of a presentation on the Enlightenment given by Spartacist League Central Committee member Joseph Seymour this summer, as part of a series of internal SL classes on the origins of Marxism which will continue to be serialized in future issues. Part One was published in WV *No. 673 (5 September) and Part Two in* WV *No. 674 (19 September).*

PART THREE

Enlightenment Rationalism and the Origins of Marxism



Bibliothèque Nationale Estampes

Parisian lower classes, known as *sans-culottes*, invade king's palace, 1792. Revolutionary masses raised banner of "liberty, equality, fraternity."

To understand how the Enlightenment thinkers expected the social and political ideals they advanced to be implemented, we have to turn from political theory, values and ultimate goals to the question of political means—politics in the everyday, conventional sense of the term. First, it is necessary to understand that we are considering an era in which the organization of the lower classes against the existing social and political order was *not* possible. This was true even in relatively liberal England. In France and the rest of Europe under the *anciens régimes* even spontaneous protests such as bread riots were savagely suppressed, with the leaders of such actions being routinely tortured and executed.

Even intellectual dissidence was a risky business. Both Voltaire and Diderot spent some time in prison for their writings, even though they had friends in high places. Some printers of Enlightenment literature, who did not have friends in high places, were "sent to the galleys," which was considered to be a living death.

We take it for granted that left-wing intellectuals can involve themselves in mass struggles—through trade unions, parties, protest movements of various kinds—against the ruling class. But this possibility—left-wing politics as we know it—was created by the French Revolution and did not exist before then. And what is not possible is often not conceivable either.

But even if the *philosophes* could have organized a political movement of artisans and peasants under the *ancien régime*, they would not have done so. A central premise of Enlightenment rationalism was that support for humane social policies—religious tolerance, abolition of judicial torture and the death penalty, opposition to slavery in the colonies—was based on a scientific understanding of nature. Since the common people were deprived of such an understanding, they could not be expected to support enlightened social policies either. Holbach expressed mainstream Enlightenment opinion in this regard when he wrote: "The people reads no more than it reasons; it has neither the leisure nor the ability to do so."

Of course, Holbach did not regard the people as inherently incapable of reason. Quite the contrary. He was an early advocate of free, universal public education. He saw the people as the beneficiary of enlightened social policies but not the agency for bringing these policies about. In general, the *philosophes* and their cothinkers elsewhere in Europe shared the conventional upper-class view that the mass of the people were superstitious and under the thumb of the local Catholic priest or Protestant pastor. The movement was marked by a strain of intellectual elitism which would only be eradicated by the French Revolution.

The political strategy of the Enlightenment was thus one of promoting reform from above. This is often described as advocacy of "enlightened despotism," a doctrine particularly ascribed to Voltaire. I believe this is a distortion or, at any rate, a gross oversimplification. Enlightenment thinkers did not believe in despotism as a positive good, as something to be desired. Rather they believed that there was no alternative to monarchical absolutism in the Europe of their day. Voltaire had always been an admirer of the British system of a constitutional monarchy with a strong parliament. But he saw no possibility of replicating these institutions in France.

Furthermore, Voltaire and his fellow *philosophes* became increasingly disillusioned with "enlightened despotism," if one wants to call it that. There was one major figure of this era who did believe in "enlightened despotism," with the emphasis on the despotism rather than the enlightened. This was Frederick II of Prussia, known to history as Frederick the Great. He fancied himself a patron of the *philosophes* and something of a *philosophe* himself. When Voltaire got in trouble with the French authorities around 1750, Frederick invited him to take refuge in Prussia.

But Voltaire quickly became disillusioned with this so-called "enlightened despotism." Apart from religious tolerance, conditions in Prussia were every bit as reactionary and repressive as in other European states, if not more so. All economic and social life was organized for one purpose: military conquest. Peasants conscripted into the Prussian army were subjected to savage discipline, sometimes beaten to death. Frederick was more than willing to kill tens of thousands of people—civilians as well as soldiers—to acquire ever more territory to rule over. Voltaire quipped that while the rest of Europe consisted of states with armies, Prussia was an army with a state. He soon broke with Frederick and left Prussia, explaining in a letter to a French colleague: "There are absolutely no resources here. There are a prodigious number of bayonets and very few books. The king has greatly embellished Sparta, but he has transported Athens only into his study" (quoted in Peter Gay, *Voltaire's Politics: The Poet as Realist* [1959]).

Menzel

Deutsche Fotothek

Voltaire (far left), depicted dining with Prussia's Frederick the Great, later denounced his strident militarism. Above: Prussian army battling Austria during Seven Years War.

The Revolutionary Culmination

Even more important in shaping the political evolution of the Enlightenment were developments in France itself. In the 1770s, a *philosophe* of the second rank, Anne-Robert-Jacques Turgot, was appointed comptroller general of France, equivalent to finance minister. He immediately proposed to eliminate the tax exemptions for the nobility and clergy. This provoked a powerful aristocratic reaction and Turgot was dismissed by the king.

The effect on his fellow *philosophes*—the "party of humanity" as they sometimes called themselves—was traumatic. Voltaire, then in his last years, wrote to his colleagues: "The dismissal of this great man crushes me. I have been in a perpetual depression since we were deprived of the protector of the people." In a less personally anguished way, Holbach also expressed the rather pessimistic attitude of Enlightenment thinkers in the decades immediately before the French Revolution: "The perfecting of polities can only be the slow fruit of the experience of centuries" (quoted in Charles Frankel, *The Faith of Reason* [1948]).

However, the party of humanity had built better than they knew. Enlightened social policies came to France and much of the rest of Europe not through reform from above, as they hoped and expected, but through revolution from below—as they certainly did not expect.

Over the decades, the ideas of the Enlightenment percolated from the literary salons down to the urban lower classes. A key social link between the *philosophes* and the people was provided by skilled artisans, who necessarily were

literate, had some knowledge of the sciences and were interested in the latest technological developments. The main collective work of the Enlightenment, the *Encyclopedia*, edited by Diderot, involved close collaboration between the radical intellectuals and skilled craftsmen. Diderot and his colleagues went around to the foremost artisans and craftsmen in France, interviewed them, had them fill out questionnaires, and on that basis wrote the articles in the *Encyclopedia* about what were then called the mechanical arts. Diderot explained: "This is a work that cannot be completed except by a society of men of letters and skilled workmen, each working separately on his own part, but all bound together solely by their zeal for the best interests of the human race."

The *Encyclopedia* and other Enlightenment literature disseminated subversive political ideas as well as technical knowledge. A few years before the storming of the Bastille, a French writer, Restif de la Bretonne—he was a liberal, not a reactionary—complained, "In recent times the working people of the capital have become impossible to deal with, because they have read in our books truths too potent for them" (quoted in Norman Hampson, *The Enlightenment* [1968]).

Most of the radical leaders of the revolution were from the bourgeoisie; typically they were lawyers. A significant exception was Lazare Hoche, a leading general in the revolutionary army, best known for suppressing the Catholic-royalist peasant uprising in the Vendée. As a youth in his teens, Hoche had been a stable boy in the royal palace at Versailles. He later recalled that in his spare time, when not cleaning the stables and grooming the horses, he had read Voltaire and the other *philosophes*. When a stableboy in the king's stables is reading Voltaire and Diderot, you know that the *ancien régime* is in deep horse manure.

The clearest and strongest proof that the ideas of the Enlightenment had penetrated the masses, centrally the artisan proletariat, was the course of the French Revolution. Within a few years the trinity of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost was displaced in Paris, Marseille and other French cities by the trinity of liberty, equality and fraternity. The revolution produced and was driven forward by a genuinely dialectical interaction between radical intellectuals and the urban working classes, the so-called *sans-culottes*—those who wore loose trousers rather than the tight leggings of the upper classes.

On the one hand, the literature of the Enlightenment legitimized popular hostility toward the old order—the aristocracy, the clergy, the monarchy. Throughout Europe, not only reactionaries but also liberals retrospectively denounced the *philosophes* for inciting the people against their betters. The English liberal historian, Edward Gibbon, who rejected Christianity for himself, criticized the deceased Voltaire for not recognizing "the danger of exposing an old superstition to the contempt of the blind and fanatic multitude."

Bibliothèque Nationale Estampes

Musée Carnavalet

Last of the Enlightenment *philosophes*, Condorcet championed democratic rights for women. Political discussion at militant women's club during French Revolution.

At the same time, the revolutionary heroism, energy, commitment and idealism of the people propelled the radical intellectuals far to the left. The children of the Enlightenment—Robespierre, Saint-Just, Babeuf—developed an optimistic, aggressive, world-conquering outlook that would have been unthinkable for Voltaire or Rousseau.

The Impact of the French Revolution

By the time of the revolution, all of the major *philosophes* had left the scene, with the exception of the Marquis de Condorcet. Condorcet had been a protégé of Voltaire. He had edited Voltaire's collected works and written his semi-official biography. But under the impact of the revolution Condorcet moved light years to the left of anything Voltaire had considered remotely possible in France. He became an advocate of a democratic republic based on universal suffrage. And I mean *universal* suffrage not just universal *male* suffrage. He was one of the very few people in France or anywhere else at the time to champion the same political rights for women as for men. To appreciate what this meant, consider that it was not until a century and a quarter after this that women got the vote in the United States or Britain. Condorcet's *Sketch for a Historical Picture of the Human Mind*, written in 1793-94 during the radical climax of the French Revolution, presents a sweepingly optimistic vision of the future beyond Voltaire's wildest imaginings.

There's an interesting book by a modern scholar, Joan McDonald, about the radical reinterpretation of Rousseau during the revolution. Before the revolution, Rousseau had admirers in all political circles, including right-wing circles. He was not regarded as an advocate of social revolution or even reform; rather he was viewed as a proponent of individual moral regeneration. His message was that members of the educated classes should abandon their luxury-loving, money-grubbing, career-climbing ways and retreat to the countryside to lead a simple and honorable existence like the heroes and heroines of his immensely popular novels.

During the first years of the revolution, all factions claimed the authority of Rousseau. Liberals and even some counterrevolutionaries argued that Rousseau had considered that a democratic republic was not possible in a country like France. It was too big, too diverse, its people too habituated to monarchy over the centuries. McDonald explains how the left responded to this argument:

> "Rousseau, it was pointed out, could not possibly have foreseen the great progress of political knowledge and public enlightenment which would take place after his death. The Revolution had rendered his fears groundless, in Fauchet's [a left Rousseauean] view, because in 1789, for the first time, the people were conscious of their rights, and would therefore no longer be the ignorant victims of those who in the past had usurped their sovereignty."

She goes on to explain how Rousseau's ideas were transformed from a doctrine of individual moral regeneration into a doctrine of social revolution:

> "The revolutionaries had accepted the view that the regeneration of the individual could be brought about by the regeneration of society; and because it was with the name of Rousseau that the idea of individual moral regeneration had become particularly associated, so, in carrying the idea into the wider sphere of social regeneration, it was with Rousseau's name that the practical devices of the Revolution were associated. Since Rousseau had stated the ends, then the means adopted by the Revolution were also regarded as having been approved by Rousseau."
>
> —*Rousseau and the French Revolution, 1762-1791* (1965)

In one of Marx's early writings, he states that the weapons of criticism cannot replace the criticism of weapons. That is, a theoretical denunciation of an unjust social order cannot substitute for the overthrow of that social order by the revolutionary mobilization of the masses. With the French Revolution the Enlightenment was transformed from a weapon of criticism to a criticism of weapons. It ceased to be a movement of an intellectual elite and became the theoretical basis for a revolutionary movement of the exploited classes, centrally the artisan proletariat.

The first attempt in history to establish communism through the insurrectionary overthrow of the bourgeois state by the working class was Babeuf's Conspiracy of Equals in 1796. At his trial, facing a death sentence, he declared:

> "The masses can no longer find a way to go on living; they see that they possess nothing and that they suffer under the harsh and flinty oppression of a greedy ruling class. The hour strikes for great and memorable revolutionary events, already foreseen in the writings of the times, when a general overthrow of the system of private property is inevitable, when the revolt of the poor against the rich becomes a necessity that can no longer be postponed."

A very tough and a very great man.

In defending the principles of communism, Babeuf cited and quoted extensively from the writings of Rousseau, Mably and Morrelly—the most left-wing expressions of Enlightenment social and political thought. But the rational humanism of the Enlightenment was an inadequate theoretical basis for the communist movement and proletarian revolution. First, it held that all men of all classes could be won to the communist cause through an understanding of natural law and natural rights. Second, it held that communism could be established under any and all conditions if only the people were sufficiently enlightened.

It was Marx who would provide an adequate theoretical basis for communism and proletarian revolution. But to explore this next chapter in our history, we have to take a second trip in our time machine.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

A. Mondadori

LE COMITÈ INSURRECTEUR DE SALUT PUBLIC, AU PEUPLE.

Acte d'Insurrection.

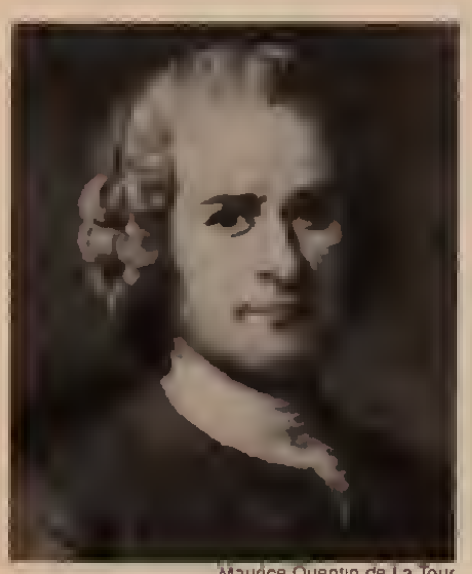
[illegible]ÉGALITÉ, LIBERTÉ, BONHEUR COMMUN.

Les Démocrates Français, considérant que l'oppression et la misère du Peuple sont à leur comble, que cet état de tyrannie et de malheur est du fait du gouvernement actuel;

Considérant que les nombreux forfaits des gouvernans ont excité contre eux les plaintes journalières et toujours inutiles des gouvernés;

Considérant que la constitution du Peuple, jurée en 1793, fut remise par lui *sous la garde*

Gracchus Babeuf's Conspiracy of Equals called for insurrection against Thermidorian reaction, 1795.



Maurice Quentin de La Tour

Jean-Jacques Rousseau

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Grigory Dukor

Bolshevik poster shows Central Asian woman rejecting the veil as part of the revolution's struggle against religious and social oppression. Today, Boris Yeltsin's counterrevolutionary regime has restored power of Russian Orthodox church.

Marxism and Religion

Today, especially in the wake of the counterrevolution in the Soviet Union and East Europe, religious obscurantism and mystical superstition are increasing. Religion is also prevalent among youth who are repelled by the horrors of capitalism and racism, many of whom look toward some kind of spiritualism as an answer to "corporate greed" and exploitation. Various so-called Marxist and revolutionary organizations pander to this prevailing social backwardness. For example, the Progressive Labor Party, despite bellowing its mantra of "Communist Revolution," brags that since "many people we want and need in the Party are active in churches," there is a "need for PLP members to be active in churches" (Challenge, *18 June*).

In order to win over a new generation to the struggle for socialism, based on a materialist conception of society, socialists must ceaselessly combat religion and other forms of idealism which look toward the supernatural, explaining that freedom from oppression lies in this world, not another. The following, based on a presentation by comrade Alan Wilde to the Los Angeles Spartacus Youth Club, explains the SYCs' approach.

As Marxists we are materialists, dialectical materialists, which therefore means irreconcilable atheists, as the Russian revolutionary Leon Trotsky once put it. We need to know religion not only as an academic exercise but to *combat* it. Lenin, the leader of the 1917 Russian Revolution, wrote:

> "The dialectical materialism of Marx and Engels...applies the materialist philosophy to the domain of history.... We must combat religion—that is the ABC of *all* materialism, and consequently of Marxism. But Marxism is not a materialism which has stopped at the ABC. Marxism goes further. It says: We must *know how* to combat religion, and in order to do so we must explain the source of faith and religion among the masses *in a materialist way*."
>
> —Lenin, "The Attitude of the Workers Party to Religion" (1908)

At one point in history, religion served a particular purpose. As a hunter or gatherer wholly dependent on a cruel and ever-changing nature he couldn't understand, man devised a system of explanations for natural occurrences. This was the function of spiritualism, mysticism and religion. With the advent of private property and class society, religion, which developed simply to explain what human empirical logic could not, became a means both of oppression and of escape for the oppressed. Noting that "*Man makes religion*, religion does not make man," Karl Marx explained:

> "*Religious* suffering is at one and the same time the *expression* of real suffering and a protest against real suffering. Religion is the sigh of the oppressed creature, the heart of a heartless world and the soul of soulless conditions. It is the *opium* of the people.
>
> "The abolition of religion as the *illusory* happiness of the people is the demand for their *real* happiness. To call on them to give up their illusions about their condition is to *call on them to give up a condition that requires illusions*."
>
> —"Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right" (1844)

Marxism is not one of several competing and potentially equal means to achieve progress. *It is the only way to fundamentally change society.* Marxism can stake that claim because it bases itself entirely on the material world. Unlike philosophers who only sought to interpret the world, Marx and Engels fought to change society. Their perspective for change, socialist revolution, was based entirely on *existing* social forces.

Marxism as an outlook, a mode of thought and a means of change can be applied to history. Since it is not based on faith, you can scientifically prove Marxism. No philosophy can ever honestly assert this, because they all base themselves on some form of idealist outlook that places mankind's ideas above its environment. For example, as the feudal system collapsed and the bourgeois system was on the rise, the philosophy that aided and explained capitalism's revolutionary development also was formulated by Enlightenment *philosophes*. An idealist, for example, might argue that these philosophical ideals of the Enlightenment developed the capitalist system of production and distribution; if someone had thought of capitalism two thousand years earlier, we would've had it then. This is how it was taught in a college history course I took a couple of months ago. Marxism, on the other hand, is materialist because it analyzes the world based on the relationship of classes to each other and to the existing means of production. Likewise, with this understanding, Marxists can intervene to *change* this relationship.

Simons/Time

UFO hysteria, religious mysticism flourish in capitalist America.

Religious Mysticism in Capitalist America

According to the *Los Angeles Times* (17 May), 75 percent of Americans believe in angels, and 87 percent said their religious faith is very important in their lives. A recent study found that almost 45 percent of American college freshmen do not believe in Darwin's theory of evolution (*Scientific American*, October 1997). We live in a period marked by a general absence of social struggle and working-class consciousness, allowing for obscurantism to pose as legitimate. Whatever their entertainment value, television programs like the *X-Files*, *Paranormal News* and *Unsolved Mysteries* propagate mystification and irrationalism. Then there are things like the "Psychic Friends Network" which prey on social backwardness and ignorance. The collapse of Stalinism and the world-historic destruction of the Soviet Union and the East European deformed workers states only helped to expand reactionary obscurantism, both there and here. In St. Petersburg, formerly called Leningrad, the new capitalist rulers closed down a beautiful museum dedicated to materialism and atheism which the Bolsheviks had created in a former church, and replaced it with an Orthodox church (which would-be tsar Boris Yeltsin once again made the effective official church of Russia). Marxism, the only ideology that was consistently both materialist and dialectical had just, according to the bourgeoisie, ultimately failed. In this country, as a *Los Angeles Times* (19 May) editorial noted, "Alien abductions, nightly visitations, spirit channeling, interdimensional travel and psychic ability are just a few of the fringe claims that permeate our media."

The working masses continue to have little control or understanding of the real

Mayall

Karl Marx

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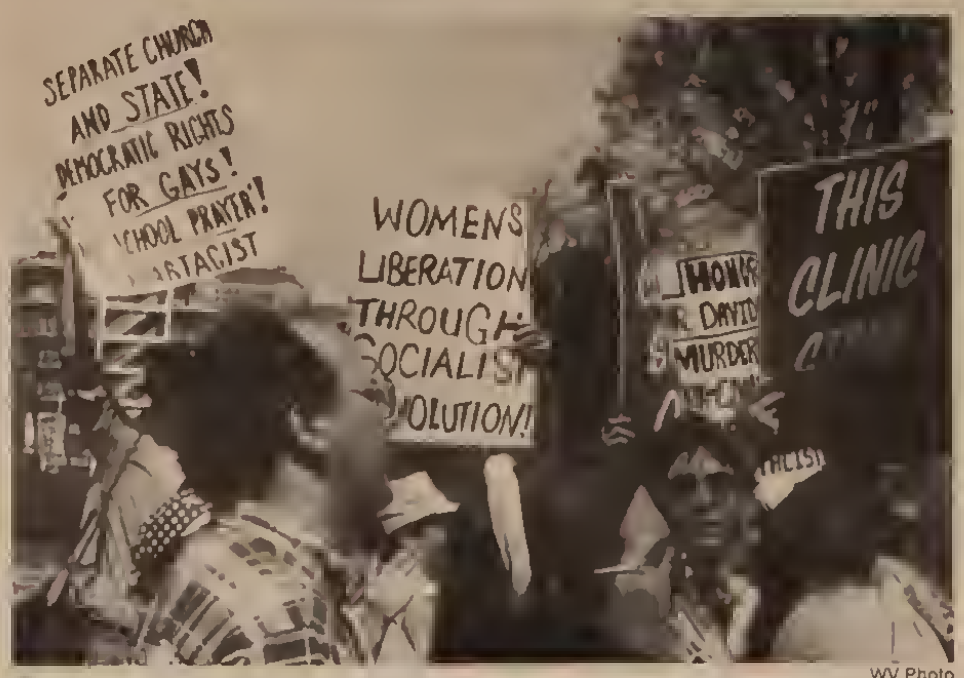
conditions that govern their lives, and, in the absence of class struggle and class consciousness, religion serves as a tremendous emotional solace.

Religion is a private matter. As Marxists we oppose all forms of religious persecution and oppression. People should be able to hold their religious faiths without interference from the state, and, likewise, we don't want religion to dictate the policy of the state—Marxists believe in the complete separation of church and state. This is why in 1877 Friedrich Engels, Marx's close collaborator, condemned the German philosopher Eugen Dühring's pseudo-revolutionary proposal that religion should be prohibited in socialist society.

We should not be arrogant toward leftist youth who, despite having good impulses on racism, abortion and gay rights, are caught in a tremendous contradiction between their impulses and their religious beliefs. With the individual cases we *will* run across in this period of reaction we must be resolute. The odds are currently against us. Unless we win these youth to our *full* program, their contradiction will most likely be resolved in the direction of reaction and obscurantism. Obviously, we don't see the breaking of the working class from the religious hold as a linear process where we convince each person we run across of religion's backwardness. As Lenin wrote, we "understand that only the class struggle of the working masses could, by comprehensively drawing the widest strata of the proletariat into conscious and revolutionary social *practice*, really free the oppressed masses from the yoke of religion."

There might be some usefulness in drawing a comparison between religion and the family. Both are means of oppression and justification for oppression which also serve a social purpose. The family raises a new generation of people, albeit by tremendously oppressing women. In a workers state these services would be taken up by society itself, becoming socialized through communal kitchens, laundry facilities, child care, all at the expense of the state. The family is not "abolished"; it is replaced. We are the only leftist organization today to have published a journal, *Women and Revolution*, dedicated to explaining a Marxist view of the woman question and other social issues.

Likewise, for the oppressed, religion serves as a sort of consolation for material oppression and degradation. It is a world outlook and a philosophy that is directly counterposed to Marxism. However, the workers state cannot simply abolish religion. This would only raise sympathy for and create a reaction in the direction of religion and mysticism. To fight religion, a workers state must create the material conditions to replace it, and for it to be rejected by the masses themselves in favor of rationalism, materialism. The religious worldview is replaced with an understanding of how the natural and social world works, and how humans can intervene in it, creating the best possible material conditions for those living on earth, for themselves. The outlook which creates religion is thus not abolished; it is replaced with materialism, Marxism.



WV Photo

Spartacist contingent joins in defense of Birmingham, Alabama abortion clinic against religious bigots, 1994.

Fight Against Religion

The party must resolutely fight to win youth over to materialism. This is not a question of freedom to believe what one wants, but, as stated earlier, mysticism and Marxism are two counterposed ways not only of looking at the world and studying it, but also of acting upon it. It makes perfect sense that a Marxist party expects that its members embrace a Marxist worldview, i.e., be materialists, atheists. The Spartacus Youth Clubs do not dilute the party's program of socialist revolution and pursue an unyielding fight with youth over mysticism and religion. As Lenin wrote, Marxists "regard religion as a private matter *in relation to the state*, but not in relation to themselves, not in relation to Marxism, and not in relation to the workers' party."

The Spartacist League's program is concrete on the question of religion: point ten of our organizational rules (see *Marxist Bulletin* No. 9) states, "Substantial material support to cults, religions or comparable fads or proselytizing for them is incompatible with SL membership." As Lenin wrote:

> "A Marxist must be a materialist, i.e., an enemy of religion, but a dialectical materialist, i.e., one who treats the struggle against religion not in an abstract way, not on the basis of remote, purely theoretical, never varying preaching, but in a concrete way, on the basis of the class struggle which is going on *in practice* and is educating the masses more and better than anything else could."
>
> —"The Attitude of the Workers Party to Religion"

That said, in our current period marked by growing religious belief, we only recruit exceptional individuals, and we are not in a position to recruit the masses but only that minority of the working class and oppressed which is class conscious. The question of religion and mysticism comes to the fore, and we must develop a thoughtful approach to winning away radical-minded workers and youth from religion.

We must show concrete examples of the atrocities committed in the name of gods and religions, especially against women—from medieval European witch trials to female genital mutilation, anti-abortion terrorism to the imposition of the veil in Afghanistan and Iran, to gay-bashing to advocacy of slavery. Religious wars, persecution and obscurantist oppression are endemic to *all* religions.

We must also argue effectively against the idealist view of the world in general. It is common to get spiritualists who agree with us completely on the ravages of organized religion, but still believe in magic or "alien abductions." The fight against idealism is especially important for those who reject organized religion only to embrace New Age spiritualism or modern-day witchcraft (or who pick and choose those tenets of religion they want to accept, such as a Catholic who supports abortion and gay rights but still clings to Jesus). We have to prove to them that Marxism is the only way to understand the world and fundamentally change it. We must concretely show how a mystical or moral view of the world is in the end counterposed to workers revolution and socialism.

The struggle against religion is not some academic or philosophical exercise. Most of the people on earth are beholden to some form of religiosity and this works as an obstacle to socialist consciousness. In the end, the question of religion will be worked out in the class struggle itself and through the intervention of the party as the leader of the most advanced section of the proletariat in that struggle. As the class struggle ebbs and flows, though, the revolutionary party must keep its theoretical bearings intact at all times; it must maintain its program. That means we must fight to resolve the contradiction of someone with good impulses on broad social questions who is still seeing the world through the eyes of god. This is the only way to win youth and workers to communism, that is to the struggle for a truly just and free world.■

Der Spiegel

Vatican-sponsored Solidarność of Lech Walesa (left) chained Polish workers to Catholic reaction, led capitalist counterrevolution.

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China...

(continued from page 1)

and imperialist subjugation, the revolution was deformed from its inception. The Chinese workers were bystanders in the revolution, which brought to power a nationalist, anti-working-class bureaucracy falsely claiming to be building "socialism" in a single, very backward country. With the egalitarian pretenses of the Mao years long since discarded, Jiang now resorts to doublespeak about "the primary stage of socialism" to justify the liquidation of the nationalized economy.

While foreign capitalist and domestic "collective" businesses have grown to account for almost two-thirds of China's output since "market reforms" were first implemented almost two decades ago, production and employment in state industry has up to now also continued to grow, although at a much slower pace. Lately, in a tentative and piecemeal way, China's central banks have cut funds to less "profitable" state plants, which have in turn taken to laying off workers, withholding wages and charging for previously free social services. This in turn has sparked a dramatic rise of struggles by workers in the aging state industries concentrated in central and northeastern China.

The year began with a dramatic uprising in the northeastern city of Harbin, when some 3,000 textile workers protested the withholding of four months' pay by occupying train tracks. With rail service paralyzed, local and national CCP leaders quickly reached a settlement with the workers. In March, 20,000 workers at a state textile factory in the town of Nanchong in Sichuan—China's most populous province—laid siege to the city hall and held the plant manager hostage until authorities came up with six months' back wages. Four months later, in the Sichuan city of Mianyang, thousands of workers marched through the streets and built roadblocks to protest managers' embezzlement of unemployment benefits after three silk and textile plants closed. Some 80 workers were reportedly arrested and 100 injured after clashes with the People's Armed Police, a force created in the mid-1980s specifically to control mounting urban unrest.

Strikes and social protests have continued to mount. Many of these have been directed against the flagrant corruption of local officials. While news of social turmoil is slow to leak out, in the month of September alone there were reports of a demonstration by angry workers in Sichuan trying to eke out a living after being forced into early retirement and a mass protest in Guangdong province—against the regime's draconian "one-child" policy—which was put down by 1,000 troops and paramilitary forces. Social tensions have also been stoked by widening income disparities between centers of economic expansion along the eastern coastal areas and the rest of the country.

The bureaucracy has tried to keep an iron grip on society as it plunges ever deeper into the "free market." Last year, over 6,000 people were condemned to death, some for crimes as petty as stealing chickens. The barbaric death penalty is part of the bureaucratic arsenal of terror designed to keep the working people and impoverished peasantry in line.

The brittle bureaucratic caste is well aware that it is sitting on a social powder keg. While unemployment officially stands at 3 percent, this figure is not believed by anyone. The mainland Chinese magazine *Outlook* reports that the urban jobless rate is 7.5 percent while "China's rural areas have about 175 million surplus laborers, representing an unemployment rate of 34.8%" (*Asian Wall Street Journal*, 5 August). Much of this enormous "surplus" workforce, which was spawned by the destruction of collectivized agriculture in the early 1980s, roams the townships and cities in search of work, often leading to bitter conflicts with longtime city residents.

Independent

Chinese finance minister and vice premier Zhu Rongji welcomed at World Bank/IMF meeting in Hong Kong, September 22.

Labor costs are so low in China that many capitalists now prefer to invest there than in bourgeois countries in the region. This has been a factor in the currency crisis now wracking Malaysia, Thailand and Indonesia. At the same time, as China becomes increasingly integrated into the Southeast Asian economies dominated by the offshore Chinese bourgeoisie—the source of most of China's foreign investment—such events could have a major effect on the mainland economy itself. This only serves to underscore the need for an internationalist perspective, linking the fight of the Chinese masses against capitalist counterrevolution to class struggles throughout East and Southeast Asia, particularly reaching out to the proletariat of Japan, the industrial powerhouse of the region.

Chinese Stalinists Prepare Final Sell-Out

The question is whether the Beijing regime can enforce mass layoffs and cutbacks on a working class which has been taught that the revolution was made for the benefit of "the people." The Stalinist bureaucracy lives in mortal fear of the spectre of the Tiananmen uprising. Popular discontent in 1989 was largely fueled by rising inflation and the flagrant, filthy corruption of the officialdom. With anger over corruption and economic insecurity growing once again, the bureaucracy is ever-mindful to ward off any possibility of social protest. Many "princelings"—including Deng's son-in-law, head of the mammoth Poly Group conglomerate—were kept off the new Central Committee. And shortly before the congress, the government announced that a former Beijing party chief and Political Bureau member would face trial and possible execution on corruption charges. A well-connected Chinese writer observed: "The leadership was very nervous people would take to the streets with anti-corruption slogans" (*South China Morning Post*, 11 September).

At the same time, the CCP leadership signaled it would brook no loosening of political controls. Several open letters, including one ostensibly written by former premier Zhao Ziyang—who lost his position for opposing the 1989 crackdown—called on the congress to "revise" the party's depiction of the Tiananmen student protests as an attempt to overthrow CCP rule. All these petitions were dismissed out of hand, and the congress purged former intelligence chief and Politburo member Qiao Shi, who also called for a softer line toward the Tiananmen events. Such calls do not necessarily come from the left. They are often linked to demands for "free elections" and the "rule of law," echoing the imperialist spokesmen who insist that moves toward capitalism must be consolidated through the establishment of a bourgeois regime.

For all of its ostentatious corruption and evident identification with rich investors, the Stalinist bureaucracy remains a brittle caste which continues to rest on the economic foundation, however attenuated, of the deformed workers state. Beijing has time and again announced capitalist measures only to back off in the face of threatened social unrest. The government first announced it would "smash the iron rice bowl" in 1987. Yet it took almost ten years before any serious effort to cut back the labor force in state plants was begun.

The CCP bureaucracy hopes to transform itself into a new exploiting class through a "cold" transition to fully fledged capitalism. They have certainly gone a long way down this road, much further than the Soviet Stalinist regime had before its downfall. Yet despite differences of degree, what Russian revolutionary Leon Trotsky wrote in his definitive 1936 work analyzing the Stalin regime, *The Revolution Betrayed*, holds true in its essentials for the Chinese bureaucracy today:

> "It is recruited, supplemented and renewed in the manner of an administrative hierarchy, independently of any special property relations of its own. The individual bureaucrat cannot transmit to his heirs his rights in the exploitation of the state apparatus.... Its appropriation of a vast share of the national income has the character of social parasitism. All this makes the position of the commanding Soviet stratum in the highest degree contradictory, equivocal and undignified, notwithstanding the completeness of its power and the smoke screen of flattery that conceals it."

Capitalist restoration in China would require the consolidation of a ***new, counterrevolutionary state apparatus***, with an attendant legal system codifying private ownership of the means of production. This would necessarily be a bloody process that would throw China into chaos, very possibly including the breakup of the country into regional fiefdoms. It would also turn China into an arena of hot imperialist competition. Moreover, unlike the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution, in which the Russian bourgeoisie was destroyed as a class, the Chinese capitalists were able to flee the mainland in the late 1940s, keeping their cohesion as a class. Thus, the Chinese masses now face a powerful predator in the offshore Chinese bourgeoisie.

For a Leninist-Trotskyist Party!

To forge an internationalist, egalitarian-communist party in China requires a political struggle not only against the Stalinist misleaders but also against those who would lead the workers into the camp of "democratic" counterrevolution. Some Tiananmen-era dissidents have been engaged in efforts to organize trade unions opposed to the regime's All-China Federation of Trade Unions. Such activists can be very heroic, going up against capitalist entrepreneurs and their Stalinist police protectors. However, Marxists warn against any ties to pro-capitalist "dissidents" such as Tiananmen veteran Han Dongfang. Han regularly appeals to the U.S.-sponsored International Confederation of Free Trade Unions—which originated in the Cold War against the Soviet Union—for action against the Chinese regime, while his Hong Kong-based *China Labor Bulletin* (January 1997) baldly admits that its chief editor had been featured on the U.S. imperialists' *Voice of America* and *Radio Free Asia*.

Such appeals for (bourgeois) "democracy" are echoed and embraced by various "socialist" groups in the West. The most brazen of these is the tendency led by Tony Cliff's British Socialist Workers Party, including the U.S. International Socialist Organization. Ever since Cliff's expulsion from the Trotskyist Fourth International in 1950 for refusing to defend China and North Korea during the Korean War, the hallmark of this group has been tailing after "democratic" imperialism. This has included cheering such thoroughly *anti-democratic* and flagrantly reactionary forces as Lech Walesa's Vatican-sponsored Solidarność in Poland and the anti-woman *mujahedin* cutthroats in Afghanistan. More recently, Cliff's outfit sided with the political heirs of Guomindang butcher Chiang Kai-shek, who run the brutal capitalist Taiwan regime. As U.S. warships plied the Taiwan Strait last year in a provocation against Beijing, the Cliffites proclaimed that "China's claim to Taiwan is a colonialist one. We would oppose any Chinese invasion of Taiwan

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as an act of imperialist aggression" (*Socialist Review*, April 1996).

In a lengthy article on "China: from Mao to Deng" (*International Socialist Review*, Summer 1997), ISO leader Ahmed Shawki dismisses China as a "state capitalist" society which has "nothing to do with socialism" and makes not one mention of the gains of the 1949 Revolution. Even the bourgeois *Los Angeles Times* (10 August), in an article headlined "How China Beat India in Race for Success," acknowledges that "particularly in the early stages of Communist rule, in the 1950s, the country benefited from the land redistribution, introduction of compulsory universal education, adoption of simplified Chinese characters that led to greater literacy, and the introduction of health and welfare policies and other reforms."

The Cliffites' "theory" of state capitalism—which is counterposed to any Marxist analysis of capitalism—is simply a fig leaf for virulent anti-Communism. Nobody, but nobody—from bourgeois Western ideologues to hard-pressed Russian workers—would buy the Cliffites' idiotic view that the counterrevolution in the USSR in the early 1990s simply involved a shift from one form of capitalism to another. Expropriation of the bourgeoisie and creation of a planned economy is the prerequisite for any development toward an international, classless socialist society. It was on the basis of China's planned economy that workers, peasants, women and national/ethnic minorities made huge strides forward. Trotskyists call for unconditional military defense of the Chinese deformed workers state against imperialism and counterrevolution. Political revolution is premised on the need to defend the socialized property forms through overthrowing the nationalist bureaucracy which acts as a parasite on the planned economy and today prepares to bury it for good.

Two Hong Kong organizations more or less closely associated with the fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat (USec) of the late Ernest Mandel—the *October Review* group and the Pioneers—share the Cliffites' affinity for "democratic" counterrevolution. In separate statements on the reversion of Hong Kong to Chinese rule, both groups bemoaned Beijing's threat to the thin veneer of "democratic" trappings installed by the last colonial administration while not once calling for opposition to the growing threat of capitalist counterrevolution in China.

AP

Rural laborers outside Guangzhou (Canton) rail station, part of massive unemployed population created by "market reforms."

Striking a pose to the left of such overt social democrats is the British Workers Power (WP) group and its League for a Revolutionary Communist International (LRCI). Workers Power is an object lesson in Trotsky's description of centrism as "crystallized confusion." In its *Trotskyist International* (July-December 1997), the LRCI calls for "the Trotskyist programme of proletarian political revolution as the only alternative to capitalist social counter-revolution." Yet another article in the very same issue insists that "in China, as in Eastern Europe, there are no grounds for expecting workers to mobilise in defence of what remains of post-capitalist property relations"!

What forces, then, are going to make a proletarian political revolution?! Behind WP's Trotskyist verbiage is a deep-seated affinity for social-democratic Labourism. These centrists cannot conceive of breaking the proletariat from its existing consciousness and winning workers to the cause of revolution. Thus, for Workers Power the call for political revolution has simply been a cover for tailing whatever reactionary force it deemed to be a "lesser evil" to Stalinism. In Poland in 1981, WP supported Solidarność even while admitting that this CIA-backed movement stood for capitalist restoration. Likewise, Workers Power called for a "united front" with Boris Yeltsin as he headed the forces of counterrevolution in the USSR in August 1991.

In sharp contrast, the International Communist League has fought tooth and nail against capitalist counterrevolution. At the time of the Walesa/CIA/Vatican power bid in Poland in late 1981, we raised the call: Stop Solidarność counterrevolution! In 1989, we mobilized all the resources of our international organization to intervene in the turbulent events in East Germany in opposition to capitalist reunification and for a "red Germany of workers councils," calling for political revolution in the East and socialist revolution in the West. And immediately after Yeltsin's power grab in Moscow in August 1991, the ICL distributed tens of thousands of leaflets in Russian calling on Soviet workers to "Defeat Yeltsin-Bush Counterrevolution!"

If Chinese working people are not to suffer the devastation and bloodletting experienced by the masses of East Europe and the former Soviet Union, they must be won to the authentic communism of Lenin and Trotsky. The Stalinists' rush to open the road to full-scale capitalist restoration makes ever more urgent the need to forge a Trotskyist party to lead the workers and peasants in struggle. As we wrote in *Spartacist*:

> "The program of political revolution is needed in China today if the workers and impoverished peasant masses are to emerge victorious in the class battles that lie ahead. As part of our fight to reforge Trotsky's Fourth International, the International Communist League seeks to build an egalitarian-communist party based on the program of Lenin and Trotsky's Bolsheviks and the early Chinese Communist Party. Such a party would link the struggle against the corrupt Stalinist bureaucracy in China with the class struggles of the militant Indonesian and South Korean workers against their capitalist rulers, and with those in the imperialist centers such as Japan. Only through extending socialist revolution to these countries will the threat of capitalist re-enslavement be eliminated once and for all and the basis laid for the development of China in a socialist Asia."■

NYC Elections...

(continued from page 12)

even among the besieged minority masses for any of the Democratic candidates, including Sharpton, who is widely recognized as a cynical hustler. Meanwhile, even black Democrats like Congressmen Floyd Flake and Ed Towns have come out for Giuliani, who is considered a shoo-in in November.

For all his bluster, Sharpton's politics are virtually indistinguishable from Messinger's on all issues. On the question of cop terror, this was captured in a *New York Times* (7 September) summary of the candidates' positions: Messinger "would put more officers on police patrol," Sharpton "opposes reduction in size of police force." Sharpton's chief demand has been the call for a stronger and more "independent" civilian police review board, a call echoed by Messinger—and fake leftists like the Workers World Party, which openly supports Sharpton.

The purpose of such review boards is not to stop cop terror but to whitewash it, to make the machinery of capitalist state repression more efficient by occasionally disciplining a "rogue" cop in order to restore some credibility to the police. In stressing these points at a September 5 New York City Spartacist League forum, SL spokesman Bruce André described the fraud of the NYC review board:

> "Fewer than one-third of complaints of police brutality are even investigated by the Civilian Complaint Review Board. Of these, fewer than 10 percent are validated and turned over to the police commissioner for action. But the police commissioner only acts on fewer than 20 percent of the cases turned over to him. And the cops are found guilty of 'misconduct' in fewer than 10 percent of those cases that go to administrative trial. So if you do the arithmetic, that means that one cop gets disciplined for every 1,500 formal complaints of police brutality in this city. And all he gets is a slap on the wrist."

The cops are the armed thugs of the capitalist class. Their job is to protect the masters of Wall Street against those whom they exploit and oppress. The police cannot be "reformed" but must be swept away by a socialist revolution which smashes the capitalist state and expropriates the bourgeoisie.

It is a measure of the level of frustration and despair among black and Hispanic working people that someone like Sharpton can get away with posing as a champion of the oppressed. Sharpton has a well-documented history of inciting ethnic and racial divisions, of fomenting the racist "war on drugs" and of working directly with the forces of racist repression (see "The Case of Al Sharpton, FBI Fink," *WV* No. 488, 9 September 1988). In the 1980s, Sharpton colluded with the FBI and the notorious NYPD "Black Desk" as they carried out surveillance and arrests of black militants. He wore a concealed microphone, accompanied "wired" undercover agents to meetings with people the feds were trying to entrap, and allowed the feds to install a tap on his own phone. He was literally working for Giuliani, then a federal prosecutor. Sharpton also backed Republican Senator Alfonse D'Amato for re-election in 1986, even as that racist bigot was describing blacks living in housing projects as "animals."

Today, Sharpton has cleaned up his act as he seeks the "respectability" of mainstream Democratic Party bourgeois politics. But he made his mark in vile campaigns against Koreans, Arabs and other ethnic minorities. In 1986, he tried to whip up a pogromist backlash against Arab shopkeepers in Harlem for supposedly selling drug paraphernalia. And only two years ago, Sharpton was in the thick of an anti-Semitic campaign to drive a Jewish-owned shoe store out of Harlem.

Such bigoted actions are directly counterposed to the kind of class unity across racial and ethnic lines needed to fight back against the racist capitalist rulers. That a demagogue like Sharpton can get a hearing at all among NYC minorities speaks to the utter bankruptcy of the labor misleaders, who turn a blind eye to rampant racism, cop terror and attacks on their own unions. Far from fighting the imposition of slave-labor "workfare" schemes, which have forced welfare recipients to fill more than 20,000 formerly unionized municipal jobs, the union tops have enlisted as overseers on Giuliani's plantation. We call for equal pay for equal work and for jobs for all at full union wages!

It is necessary to mobilize the multiracial working class to take up the cause of all the oppressed. This requires a political struggle against the pro-capitalist labor misleaders and a fight to break working people and minorities from the partner parties of capitalism. The Spartacist League fights to forge a revolutionary workers party to lead the socialist revolution necessary to overthrow this system of unemployment, degradation and racist terror. ■

WV Photo

Protesters at demonstration outside Brooklyn D.A.'s office in July carry pictures of victims of police killings.

Monarchy...

(continued from page 3)

unabashed class privilege and social deference based on land-holding, at the apex of which was the head, anointed by god, which wore the crown: the king, lord of every man. The "common touch" always had its place in the alchemy of monarchy: "Lady Di" reaching out to touch the sick harks back to the veneration of the monarch's touch as the cure for scrofula, once known as the "king's evil." "Faith, hope and charity"—the beneficence of the rich to the poor, whose place was to remain poor. And "charity" is what the dispossessed must suffer today in the face of attacks on social welfare and the very idea of social provision.

Today's capitalist society, based on the exploitation of industrial wage labour, was itself born of the revolutionary overthrow of the feudal order, which in 17th-century England ended with the public beheading of King Charles I in front of the banquet hall of his own palace, an object lesson in democracy that was repeated in the Great French Revolution of 1789. But once the rising merchant-capitalist interest in the state was secured against the return of the "old regime," the monarchy was restored in form to exorcise the many-headed spectre of revolt from "below": the body of the bourgeois revolutionary Oliver Cromwell was exhumed, decapitated and his head fixed on a pike as a "traitor."

The original "people's martyr" was Charles I himself, who died in defence of "Merrie England." In place of schism, revolution and civil war the monarchy was, and is, meant to represent continuity with the past, gradualness, tradition—to legitimise and to *obscure* the specifically *capitalist* character of this society and its state machine. "Above all things our royalty is reverenced," prescribed historian Walter Bagehot in the middle of the last century: "Its mystery is its life. We must not let in daylight upon magic." Hence the "Mother of Parliaments" sits in the royal palace of Westminster and the prime minister is a minister of the Crown. His official residence—with a "civilian" policeman at the front and the Queen's Guards at the rear—is in Downing Street, which was named after a notorious parliamentary turncoat in the court of King Charles II.

In the "United Kingdom" there are no citizens, only "subjects," and treason to the Crown remains a capital offence despite the abolition of the death penalty. Under the 1361 Treason Act, "adultery" involving the wife of the Prince of Wales is punishable by death.

From Cromwell's Roundheads to Lenin's Bolsheviks

Monarchism is opposed not merely to the socialist revolution of the working class but is a retrogression from the rationalism of the bourgeois Enlightenment. From Cromwell's Roundheads to Robespierre's Jacobins to Lenin's Bolsheviks, it was the revolutionary regicides who represented advancement for humanity. Marxism embodies the principles of scientific rationality as the basis for liberating mankind from all forms of social oppression.

Leon Trotsky once described Lenin, leader of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution, as the "proletarian twentieth-century Cromwell." Trotsky went on to explain

Samuel Cooper

Spartacists at 1980 NYC protest against Prince Philip visit. Charles I was beheaded by Oliver Cromwell (above), called the "great revolutionary of his time" by Leon Trotsky.

that from Cromwell, the "great revolutionary of his time," British workers would learn "incomparably more" than from all the conciliationist Labour leaders: "The dead lion of the seventeenth century is in this sense immeasurably greater than many living dogs." By the "many living dogs," Trotsky meant those Labour "leaders" who "dare not refuse pocket money to the Prince of Wales" (*Where Is Britain Going?* [1925]).

Today's Labour leadership under Blair differs only in that it has graduated to the post of chief adviser to the Prince of Wales, while seeking to break even the most attenuated organisational connection to the trade unions. But there is nothing new about the Blairites' royal bootlicking. During World War I, Labour Party leader Arthur Henderson was a member of the King's "advisory" Privy Council when the British government ordered the state murder of James Connolly after the failed 1916 Irish Republican Easter Rising in Dublin. Ramsay MacDonald, who in 1924 became the first Labour prime minister, accepted an invitation to the royal court bedecked in the blue and gold-braid costume of the peerage. More recently, the snivelling former Labour deputy leader, Roy Hattersley, earnestly replied when offered a post in some minor ministry, "Does this mean I get into the Privy Council?"

While posturing as a "socialist alternative" to Blair—whose election it nonetheless supported—Tony Cliff's Socialist Workers Party (SWP, big brother of the U.S. International Socialist Organization) is firmly embedded in the syphilitic chain of Labourism. At the time of the 1977 Silver Jubilee, a carnival of reaction celebrating Queen Elizabeth's 1952 coronation, the SWP called for organising "red" jubilee celebrations so workers could "add to the fun." At least then the Cliffites said "Stuff the Jubilee—Roll on

WV Photo

the Red Republic."

Today, even such pseudoradical *verbiage* is off the agenda, as the SWP joins with the imperialist bourgeoisie in wallowing in the supposed "death of communism." Under the respectful headline, "A Death Is Used for Cynical Ends," *Socialist Worker* (6 September) moans about "an attempt to rehabilitate the battered institution of the royal family," but complains only about Diana's "life of privilege" and the "cost" of the royals. Meanwhile the SWP "lobbies" the capitalist government administered by Blair's Labour Party to "Tax the rich" and "Scrap the Royal Yacht."

It is not its extravagant cost, in and of itself, that makes the monarchy reactionary; the function of the money is to flamboyantly assert social privilege, to loudly proclaim that there is an unequal social place for everyone and that this is historical and inevitable. For the bourgeoisie, the cost of maintaining its sacred cows is quite cheap at the price. More fundamentally, the institution of the monarchy is a constant anti-democratic outrage and potential focus for reaction. In *Where Is Britain Going?* Trotsky tore apart the arguments of Labourite politicians that the royal power was inconsequential since it did not "interfere" in the country's affairs and was at any rate cheaper than electing a president as head of state. The revolutionary leader explained:

> "Royalty is weak as long as the bourgeois parliament is the instrument of bourgeois rule and as long as the bourgeoisie has no need of extra-parliamentary methods. But the bourgeoisie can if necessary use royalty as the focus of all extra-parliamentary, i.e., *real* forces directed against the working class."

It is to the Queen, not Parliament, that the British officer corps swears allegiance. In a crisis situation it is quite conceivable that a right-wing bonapartist coup attempting to restabilise the bourgeois order would seek out the monarchy as a buttress to reactionary mobilisation, and as a sign of "legality" and legitimacy against a weak bourgeois-democratic Parliament. The "private" Council of the Queen is the government-in-waiting of a possible future bonapartism. In 1975, Gough Whitlam's Australian Labor Party government, despite holding a parliamentary majority, was dismissed by Governor-General John Kerr, the Queen's personal representative, using the supposedly moribund "reserve powers of the Crown." Kerr exercised the "royal prerogative" against a government that was the object of a concerted CIA destabilisation campaign.

The late, unlamented Duke of Windsor, the once-king Edward VIII, and his would-be Queen Wallis were notoriously pro-Hitler and conspired with the Nazis to head a quisling government in England after the fall of France in 1940. Labour loyally supported "democratic" British imperialism—and its colonial empire—during the interimperialist conflict. The 1945 Labour government of Clement Attlee and Aneurin Bevan, today regarded by much of the left as the "socialist" pinnacle of "old" Labour, then went to extraordinary lengths to shield the Nazi-loving Duke and the rest of the "royal family" in the "national interest" while overseeing sinister "rat line" schemes that saved thousands of Nazi war criminals for use against the Soviet Union.

It took a revolution, culminating in the workers' seizure of power under Lenin and Trotsky's Bolsheviks, to sweep away the Russian tsarist autocracy headed by Nicholas II, a relative of the British royal family. Like their latter-day British Labourite cousins, the Mensheviks served to prop up the old order to the very end. Writing after the Labour/TUC misleaders betrayed the 1926 general strike, Trotsky described the Labourite officialdom as the "backbone" of British imperialism: "If there were not a bureaucracy of the trade unions, then the police, the army, the courts, the lords, the monarchy would appear before the proletarian masses as nothing but pitiful ridiculous playthings" ("The Errors in Principle of Syndicalism," November-December 1929).

The Spartacist League/Britain fights to build a revolutionary workers party, forged through splitting Labour's working-class base from its thoroughly pro-capitalist, and pro-monarchist, leaders. We uphold the authentic, militant traditions of the working class—not the disgusting parliamentary sycophancy of the Labour Party, but the revolutionary red republicanism of the Chartists of the mid-19th century. We call for abolition of the anachronisms of the monarchy, the established churches and the House of Lords, leading—as the relationship of forces permits—to confrontations over the institution of the House of Commons and the City of London financiers and capitalists it represents. What is needed is a sweeping social revolution culminating with the workers in power, opening a new line of historical development. ■

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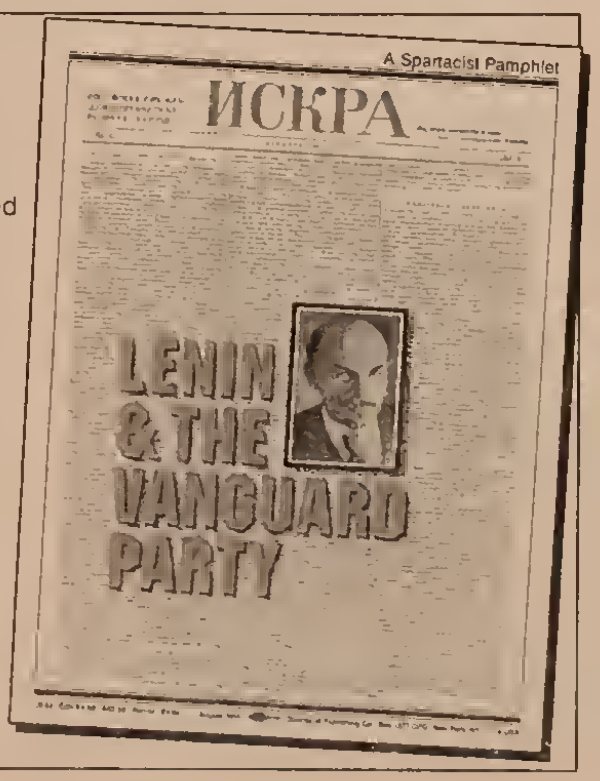

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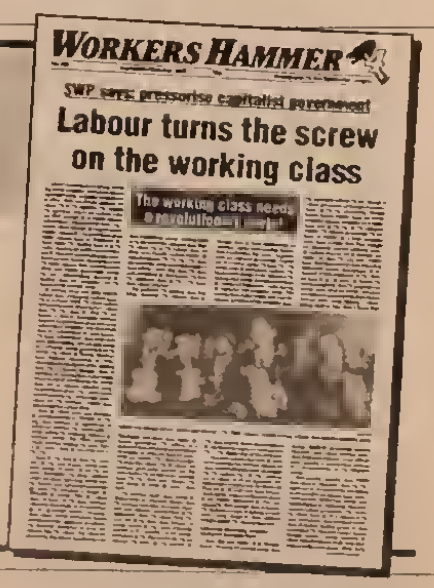


Anti-Labor Attacks...

(continued from page 12)

Hatch launched Senate committee hearings on a proposed "Freedom from Union Violence Act." This strikebreaking measure would literally make defense of picket lines a federal offense, bringing such cases under the purview of the FBI and opening up entire unions as well as individual strikers to federal prosecution. Strikes cannot be won without the ability to build picket lines that mean "Don't cross!"

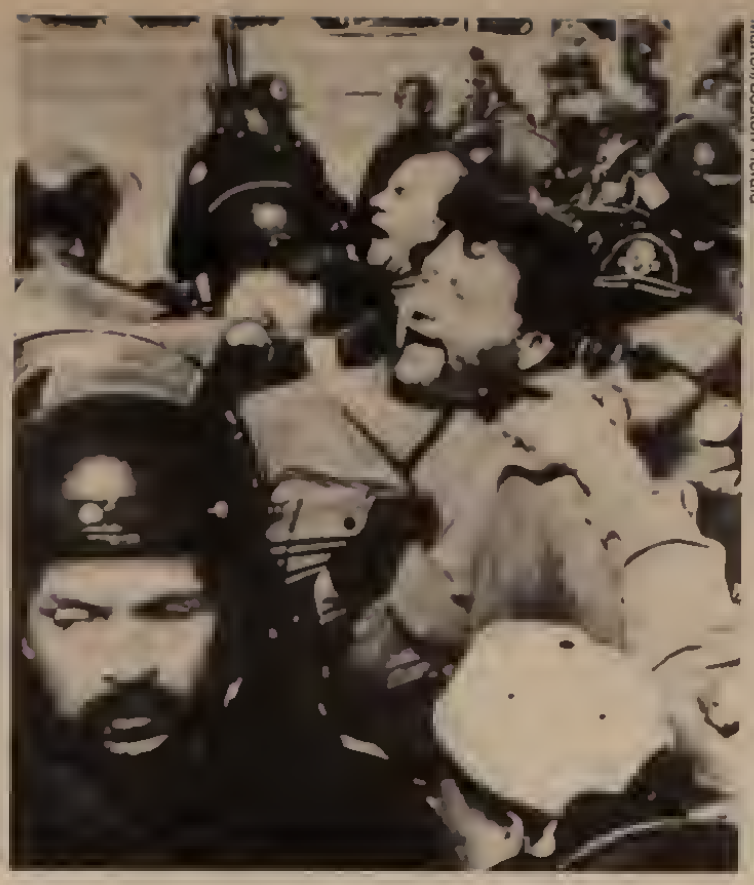
The *Wall Street Journal* has been fervently lobbying for the bill with a series of weepy accounts of scabs who were taught a lesson for trying to cross picket lines. One particularly scurrilous editorial was titled "Brother Acuna" (15 September). Jesse Acuna spent over two years behind bars for defending his picket line outside a Pico Rivera, California freight company during the 1994 national truckers strike. That strike was marked by vicious assaults by cops, including deadly SWAT teams, on the picket lines. Acuna was arrested and charged with attempted murder after a scab driving a double trailer had tried to run down Acuna and other Teamster pickets.

Now the rabid union-haters at the *Wall Street Journal*, who want to see many more union officials and militants like Jesse Acuna behind bars, try to paint this courageous working-class militant as a crazed would-be killer while denouncing Carey for a miserable $100 contribution to Acuna's legal defense. *Workers Vanguard* helped publicize his case, and the Spartacist League and Partisan Defense Committee called for all of labor to rally to Acuna's defense.

Also last month, a federal appeals court in Ohio ruled that "union shop" clauses in labor contracts—whereby workers must join a union after being hired—are "invalid" (Cleveland *Plain Dealer*, 11 September). The intent of this decision is to roll the clock back to the "right to work" days when workers had no right to organize. If accepted as a precedent nationally, it would effectively turn the whole country into an "open shop" area like the South, where employers, cops and KKK race-terrorists combine to intimidate workers who seek to join or organize unions.

Yet the proceedings at last week's AFL-CIO convention gave little sense that labor is facing a crescendo of ruling-class attacks. The union bureaucrats are silent about anti-union attacks because they themselves are against real picket lines, instead pursuing a class-collaborationist program of pressuring the Democratic Party. In the recent Teamsters strike, picket captains prevented strikers from stopping scab trucks, either at the gates or on the streets.

At the convention, AFL-CIO head John Sweeney, Carey and the rest were busy welcoming the feds to snoop into union affairs and concocting new approaches for financing the capitalist political parties, while providing a platform for Democrats Clinton and Gore. Underscoring the bureaucracy's ties to the capitalist class, the focus of the convention—directed against the imperialist chief's "fast track" proposal for new trade agreements—was a chauvinist crusade for "American jobs" and American industry, scapegoating workers in other countries for unemployment here.



Martell/Boston Herald

Police SWAT team attacks North Reading, Massachusetts picket line during 1994 Teamsters strike.

As we wrote in a *WV* supplement on the lessons of the UPS strike, "The union bureaucracy sees 'allies' in the agencies of the class enemy—the government, the cops, the courts. This class collaborationism stands behind the series of broken strikes and broken unions that have racked the organized labor movement" ("Unchain Labor's Power!" *WV* No. 673, 5 September). The latest events underscore the need for a political struggle against the pro-capitalist union tops as part of the fight to forge a revolutionary workers party.

Reformists and Bureaucrats

Only those dazzled by the "democratic" credentials of this capitalist government could fail to see that the purpose of state intervention is not to "clean up" the unions but to cripple them. The International Socialist Organization (ISO) is a prime example. These reformists have been among Carey's biggest political boosters on the left. But as soon as the feds moved against Carey, the ISO bowed down to the government. Uncritically reporting the prosecution of a Carey aide and the feds' diktat to rerun the union election, *Socialist Worker* (29 August) squealed: "While Carey is the best choice in the election, anyone in the Teamsters union found guilty of wrongdoing—including Carey himself—should be held accountable." In the same article, the ISO crows that Carey was "the first Teamsters president directly elected by the rank and file," failing to mention that this election was *directly run by the capitalist state*—which was invited into the union by the ISO-supported Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU).

In an article titled "A New Labor Movement?" in its new "theoretical" journal, *International Socialist Review* (Summer 1997), ISO honcho Lee Sustar argues for "the necessity of reintroducing socialist politics into the labor movement to help develop workers' consciousness, organization and capacity to fight for their interests." In real life, the ISO degrades the consciousness of the workers by preaching reliance on the capitalist state to bring "democracy" to the labor movement. In contrast, the Spartacist League bases itself on the Marxist understanding of the class struggle. As we wrote in our UPS strike supplement, socialist politics begin with "the understanding that this society is divided between two hostile classes: workers who are forced to sell their labor power in order to survive and the property-owning capitalist class to whom their labor power is sold." This irreconcilable conflict of class interests can only be resolved in favor of the workers through the smashing of the capitalist state and the revolutionary expropriation of the bourgeoisie under a workers government.

WV Photo

Jesse Acuna, militant Los Angeles Teamster imprisoned for defending picket line in 1994 truckers strike.

What the ISO pushes is *social-democratic* politics, the view that the capitalist state, which is organized to defend the interests of the bourgeois ruling class, can be pressured to act on behalf of the interests of the exploited. This has been the ISO's central premise since its inception as a tendency in the early 1950s, when its British patron Tony Cliff scabbed on the Soviet Union, China and North Korea, refusing to defend the degenerated/deformed workers states against "democratic" imperialism during the Korean War.

Fundamentally, the ISO shares the political outlook of the pro-capitalist union tops. Behind its calls for "rank-and-file movements" is a perspective of becoming left advisers to "progressive" bureaucrats like Carey. Thus, during the UPS strike the ISO made no effort to "develop workers' consciousness," instead limiting its role to raising contract demands for just a little more than what Carey was putting forward.

The ISO's perspective of seeking to become a "socialist" auxiliary to the pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy was shown clearly in *Socialist Worker* (29 August) which, despite its virulent anti-Communism, hailed the reformist Communist Party for providing a "socialist alternative" during the turbulent labor struggles of the 1930s, not even hinting at the Stalinists' role in channeling militant workers into Democrat Roosevelt's "New Deal" coalition. Today, Gus Hall's near-moribund CP identifies wholesale with the AFL-CIO bureaucracy—from support to "progressive" Democrats and chauvinist protectionism to diversionary "corporate campaigns" appealing to the capitalists' "conscience." Thus the CP's *People's Weekly World* (30 August) hailed not only the UPS strike but the recent Wheeling-Pitt sellout as "victories," boasting how in the latter case it withdrew "its investment portfolio from Merrill Lynch as a contribution to the corporate campaign of the Steelworkers union"!

Forge a Revolutionary Leadership!

It is a statement on the indifference of the bulk of the U.S. left to the struggles of the working class that the Spartacist League was virtually the only socialist organization to have a regular presence at Teamster picket lines during the UPS strike. We sought to bring to the strikers an understanding of the whole capitalist system—stressing the need to mobilize labor against racist oppression—and that strikes are a microcosm of the struggle for workers power. While the ISO was all over the strike because of their support to Carey and the TDU, they offered nothing more than a warmed-over version of the bureaucracy's politics.

The Progressive Labor Party (PL) tries to posture as a "hard" alternative to the labor bureaucracy. Originating as a left split from the reformist Communist Party in the early 1960s, PL has never been able to overcome its Stalinist baggage, alternating between "revolutionary" phrasemongering and reformist "center-left coalition" pressure politics. While raving about the need for "Communist-led Class War," PL dismissed the strike as "a war between factions of the ruling class" (*Challenge*, 10 September).

Then there are the political bandits of David North's Socialist Equality Party (SEP) who write off the unions, saying "to define the AFL-CIO as a working class organization is to blind the working class" (*Bulletin*, 10 January 1992). They even went so far as to openly defend scabbing in the UAW Caterpillar strike (*International Workers Bulletin*, 18 December 1995). Now they cannot even bring themselves to recognize that the Teamsters victory over UPS was a major break in the 20-year pattern of destroyed strikes, haughtily announcing that they "decline to join in the chorus of hosannas" for the strike's outcome (*International Workers Bulletin*, 25 August). Both PL and the SEP equate the unions with their sell-out leaderships. At bottom, their sneering dismissal of workers' struggles denies any possibility of winning the working class to revolutionary consciousness.

The political struggle against the labor misleaders is real—it must be fought out and won inside the labor movement in order to fully mobilize the proletariat to overthrow capitalism. We stated in our UPS strike supplement that while the strike won only relatively modest economic gains, "nonetheless, the consciousness that it is possible to win something, anything, against the bosses is important. So is the recognition of the social power of the organized, multiracial working class." Turning that recognition into the understanding that the historic interests of the working class can be achieved only through socialist revolution is the unique and necessary role of a revolutionary workers party, completely independent from the capitalist class, its government and political parties. The Spartacist League is committed to building this workers party in relentless political combat against "leftists" who are an obstacle to the proletariat's struggle for power. ■

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- Black Churches Torched Across the South **Mobilize Labor/Black Power to Smash Racist Terror!**
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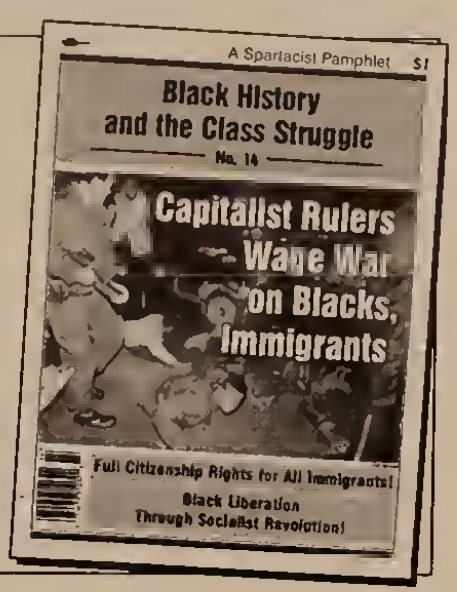

WORKERS VANGUARD

Democrats, Republicans: Enemies of Workers and Minorities

NYC Elections and Racist Cop Terror

Yee/NY Times

Jonathan Lipkin/Impact Visuals

Savulich/Daily News

Republican mayor Giuliani (left) gives green light for police rampages through ghettos and barrios. Democrats Ruth Messinger and Al Sharpton back cops while pushing review board "reform" hoax.

The sadistic torture of Haitian immigrant Abner Louima in August put the issue of rampant cop terror at center stage in the run-up to New York City's mayoral election. Despite the hypocritical expressions of protest by Republican mayor Rudolph Giuliani and his Democratic rivals, even as Louima lies in a hospital in critical condition, the New York Police Department has continued its deadly rampages through the city's ghettos and barrios. In mid-September, the 400-strong "Manhattan North Narcotics Initiative" carried out one of a series of "drug sweeps" which have besieged the largely Dominican Washington Heights area and other minority neighborhoods. Dominican immigrant Norman Batista had seven ribs fractured as he was kicked unconscious by the cops.

Days later, a mob of white bigots in the Carroll Gardens section of Brooklyn chased and severely beat black UPS driver Kevin Teague because he had crossed the "color line" dividing their ethnic enclave from predominantly black Red Hook. This was a chilling echo of the 1989 murder of black teenager Yusuf Hawkins in Bensonhurst and the 1986 lynch mob killing of Michael Griffith in another white enclave in Howard Beach. Meanwhile, Magalie Laurent, the Haitian nurse who heroically exposed the police brutalization of Abner Louima, has been threatened and physically attacked by some cop-loving employees at her hospital.

Those who torment this courageous nurse should be put on sharp notice by her union. But all that AFSCME Local 420 president James Butler had to offer to "protect" her was to call on the very cops who stand behind the attacks. A mobilization of New York's integrated unions—Teamsters, transit workers, hospital employees and others—in protest action over the Louima beating would have sent a powerful message to the racist bigots in and out of uniform.

Instead, the union officialdom devotes its energies—and workers' dues money—to pushing one or another capitalist politician. AFSCME District Council 37 head Stanley Hill is openly endorsing Giuliani in this election, while others are doing it more quietly. Under Giuliani, who was catapulted into office on the shoulders of a racist cop mobilization, the NYPD has had a green light for untrammeled racist terror. In the first year after his election, the number of black and Hispanic people killed by cops climbed 42 percent. But neither erstwhile liberal Ruth Messinger, the Democratic mayoral candidate, nor her chief primary rival, the Rev. Al Sharpton, offer the least alternative to Giuliani.

After initially declaring the need for a primary runoff between Messinger and Sharpton, the Board of Elections, notorious for its incompetence and patronage, reversed itself on the basis of an absentee ballot count. Amid the raw racism dominating the elections, this was perceived by many black people as yet another racist maneuver to somehow cheat and disenfranchise them. Sharpton has now thrown his support behind Messinger.

Sharpton has made a point of being the *only* public figure to identify with victims of racist cop attacks. But as the abysmal turnout for the primary—the lowest in decades—indicated, there is little appetite

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In Wake of Teamsters Victory
Government Steps Up Anti-Labor Attacks

The Left and the UPS Strike

After initially being stunned by the first successful strike against a major U.S. corporation in decades, the government, the courts and Wall Street have launched a broad counteroffensive aimed at preventing the spread of labor militancy. Immediately after the UPS strike in August, the government stepped up its decades-long vendetta against the International Brotherhood of Teamsters (IBT), voiding last December's re-election of IBT president Ron Carey, imposing a new ballot and even threatening to bar Carey from running again. This has now mushroomed into a wide-ranging "investigation" of supposedly "illegal" campaign funding throughout the AFL-CIO.

The pretense for this sinister snooping is transparently cynical: it is a known fact that the union officialdom squanders millions of dollars of union members' dues to support capitalist Democratic—and, in some cases, Republican—politicians. That is a matter for the union membership to deal with, as part of the fight for the class independence of the workers movement from the capitalist state and its political parties. As we wrote last month (*WV* No. 673, 5 September), after the ruling ordering new Teamsters elections and the ban by Clinton of a threatened strike by UPS pilots:

> "Labor can and must clean its own house through political struggles *inside* the unions. State intervention is flatly *counterposed* to the fight for union democracy and waging class struggle against the capitalists. Government hands off the Teamsters!"

Hard on the heels of the move against the Teamsters, Utah Republican Orrin

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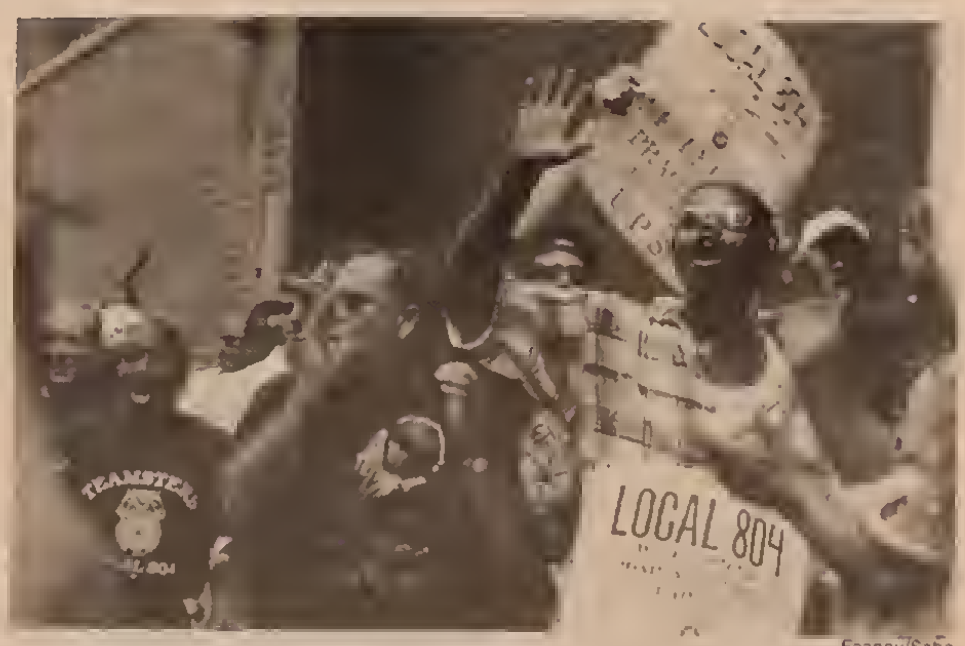

Feanny/Saba

Solid Teamsters strike against UPS broke string of labor defeats. Now government has launched counterattack against unions.

WORKERS VANGUARD

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Maiman/Sygma

Hill/Boston Herald

Wall Street and the War Against Labor

The following is the first part of an article which will be continued in coming issues of Workers Vanguard.

The Teamsters strike against UPS this August was generally seen as the first significant victory for labor in this country since Republican president Ronald Reagan crushed the PATCO air traffic controllers strike in 1981. A few days before the UPS settlement, when it was clear that the strike was not only effective in shutting down UPS but also broadly popular, Wall Street suffered the sharpest one-day sell-off in six years and the Dow Jones plunged 250 points—more than 3 percent. While stock prices have since recovered somewhat, they remain below the peak reached in early August.

America's capitalists were upset by the UPS strike not primarily because of the economic gains made by the drivers and warehousemen, which were quite modest. What really troubled the ruling class was the widespread view evidenced during the strike that the unions were now the good guys and corporate owners and managers the villains. The men who run Wall Street and the Fortune 500 corporations are, for their own reasons, sensitive to the mood of the men and women they exploit. And they are aware of a deepening bitterness and growing anger that is potentially dangerous to them.

A few days after the strike ended, the *New York Times* (24 August) ran an op-ed piece titled "The Worker Backlash," written by Stephen Roach, chief economist for the main branch of the House of Morgan, America's premier financial dynasty. Roach begins by stating flat out:

> "American workers are now beginning to challenge the very forces that have led to a spectacular resurgence in corporate profitability and competitiveness in the United States. They are, in effect, saying 'no' to years of corporate cost cutting that has been directed primarily at the nation's labor force."

Roach shoots down the notion that the rise in profitability and the resulting bull market on Wall Street are based on increased productivity resulting from investment in more advanced technology. He points to a recent Commerce Department study indicating that productivity increases in the U.S. during the 1990s have averaged slightly less than 1 percent a year, little different from the decade before and less than half the gains made in the 1950s-'60s. Describing the current economic situation as "a labor-crunch recovery—one that flourishes only because corporate America puts unrelenting pressure on its work force," Roach predicts:

> "Unlike the productivity-led recovery, the labor-crunch recovery is not sustainable. It is a recipe for mounting tensions, in which a raw power struggle occurs between capital and labor. Investors are initially rewarded beyond their wildest dreams, but those rewards could eventually be wiped out by a worker backlash."

Shortly after these words were written, San Francisco—the financial capital of the West Coast—was disrupted by a week-long strike against the Bay Area Rapid Transit (BART) system, which carries 40 percent of trans-Bay commuter traffic. As at UPS, the BART strike was in large measure fueled by opposition to the two-tier wage system which especially victimizes young workers. In this case, the union bureaucrats scuttled the strike without any real gains for the workers. Nevertheless, the BART strike confirmed Roach's concern about a "worker backlash."

We do not know whether Wall Street economist Stephen Roach has ever studied Karl Marx's *Capital*. However, in his own empirical way Roach recognizes one of its central truths: the market value of capital—i.e., the price of corporate stock—is in large measure determined by the intensity of the exploitation of labor. Capital should not be identified with the physical means of production and distribution—factories, power plants, oil refineries, trucks—as such. Rather, capital is a social relation defined by the monopolization of the means of production by one class which exploits the labor of another class. As Marx wrote:

> "Capital is not a thing. It is a definite interrelation in social production belonging to a definite historical formation of society.... Capital is not the sum of the material and produced means of production. Capital means rather the means of production converted into capital, and means of production by themselves are no more capital than gold and silver are money in themselves. Capital signifies the means of production monopolized by a certain part of society, the products and material requirements of labor made independent of labor-power in living human beings and antagonistic to them."
>
> —*Capital*, Volume III

Hence the condition of financial markets is at the most fundamental level governed by the state of the class struggle between the working class and the capitalists. At the same time, trade-union struggles for higher wages and better working conditions are essentially a type of guerrilla struggle against the capitalist economic system. The working class will be subjected to continual attempts to increase the rate of exploitation and to the threat of deepening immiseration until it expropriates the capitalist profiteers through a socialist revolution and establishes a planned economy where production is for the benefit of the whole of society.

Wall Street and the Class Struggle

Earlier this year, the left-wing London publishing house Verso brought out *Wall Street*, a study of U.S. financial markets by American writer Doug Henwood. Publisher of the New York-based newsletter *Left Business Observer*, Henwood considers himself a Marxist. Paradoxically, while the bourgeois analyst Stephen Roach recognizes the central importance of the class struggle in determining the movement of financial markets, the leftist Henwood does not. Instead, Henwood presents Wall Street as a world unto itself, governed exclusively by the actions and interactions of investment bankers, money managers, corporate CEOs and other "players," to use his term.

Henwood holds "Reaganomics" in large measure responsible for the sharply widening gap between rich and poor in the U.S. over the past few decades. Blaming the increased leverage of Wall Street financiers over industrial corporations for the deterioration of the economy and the falling living standards of working people, Henwood counterposes a series of economic reforms to deal with this situation:

> "Seriously boosting the income tax rate on the richest 1-2% of the population could fund all manner of public programs, from free education and childcare to public jobs programs. And taxation of wealth itself, along with income, would be a wonderful way to raise funds for, say, the upgrading of the public physical and social capital stock—financing urban reconstruction, mass transit, alternative energy research, and environmental repair."

The working class enters Henwood's picture of the current American economy only as helpless victims of capitalist greed personified by Wall Street financiers. In a 16-page index, there is no reference to the AFL-CIO or to trade unions

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Young Spartacus

For Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

40 Years After Little Rock: Still Separate, Still Unequal

See Page 3

Partisan Defense Committee

CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES

UMWA Militant Files New Appeal

Free Jerry Dale Lowe Now!

After almost two years behind bars, West Virginia United Mine Workers (UMWA) militant Jerry Dale Lowe has filed a new petition in federal court to win his freedom. A fourth-generation union miner and chairman of the local UMWA safety committee, Lowe was framed up for the shooting death of a scab contractor at Arch Mineral's Ruffner mine during a seven-month strike in 1993 and was sentenced the following year to nearly eleven years in jail with no possibility of parole. The bullet which killed the scab had come from an area where armed company thugs from Elite Security had been located. When it became clear that prosecutors had no evidence to convict Lowe under state law, the feds stepped in to railroad him to prison on charges of "interfering with interstate commerce." Seven other miners charged along with Lowe accepted plea bargains before trial.

In a petition filed from his prison cell in Ashland, Kentucky, Lowe asserts that federal authorities hid from the jury evidence tying someone else to the gun purportedly used in the shooting, which Lowe had sold before the incident. Prosecutors also failed to prove that the scab's vehicle had ever been used outside the state. Lowe's appeal argues that he had ineffective legal representation at the 1994 trial and that the judge was biased toward the prosecution.

Jerry Dale Lowe is in prison for the sole reason that he defended his union's picket lines. His conviction was a blow aimed straight at the labor movement. As we wrote in "Freedom for Jerry Dale Lowe!" (*WV* No. 630, 6 October 1995): "Constantly striving to build up its arsenal of repression, the government increasingly uses this 'interstate commerce' myth as the 'legal' sledgehammer to intervene to break strikes and railroad pickets when the local cops, goons and courts

WV Photo

Jerry Dale Lowe

can't do the jobs themselves." Now, in the wake of the successful UPS strike, the capitalist rulers are pushing a welter of new anti-union initiatives, including Republican Senator Orrin Hatch's proposed "Freedom from Union Violence Act," which would literally make defense of picket lines a federal offense.

Lowe's wife Lea told *WV* that "this is his last chance" to overturn his conviction in court. Three earlier appeals have been rejected, including by the U.S. Supreme Court, which refused to even hear Lowe's case. Up to now, the UMWA leadership has abandoned Lowe to face the wrath of the vindictive, labor-hating government alone. The Partisan Defense Committee, which has been sending monthly stipends to Lowe as part of our class-war prisoner program, urges UMWA and other labor militants everywhere to demand that their unions take up his cause. If a hearing is granted for the current appeal, trade unionists should pack the courtroom in solidarity. An injury to one is an injury to all!

Mumia's Jailers Ban Left Press

On September 18, death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal found out that his jailers were keeping from him leftist newspapers, including *Workers Vanguard*. The "Publications Review Committee" at Pennsylvania's SCI Greene prison banned unspecified issues of *WV* and the *New African POW Newsletter* and one issue of *Workers World* (4 September) on the utterly spurious grounds that the publications "advocate violence, insurrection or guerrilla warfare against the government or any of its institutions or which create a clear and present danger within the context of the correctional institution."

We can't claim to fathom what goes on in the perverse minds of prison censors, but we figure that what bothered them was *WV* No. 673 (5 September), with its back-page article on the gruesome NYPD torture of Haitian immigrant Abner Louima and an inside story, "Texas Prison Gauntlet of Terror," on the horrific abuse of prisoners at the Brazoria County Detention Center. The banned *Workers World* carried articles on the same atrocities. We were also recently informed by a prisoner in Dallas, Pennsylvania that authorities there had intercepted his copy of *WV* No. 672 (8 August), specifically objecting to a page with an article on racist Italian army atrocities with the same argument cited above.

Jamal immediately filed a protest to the prison superintendent for denying him *WV* and *Workers World*, acerbically noting: "While both publications historically call for a drastic transformation in the present economic system, it is doubtful that either actually 'advocated violence, insurrection or guerrilla warfare' if past readings are any guide; while these disapprovals impact the appellant's right to read these materials, it also impacts the rights of the publisher...their rights to disseminate information is implicated."

Mumia's jailers have done everything they can to silence his powerful voice and writings as he fights to overturn his frame-up conviction for the 1981 killing of a Philadelphia cop. With Mumia's appeal now before the Pennsylvania State Supreme Court, they want to stop him from reading the literature he needs as sources of information and political opinion. This is yet another attempt by the state to deny him his voice as a step toward taking his life. We demand that the ban on left press be lifted immediately! Freedom now for Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the racist death penalty!

* * *

Join the fight to free Mumia! Pass resolutions and raise much-needed contributions for Jamal's defense in your unions and campus and community organizations. Contact the Partisan Defense Committee—New York: P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013-0099, phone (212) 406-4252; Chicago: P.O. Box 802867, Chicago, IL 60680-2867, phone (312) 454-4931; Bay Area: P.O. Box 77462, San Francisco, CA 94107-0462, phone (510) 839-0852.

Contributions for Mumia's legal defense should be made payable to the Bill of Rights Foundation (earmarked "Mumia Abu-Jamal Legal Defense") and mailed to: Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, 163 Amsterdam Ave., No. 115, New York, NY 10023-5001.■

TROTSKY

LENIN

The Profit System, Barrier to Economic Productivity

Under the capitalist system, production is driven by the need of competing companies to maximize their profits, not to maximize the output of goods and services. Given the historic tendency of the rate of profit to fall, as Karl Marx explained in his three-volume work on the nature of the capitalist system (and recognized even by such perceptive 19th-century bourgeois economists as David Ricardo), this acts as a barrier to the expansion of production, generating periodic depressions and wars, mass unemployment and the immiseration of the working class. This underscores the Marxist understanding that the profit system cannot be reformed but must be uprooted through socialist revolution. Only a planned, socialized economy can utilize the most advanced science and technology to bring about the highest possible levels of labor productivity and a society providing for the needs of all.

The rate of profit, i.e., the relative increment of capital, is above all important to all new offshoots of capital seeking to find an independent place for themselves. And as soon as formation of capital were to fall into the hands of a few established big capitals, for which the mass of profit compensates for the falling rate of profit, the vital flame of production would be altogether extinguished. It would die out. The rate of profit is the motive power of capitalist production. Things are produced only so long as they can be produced with a profit. Hence the concern of the English economists over the decline of the rate of profit.... Development of the productive forces of social labour is the historical task and justification of capital. This is just the way in which it unconsciously creates the material requirements of a higher mode of production. What worries Ricardo is the fact that the rate of profit, the stimulating principle of capitalist production, the fundamental premise and driving force of accumulation, should be endangered by the development of production itself. And here the quantitative proportion means everything. There is, indeed, something deeper behind it, of which he is only vaguely aware. It comes to the surface here in a purely economic way—i.e., from the bourgeois point of view, within the limitations of capitalist understanding, from the standpoint of capitalist production itself—that it has its barrier, that it is relative, that it is not an absolute, but only a historical mode of production corresponding to a definite limited epoch in the development of the material requirements of production.

—Karl Marx, *Capital*, Volume III (1894)

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EDITOR, YOUNG SPARTACUS PAGES: Joe Sol

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All-Sided Bigotry

Iraqis in U.S. Jailed... for Marrying

On September 23, two Iraqi men in Lincoln, Nebraska were sentenced to prison terms ranging from four to six years, to be followed by likely deportation. Majed Al-Tamimy, 29, and Latif Al-Hussani, 35, both refugees from the 1991-92 Persian Gulf War, married two teenage girls in a Muslim ceremony arranged by the girls' father last November. The fact that it was an arranged marriage is not why the black-robed bigot passed sentence on them; they were convicted on federal laws against child sexual assault and a state law setting the minimum marriage age at 17.

We are opposed to the practice of arranged marriage, which is one aspect of the oppression of women within the patriarchal family. But as this case demonstrates, it is deadly dangerous to think that this racist, vindictive and hysterically anti-sex legal system can do anything about it. "At the time, he didn't think he was doing anything wrong," explained Al-Tamimy's attorney. "He had no concept of laws separate from the mosque." The outrageous sentence against the two immigrants horrified the local Muslim community and is the latest blow in a cruel tragedy that has already devastated at least half a dozen lives.

Shortly after the wedding, the older teenager, who was then 14, fled her unwanted husband and went to stay with her 20-year-old boyfriend, Mario Rojas. When her father reported her to the police as a runaway, the American "justice system" exploded into a

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Young Spartacus

For Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

40 Years After Little Rock: Still Separate, Still Unequal

The image of a black student walking a gauntlet of howling white racists as she tried to enter Central High in Little Rock, Arkansas in 1957 became a symbol for the civil rights struggle against Southern segregation and racism. This year, Democratic Party president and former Arkansas governor Bill Clinton used the platform at the 40th anniversary commemoration of the integration of Little Rock's Central High School to push his cynical call for "healing" the racial divide in America. While he slashes welfare and other social programs for black ghetto mothers and their children, Clinton hypocritically waxed eloquent that Little Rock helped make the U.S. "one America under law." But as even the head of the Arkansas NAACP bitterly admitted, "It's nothing but a charade to make people think that we've come so far from that day."

Four decades after Little Rock, what passes for public education in this country is more segregated than ever. Today, black students in large cities attend schools that are 83 percent minority and are little more than holding pens. As we wrote in "Education U.S.A.—Separate and Unequal" (*WV* No. 544, 7 February 1992):

> "The ruling class spends on educating those they exploit and oppress only what they can realize back in profit.... And if educating the sons and daughters of white workers has increasingly become an expendable overhead for decaying American capitalism, the children of black workers and poor are deemed *an expendable population*. Once a reserve army of labor to be maintained, albeit minimally, today for the racist rulers the black ghetto poor are not worth 'wasting' money on even to keep alive, much less educate."

More recently with the gutting of affirmative action programs, higher education is increasingly off limits. This year, the University of Texas law school—which since the 1980s has graduated more black and Hispanic lawyers than any other university in the country—accepted only four black students. At UC Berkeley's Boalt Hall law school, acceptance of black students is down *80 percent* from last year and Latino enrollment has been cut in half. Against the racist purge on campuses, the SYC calls for free tuition and open admissions as part of our fight for free, integrated, quality education for all. Yet even to realize such a just and basic demand—that all children have the right to a decent education—requires the eradication of this decaying capitalist system through communist revolution.

UPI

Little Rock, 1957: Racists surround Elizabeth Eckford as she tries to enter Central High School.

Federal Troops vs. the Fight for Integration in Little Rock

In May 1955, the Little Rock school board, trying to circumvent the Supreme Court decision which outlawed formal school segregation, *Brown v. Board of Education*, devised what it called the "Little Rock Phase Program." According to this strategy, token integration would be phased in on an extremely gradual basis. The soon-to-be completed Hall High School, an elite upper-middle-class white school, would remain segregated while only the working-class Central High School would enroll token black students—and that only in 1957. In the end, only nine black students, out of 75 applicants, were enrolled in this school of 2,000 whites.

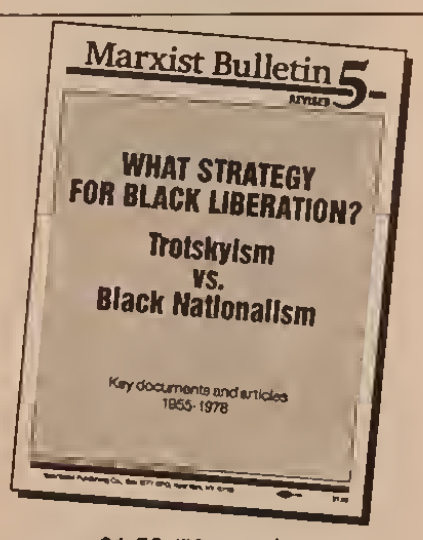
Still, any "race-mixing" at all roused the ire of the racists of the Capital Citizens Council who led the lynch mob opposition. Vowing to stop the integration of Central High, a day before school opened Democratic governor Orval Faubus called in 250 National Guardsmen, guns in hand, to keep black students out of Central. Faubus threatened that "blood will run in the streets" if the black students entered Central High. Fifteen-year-old Elizabeth Eckford, one of the nine black students chosen to attend Central, was confronted by a racist mob when she tried to enter the school. As soldiers blocked the entrance, the mob cried, "Lynch her! Lynch her!" Eckford was only barely able to escape onto a city bus.

After days of protests, President Eisenhower sent in the 101st Airborne Division, supposedly to "protect" black students. Liberals point to this as proof of the benevolent nature of the American government. One recent book argues: "When the United States Army arrived in Little Rock, the troops brought a stark, reverberating message: The United States will not put up with any more of this defiance" (Roy Reed, *Faubus: The Life and Times of an American Prodigal* [1997]). In fact, the troops were not sent there to protect the black students but to put down an upheaval of the Little Rock black population who fought to disperse the white racist mob and defend the students. As the *Amsterdam News* (28 September 1957), a New York City black newspaper, headlined: "Ike Moves as Negroes Hit Back." The troops sent in by Eisenhower restored "law and order," preventing the total rout of the retreating racists. This was applauded by civil rights leader Martin Luther King Jr., who praised the troops for enforcing "nonviolence" upon the black population.

It wasn't just liberals like King who cheered the intervention of federal troops, but also the Socialist Workers Party (SWP). This obscene appeal to the armed forces of the American capitalist rulers was an early signal of the beginning degeneration of this once-revolutionary, Trotskyist party. For Marxists, the understanding of the state is elementary: as Lenin explained, it is armed bodies of men, including the army, who protect the capitalist class' monopoly of wealth against workers and the oppressed. In 1943, when the SWP was still revolutionary, the *Militant* (3 July 1943) responded to anti-black riots in Detroit, correctly noting:

> "Certainly no trust or reliance can be placed in the federal authorities, the army, state or municipal police, the goodwill of the capitalist rulers, the action of Congress or the President.... The chief

continued on page 11



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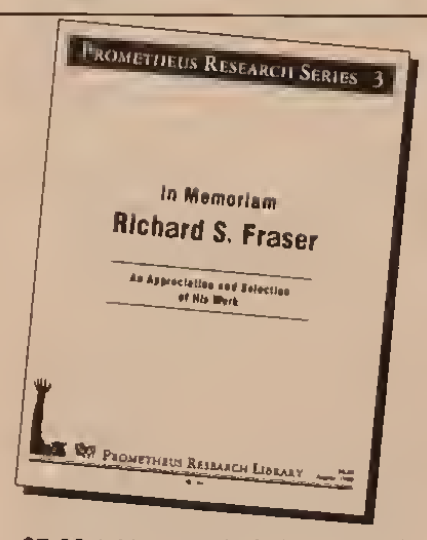

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Wide World

National Guard troops were called out by Dixiecrat governor Orval Faubus to stop integration of Central High.

Myra Tanner Weiss

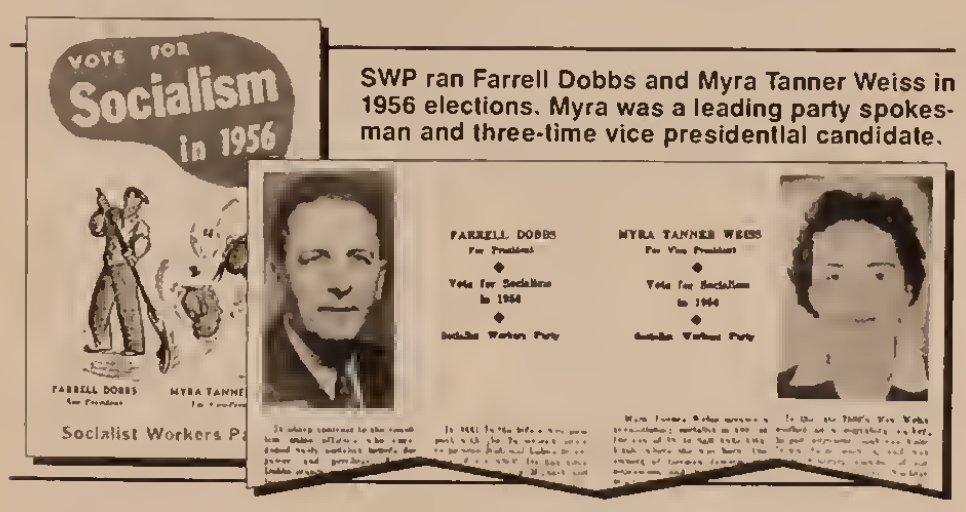
SWP

1917-1997

Myra Tanner Weiss, a leader of the then-revolutionary Socialist Workers Party (SWP) in the 1940s and '50s and three-time SWP candidate for vice president of the United States, died in Los Angeles on September 13. Incapacitated by a stroke for the last five years, she was 80 at the time of her death. Myra Tanner Weiss was a committed fighter for the proletarian cause. We in the Spartacist League mourn her passing and honor her memory.

Myra was on the right wing of the SWP and thus at some political distance from the SL's precursor, the Revolutionary Tendency (RT) inside the SWP. The RT was formed in 1961 to fight the party's abandonment of a revolutionary perspective, as evidenced particularly by the leadership's wholesale enthusing for Fidel Castro's leadership of the Cuban Revolution. But as a member of the SWP Political Committee (PC), Myra consistently and vociferously defended the RT's democratic rights against the bureaucratic regime of Farrell Dobbs and Tom Kerry as it moved to restrict the ability of minority factions to exist within the party. When Dobbs/Kerry expelled the core of the RT in late 1963—solely for their oppositional views, not for any infractions of discipline—Myra recognized this as the first such purge in the party's history. Her minority report to a December 1963 National Committee (NC) plenum opposing the expulsion was, in her words, "the most important speech I have ever made in the Trotskyist movement."

Myra was won to Trotskyism in 1935 while studying chemistry at the University of Utah in Salt Lake City, recruited by Joseph Hansen, who also later became a leader of the SWP. Like Hansen, Myra soon moved to the San Francisco Bay Area, where she worked with the Trotskyists during the entry into the Socialist Party. She was a founding member of the Socialist Workers Party in 1938. Two years later, the party was split by a petty-bourgeois faction led by Max Shachtman, James Burnham and Martin Abern, which abandoned the Trotskyist position of unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union as World War II broke out. Myra and her future companion and political partner, Murry Weiss, were among the few leading youth cadres to side with Cannon and the SWP majority (see Joe Hansen's 1940 polemic, "The Abern Clique"). This helped propel them into party leadership.



SWP ran Farrell Dobbs and Myra Tanner Weiss in 1956 elections. Myra was a leading party spokesman and three-time vice presidential candidate.

In the late 1930s, Myra was active in trade-union organizing throughout Southern California. She worked for a while as a walnut picker, living in the migratory camps and organizing farm workers in the San Joaquin Valley. For her defense of immigrant workers, she was made an honorary member of the Mexican Agricultural Workers Union (CUOM). By 1940, she had become a shop steward in a fish cannery and a delegate to the Central Labor Union of San Pedro, serving on the negotiating committee for the AFL-affiliated Fish and Cannery Workers Union. Myra spoke out in her union against the persecution of Japanese American workers as the U.S. entered the interimperialist war with the December 1941 bombing of Pearl Harbor by Japan.

Myra married Murry Weiss in 1942, and for the next decade they led the SWP's Los Angeles local. They helped build the Los Angeles SWP into one of the party's largest and most influential local organizations: by 1945, the L.A. local had five branches and industrial fractions in the United Auto Workers and many other unions, including on the San Pedro docks and in the shipyards, where the party began to make headway in recruiting black workers. Myra served as local organizer and was elected to the National Committee in 1944, becoming a powerful public spokesman for the party. In 1945, she ran for mayor on a platform emphasizing the party's opposition to the war as an interimperialist slaughter.

SWP Spikes Fascist Gerald L. K. Smith

It was also in 1945 that the L.A. SWP brought its growing support in the labor movement to bear in initiating a successful united-front campaign to stop the fascist Gerald L. K. Smith from setting up headquarters in the city. Smith was offering his services to the local ruling class against an increasingly combative labor movement in this notoriously open shop town. The ranks of L.A. labor had been swollen by an influx of black and white workers from the Deep South. While the local Shachtman organization tried to organize pickets by left groups outside Smith's race-hate rallies—a small and impotent show of opposition—the SWP sought to mobilize the largely Stalinist-led CIO industrial unions into action. The party distributed an open letter calling for action against Smith and succeeded in getting resolutions passed in a number of CIO union locals.

The Communist Party sought to deflect this groundswell into an impotent protest meeting to be held blocks away from a mass meeting called by Smith for July 20; Myra polarized a public planning meeting by calling for a march to the fascist rally site. Though it lost the vote, the SWP decided to build the Stalinist-organized protest in order to be able to influence the many CIO workers who supported it. This was a typical popular-front affair, complete with an array of Hollywood stars and a lot of liberal hot air, but it drew an overflow crowd of some 17,000 clamoring for action against the fascists.

Smith soon left for a tour of other cities. But when he returned to Los Angeles in October, the SWP carried the day with its call for mass labor action to stop him. Party supporters galvanized the United Auto Workers District Council and the Warehousemen's section of the ILWU longshore union into calling a protest demonstration, forcing the L.A. CIO Council to follow suit. In the largest picket the city had ever seen, 20,000 workers protested outside the fascists' announced meeting place. As the SWP's most prominent local leader, Myra attended the demonstration with a bodyguard of recently demobilized soldiers still wearing their army uniforms. She then gave a speech greeting the 150 supporters who celebrated the victory at SWP headquarters.

Smith's fascist movement was soon spiked. Following the L.A. local's lead, SWP branches in Detroit, Oakland, Chicago and elsewhere mobilized CIO unions in action against Smith's appearances. In 1946, Myra wrote a pamphlet publicizing a horrific racist arson attack which killed an entire black family in their home in Fontana, near Los Angeles. Writing that "the facts must be shouted from the housetops as a lesson and a warning," she advocated "a united defense organization of all minorities (Mexicans, Jews, Negroes, Filipinos, Japanese-American) and the powerful unions, A.F. of L., C.I.O. and Railroad Brotherhoods" to make sure it didn't happen again.

With the biggest strike wave in American history erupting in 1946, the ruling class soon unleashed the anti-Communist McCarthy witchhunt and anti-labor legislation like Taft-Hartley to throw the reds out of the unions and to cripple the labor movement. The red purges were criminally aided by much of the labor misleadership. Nonetheless, Myra garnered over 18,000 votes when she ran on the SWP ticket for the Los Angeles school board in 1950, at the height of the witchhunt.

Collaboration with Cannon

In the early 1950s, historic SWP leader James P. Cannon and his companion, Rose Karsner, began to spend part of the year in Los Angeles, retiring from day-to-day party leadership. As Myra later recounted in her "Letter to Comrades" (October 1983), Cannon had already become quite dissatisfied with the New York SWP center under his chosen successor, Farrell Dobbs. Cannon persuaded Murry and Myra to move to New York in 1952 to revitalize the party center. It was Cannon, too, who pushed Myra to be the SWP's vice presidential candidate in the 1952 elections, after the party's slated candidate, Grace Carlson, succumbed to McCarthyism and renounced Trotskyism to return to her origins in the Catholic church. Dobbs, the party's presidential candidate, wanted Joe Hansen on the ticket. But Cannon and Vince Dunne took the issue to the party convention and won.

The SWP's campaign emphasized the party's opposition to U.S. imperialism's war in Korea, noting "The same gang that has burned and bombed Korea to a wasteland is responsible for the disenfranchisement and segregation of the Negro people." In a pre-election biographical sketch, the *Militant* gave a hint of the feisty spirit which made Myra a great campaigner: "Once, in Oakland while marching in an anti-fascist picket line, she was arrested for alleged assault and battery against five cops. She says the number was exaggerated." Myra was also the party's vice presidential candidate in 1956 and 1960.

Especially under the impact of the reactionary political climate of the 1950s, the Weisses' impressionism often led to opportunist bulges. In 1948, they called for SWPers to "enter" the Stalinist-backed "Progressive Party" movement around former Democratic vice president Henry Wallace in order to push for trade-union and minority candidates in this bourgeois party. In 1954, Myra also briefly advocated the idea that the SWP could endorse black Democrats if they were supported by the NAACP. And Murry was behind the SWP's qualitatively excessive characterization of McCarthyism as American fascism.

But it is also true that Murry and Myra Weiss were among the most effective and energetic organizers, writers and spokesmen in a party that had lost most of its intellectuals in the 1940 faction fight and found itself weakened and isolated during the Cold War witchhunt. The Weisses, and the L.A. local they built, stood out in contrast to the aging, tired, colorless SWP cadre in the Farrell Dobbs mode. The Dobbs wing of the party leadership only reluctantly took up the fight which Cannon launched in 1953 against the liquidationist faction led by Bert Cochran and George Clarke. When Cannon later proclaimed that he had feared, at the beginning of the fight, that he would have to start all over again with "a small handful," he was thinking of drawing on the Los Angeles membership recruited and trained by the Weisses. But the entire SWP had already gone pretty far down the road of accommodation to Stalinism advocated by Cochran-Clarke (and

Anne Sarason

Murry Weiss

the European Trotskyists under Michel Pablo) before the party was pulled back (belatedly and partially) by Cannon.

Weiss vs. Dobbs

In 1946-47, Myra was among the first of the cadre to attend the six-month party education course known as the "Trotsky School." As an NCer resident in New York she served during this period on the party's Political Committee. At the time the party had organized a special branch for its maritime fraction in Manhattan; the women cadre—who did most of the organizational work in the branch while the men were at sea—took their complaints to Myra when the male cadre tried to insist that only sailors (i.e., only men) could be nominated as delegates from the branch to the party convention. Myra took the issue to the PC and, with Cannon's help, won.

Along with San Francisco party organizer Frances James and Seattle organizer Clara Kaye, Myra was known as a fighter for women's issues and female leadership within the party. Under the Weisses' leadership, the Los Angeles organization sought to break the habitual male-female division of labor within the party, by decreeing that for one year only women could be elected organizers and only men secretaries. That Murry and Myra were *both* members of the National Committee was in itself an exception to the unstated party rule that only one member of a couple (almost always the male) could serve on the NC. It is true that within the framework of the SWP in the 1950s, the Weiss group was more attuned to the need to develop women cadre. But Myra later

Myra was key in organizing SWP-initiated labor mobilization to stop Gerald L. K. Smith race-hate rally in Los Angeles, October 1945, and wrote 1946 pamphlet (left) denouncing murder of black family in Southern California.

tionary Tendency; Robertson is now National Chairman of the Spartacist League. There was a real personal and social affinity between the Weisses and the ex-YSL youth, who shared leadership of the newly founded Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) with young Weiss supporters. But while Myra and Murry (who suffered a devastating stroke in 1960 from which he only slowly recovered) were by then moving rapidly to the right—anticipating by several years the political trajectory of

Bancroft Library, UC Berkeley

Mexican migrant workers in 1933 California cotton strike. In late 1930s, Mexican Agricultural Workers Union made Myra an honorary member for her organizing efforts and defense of immigrant workers.

predictably tried to generalize this into a feminist explanation for the degeneration of the SWP, as is clear from her 1987 pamphlet, *The Bustelo Incident: Marxism & Feminism*.

The so-called "Bustelo incident" in 1954 brought to a head growing tensions between Dobbs and the Weisses. Using the pseudonym Jack Bustelo, Joe Hansen had written a tongue-in-cheek article in the *Militant* making fun not only of the cosmetics industry but of women who used cosmetics. A revolutionary party should seek to interfere as little as possible in the personal adornment (and general lifestyle) of its members; Hansen's condescending defense of the white bread and Ivory soap "scrubbed" look as a virtual political principle understandably engendered an outcry from women in the party. Dobbs accused Myra and the "Weiss clique" of orchestrating this. In the aftermath, Murry Weiss was forced to deny the existence of any "Weiss clique" and he and Dobbs publicly pledged to work together. But the rift between Dobbs and Weiss was out in the open, with the Weisses and their supporters permanently on the outs.

Murry served as editor of the *Militant* from 1954-56 and Myra continued as a staff writer and public spokesman. Both remained on the PC. In 1957, Murry was responsible for winning over a group of leftward-moving youth from the Shachtmanite Young Socialist League (YSL), including Tim Wohlforth and James Robertson, later founders of the Revolu-

the Dobbs/Kerry majority—the future leaders of the RT were moving to the left in search of the *revolutionary* perspective for which they had joined the SWP.

Defense of the RT

The Weisses fully shared the position which Dobbs/Kerry/Hansen adopted in January 1961—that because a social revolution had occurred in Cuba, the Cuban leadership was on a par with Lenin's Bolsheviks. In fact, the Weissites were *more* enthusiastic about Castro than Dobbs and had adopted this position a year earlier. But Dobbs was moving to strangle any opposition to his bureaucratic regime; the troublesome Weiss supporters were removed from the YSA leadership in June 1961, along with RT leader Jim Robertson.

There was a certain element of self-interest involved in Myra's defense of the RT's factional rights. But this defense also came at a personal and political cost to her. When in early 1963 Myra disagreed with Tom Kerry at a New York local meeting and protested against sending two majority youth to "raid" an internal RT tendency meeting, she was subsequently raked over the coals in a PC meeting. (A 29-page transcript of this discussion accompanies the PC minutes of 22 February 1963; Myra finally told Dobbs et al. to ask for her resignation or shut up.) Myra delivered her minority report against the RT's expulsion to the same December 1963 NC plenum which denied her the vice presidential nomination for the 1964 election campaign—a venal act of punishment which she keenly felt.

In a motion she submitted to the Political Committee on 1 November 1963, Myra demanded that the RT be given a chance to answer the charges of "disloyalty" brought against it after a specious Control Commission "investigation." She wrote:

> "The 'evidence' of 'disloyalty' submitted in the report consists entirely of opinions and no one in the history of the Socialist Workers Party has ever been punished for thoughts that differ with those of the majority—nor ever can be if we are to remain a revolutionary force."

But the Dobbs leadership *was no longer a revolutionary force*. Having abandoned the program of permanent revolution, the centrality of the working class and the struggle for a Trotskyist party, the SWP now saw its role as that of cheerleader for various other social forces which, it vainly hoped, would effect social change in its stead. That was why Dobbs extinguished the right of factional opposition. The bureaucratization of the party was the necessary organizational handmaiden of the SWP's qualitative shift off a revolutionary axis (see "The SWP—A Strangled Party," *Spartacist* No. 38-39, Summer 1986).

Myra's own reformist political trajectory never allowed her to come to grips with this process. Nonetheless, in defending the RT's factional rights she showed a great deal more political acumen than many of her political contemporaries, most of whom duly raised their hands for Dobbs only to find themselves expelled in later years under the 1965 organizational rules established to justify the RT's expulsion, as Dobbs' successor, Jack Barnes, openly renounced Trotskyism and turned the SWP into the quirky reformist group it is today (see the Spartacist pamphlet, *The Socialist Workers Party: An Obituary*, May 1984).

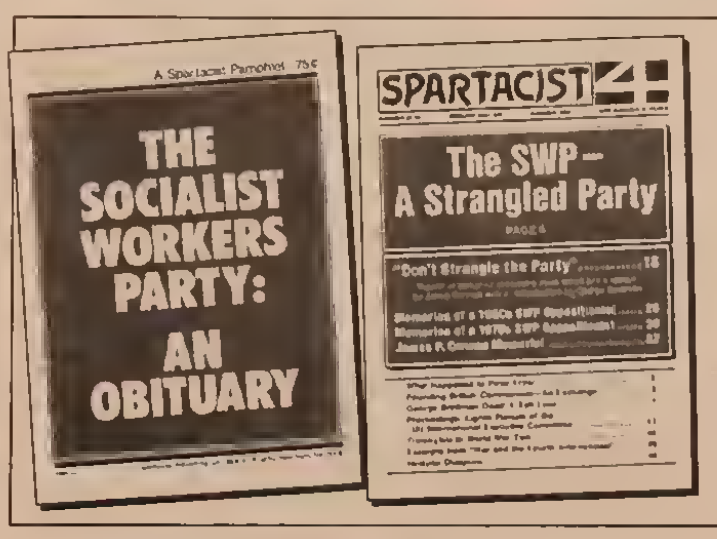
Myra was not the only NCer to recognize that the expulsion of the RT represented a watershed; longtime SWP leader Arne Swabeck, who was himself in opposition to Dobbs (he wanted to accommodate not to Castro, but to the Chinese Stalinists under Mao Zedong) also protested. In a 7 May 1964 letter to Myra reporting on the Los Angeles branch debate over the expulsions, Swabeck speculated on Cannon's views:

> "We have a strong hunch that Jim is not at all happy about the developments on the expulsions. He did not take part in the debate at all; neither did Rose. This was a bit conspicuous since he was most conspicuously present at the meeting which announced the suspensions last November."

Cannon refused to comment on the 1965 Organizational Resolution, which codified the expulsion of the RT and equated factions with "disloyalty" to the party. By 1968, he had ceased writing at all to the party center.

Murry and Myra quit the SWP in 1965; a number of disaffected old-time cadre left the party around this time. For the next ten years, the Weisses' pursuits were largely personal. In 1972, Myra obtained a master's degree in political science from NYU. The Weisses reactivated politically in the mid-1970s, writing an open letter objecting to the SWP's abject tailing, during the Portuguese Revolution of 1974-75, of the forces of *counterrevolution* led by the Socialist Party and funded by the CIA through the intermediary of the German Social Democratic Party. Murry and Myra advocated tailing the Stalinist Communist Party, but at least they were on the right side of those barricades. They also participated in a short-lived "Committee for a Revolutionary Socialist Party" with Clara Kaye's Freedom Socialist Party (FSP) and assorted ex-SWPers in 1977. Myra did not follow Murry when he joined the FSP two years later. He died shortly after, in 1981.

We in the Spartacist League maintained only sporadic, but always friendly, contact with Myra in her later years. She allowed the Prometheus Research Library, archive and library of the Central Committee of the Spartacist League, to copy some of her correspondence and PC minutes. Among her last public political acts was to write a letter in 1989 to the governor of Pennsylvania demanding freedom for Mumia Abu-Jamal. Myra's papers were deposited at Tamiment Library in New York City. ■



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Wall Street...

(continued from page 1)

in general. In fact, albeit expressed in more leftist verbiage, Henwood's views mirror those of the AFL-CIO bureaucracy. Thus, in preaching about corporate "accountability" and the need for greater "oversight" of financial markets, AFL-CIO chief John Sweeney told a meeting of the union federation's "Economic Strategy Institute Conference" in Washington, D.C. this April:

> "The problem is not that governments are too strong, but that they are too weak.... The international community must construct and enforce the rules needed to bring out the best in competition, not the worst. These include new regulations on international financial markets to encourage long term investment, not short term speculation, as well as new constraints on the power of financial buccaneers to up-end national economic policies."

The labor bureaucracy has consistently peddled illusions in a reformed and benevolent capitalism generating permanent prosperity for all. The appointed agent of this miraculous transformation is the U.S. government. The false view that this government represents the interests of all layers of society is meant to obscure the real nature of the capitalist state as the "executive committee" of the ruling class as a whole. Particularly since the 1930s, when the newly formed CIO industrial unions were politically shackled to the Democratic Party, the labor tops' subordination of the unions to the class enemy has taken the form of seeking to pressure this capitalist party to act as a "friend of labor."

A hallmark of the AFL-CIO misleaders' treachery is their adherence to the Taft-Hartley ban on secondary labor strikes, one of the most powerful tactics available to the labor movement. The *Economist* (23 August)—London house organ of international financiers—recently commented: "After Ronald Reagan crushed the air-traffic controllers' union in 1981, American managers felt unintimidated by the threat of strikes; they reengineered, down-sized and contracted out." But this was not inevitable. If the machinists and other airline workers had walked out in solidarity with the PATCO strikers in 1981, defying Reagan and shutting down the nation's airports, the economic history of the United States over the past decade and a half—and a lot of other things—would have been very different.

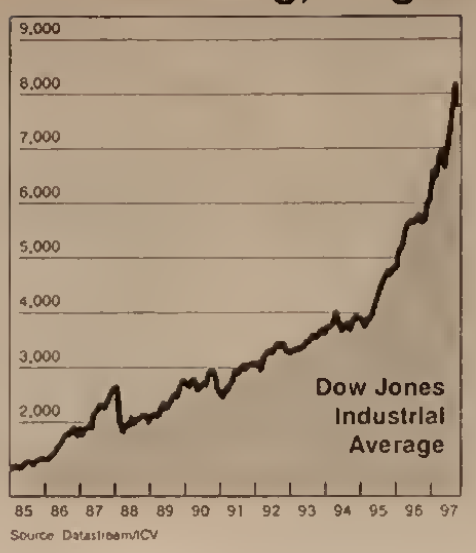
Serving as the political agents of the bourgeoisie, the union bureaucracy suppresses militant labor struggle against the bosses and their state, opposes any serious fight against the deep-seated racist oppression of black people which is at the core of American capitalism, and at the same time supports U.S. imperialism against the exploited and oppressed peoples of the world. In the name of anti-Communism, the labor officialdom backed to the hilt the Cold War drive which helped destroy the Soviet Union. And the AFL-CIO tops have spent millions agitating for trade protectionism, a pernicious policy which pits American workers against their class brothers and sisters in other countries. By omission, Henwood absolves the pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy—its treachery, defeatism and class collaborationism—from any responsibility for the generation-long assault on wages and working conditions.

The immiseration suffered by working people in the U.S. over the past generation is not the result of bad government policies or bad ideas on the part of those who run federal government bureaucracies, Wall Street banks or large corporations. The American working class is confronting the drive by the owners of capital to maximize their profits under conditions of low productivity growth and intensifying rivalry with Germany and Japan. Following the collapse of the USSR, the U.S. rulers believe themselves to be the masters of a "one superpower world." Yet Henwood gives no consideration to the increasing conflicts between American, German and Japanese imperialism, now no longer bound by the anti-Soviet alliance. This has already had a profound effect on everything from the U.S. Treasury's exchange-rate policies to Wall Street's increased penetration of Mexico through the NAFTA "free trade" agreement.

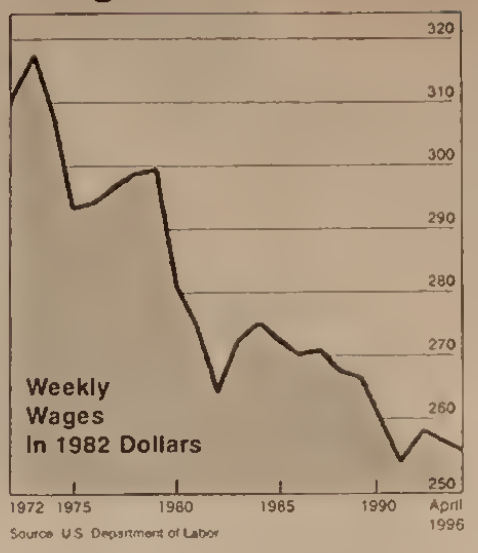
Moreover, reading *Wall Street*, one would never know that the United States is a deeply racially divided society. It was the use of racist demagogy against the minority poor that enabled Reagan and the Democratic Congress to cut taxes for the rich in the early 1980s and helped Clinton and the Republican Congress eliminate welfare earlier this year. There can be no effective resistance to the capitalist offensive against the working class unless the labor movement leads the struggle against the special oppression of blacks and other minorities. As we wrote in a special supplement on the UPS strike titled "Unchain Labor's Power!" (*WV* No. 673, 5 September):

> "The capitalist rulers have fomented racial hatred and made the color bar a fundamental dividing line in this country in order to obscure the irreconcilable class divide between labor and capital. Once supplying a 'reserve army of labor' to be employed when the bosses needed them, the ghetto poor have been discarded by a ruling class that no longer needs their labor power. But black workers remain a significant component of organized labor, integrated into strategic sections of the proletariat in whose hands lies the power to break the chains of capitalist exploitation and racist oppression."

Stocks Rising, Wages Falling



Source: Datastream/ICV



Source: U.S. Department of Labor

Industrialists and Financiers: Two Classes in Conflict?

Disappearing the struggle between labor and capital, Henwood's *Wall Street* instead focuses on the supposed conflicts between different sections and factions of the bourgeoisie. Henwood attributes extraordinary influence in the real world to advocates of economic theories currently or recently fashionable in U.S. ruling circles, like the "supply-side economics" pushed by Reaganite ideologues like Jude Wanniski and Robert Bartley. The "supply-siders" maintained that cutting tax rates, especially for the rich, would encourage an outpouring of entrepreneurial energy which would sharply accelerate economic growth. The resulting higher level of national income would then generate a similar volume of taxes but at lower rates. Hence, they claimed, cutting taxes would not produce big budget deficits.

To begin with, the economic policies of the Reagan government cannot be understood without taking into account the massive increase in military spending which aimed to put pressure on the Soviet Union. Wall Street bankers and corporate executives were not going to pay out-of-pocket for the beefed-up Pentagon war machine by accepting higher taxes on their profits and income. And raising Social Security deductions or income taxes to cover the ballooning budget deficits would have quickly provoked a popular backlash against this right-wing Republican regime.

Furthermore, contrary to liberal mythology, the economic policies of the Reagan gang, which were supported by the Democratic-controlled Congress, were not really inspired by the crackpot theories of Wanniski, Bartley, Arthur Laffer and other "supply-side" true believers. As Reagan's budget director, David Stockman, admitted, "I've never believed that just cutting taxes alone will cause output and employment to expand" (William Greider, *The Education of David Stockman and Other Americans* [1982]).

The Reaganites *deliberately* manufactured massive budget deficits—the federal debt tripled between 1981 and 1990—in order to create the financial pressures and resulting political conditions to dismantle the "welfare state." And the strategy worked. Witness the effective elimination of Aid to Families with Dependent Children under Democrat Clinton and the looming attacks on Social Security and Medicare. Henwood blames it all on the financiers: "With the vast increase in government debt since the Reagan experiment began has come the increasing political power of 'the markets,' which typically means cuts in social programs in the name of fiscal probity." Would Henwood have us believe that the boards of directors of General Motors, Du Pont and Exxon are less insistent on cutting social programs than their counterparts at Citicorp and Morgan Stanley?

Basically, Henwood's book is an expression of a neo-populism which blames the worst ills and excesses of American capitalism on bankers and other financial operators. This political-intellectual current originated in the 19th century around the program of "cheap money" and was perpetuated in a somewhat changed form with the New Deal liberalism of the 1930s. Central to the liberal populist outlook is a belief that the capitalist class is divided into two classes, so to speak: those directly involved in producing and marketing goods and services, and those whose incomes derive from financial dealings. The former are regarded as at least relatively progressive, while the latter are deemed outright reactionary.

This outlook serves as a flimsy theoretical rationale for the program of the trade-union bureaucracy and assorted liberals and reformists, who seek to pressure a section of the capitalist class to enact policies favorable to workers' interests. Thus the Economic Policy Institute, a left-liberal think tank financed partly by the unions, complains today about "the low inflationary environment preferred by investors, Wall Street, and the bond market" (*The State of Working America 1996-97*). And ever since the time of Franklin D. Roosevelt's 1930s New Deal, the reformist Communist Party has pushed the notion of an "anti-monopoly coalition" with "progressive" capitalists—the analogue in the imperialist U.S. to the Stalinists' class-collaborationist strategy of an "anti-imperialist united front" with the nationalist bourgeoisie in the colonial and semicolonial world.

The liberal populist view of how capitalism works in this regard can be summarized as follows. The managers and principal owners of an industrial corporation are said to be loyal to it as an institution and normally strive to increase the firm's market share, which means expanding productive capacity and employment. On the other hand, bankers, bondholders and other creditors are supposedly primarily concerned that the firm has sufficient cash flow to service its debt. Hence they oppose any investments deemed risky, such as in new technology, and are supposedly ever willing to force a firm into bankruptcy, liquidating its assets to recoup their loan capital. Likewise, with respect to government policy, industrialists are considered more likely to favor expansionary monetary and fiscal policy which would increase demand for their products while financiers are presumed to always want "tight money" and fiscal austerity.

The Myth of Progressive Entrepreneurs

During the Great Depression of the 1930s, John Maynard Keynes, who defined liberal economic thought for the next several decades, divided the capital-

UPI

John Maynard Keynes

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ist class into entrepreneurs and rentiers. Entrepreneurs were those engaged in "the positive act of starting or maintaining some process of production." Rentiers, on the other hand, simply live off the income generated by their financial holdings, primarily the interest on government and corporate bonds. Henwood endorses Keynes' schema in this regard as he complains that "the increased prominence of institutional investors, particularly pension funds in the stock market, has increased rentier power over corporate policy." For Henwood, following Keynes, this is definitely a bad thing.

Keynes advocated that the government act to drive down the rate of interest relative to profit through fiscal and monetary policies and public works programs. This, he argued, would enable entrepreneurs to expand production and employment, thereby overcoming the boom-bust cycle of capitalism. Keynes even projected "the euthanasia of the rentier"—a time when the return on money capital would be reduced to zero.

Anti-Wall Street populism was revived in the 1980s with the hostile takeover/leveraged buyout/junk bond binge. Films like *Wall Street* and *Other People's Money* depicted the new breed of financial operators as greedy and despicable compared to honest, honorable old-line capitalists. Henwood notes how Fortune 500 CEOs routinely complain of the pressure on them from Wall Street money managers and analysts to produce quick profit growth. Presumably, in the absence of such outside pressures, corporate America would treat its workforce in a kinder, gentler and more generous way, would spend more for research and development, would expand production and employment even if this resulted in a lower rate of return on capital. Anyone who believes that doubtless also believes in the tooth fairy.

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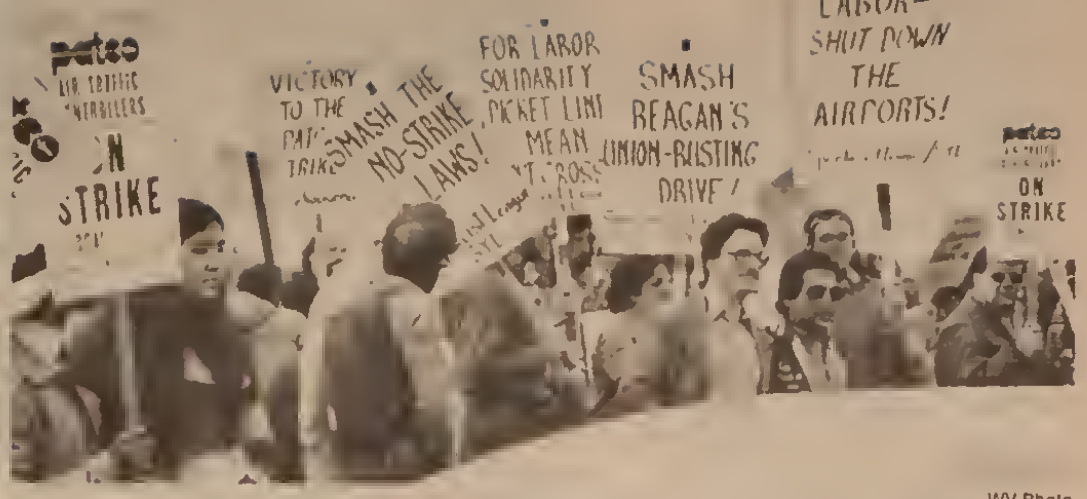

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Government dragged PATCO leaders off to jail and broke 1981 strike. AFL-CIO tops' refusal to shut down the airports in solidarity set stage for years of anti-union attacks. Above: Oakland strike rally, August 1981.

While Henwood is not quite so naive, he nonetheless buys into the notion that the owners, managers and creditors of America's corporations have significantly different and conflicting interests:

> "Stockholders want high stock prices, bondholders and other creditors want their interest paid regularly and their principal eventually returned, and managers want a peaceful life with high salaries and minimal external intrusion.... Often these goals collide."

This schematic analysis may have some applicability to firms where managers, stockholders and bondholders are substantially made up of different people. However, many managers hold a large block of their firm's stock. Furthermore, some big corporations have their own, management-run pension funds whose biggest asset is the firm's stock. A study of the comparative financial structure of Britain, the United States and Japan pointed out with regard to such pension funds: "In many of the American cases these 'internal funds' were the largest shareholders in their own companies, buttressing the power of the current board of directors who ultimately controlled the use and disposition of the funds" (John Scott, *Capitalist Property and Financial Power* [1986]).

More fundamentally, Henwood's tripartite schema has no basis in reality in terms of the American capitalist class *as a whole*. The big institutional investors like bank trust departments, pension funds and mutual funds deal in both stocks and bonds. Wealthy people hold a mixed portfolio of securities whose composition is constantly shifting. The top managers of the Fortune 500 do not keep their money in a mattress or a savings account at the local bank. They, too, invest in stocks and bonds, including those of firms other than their own. At another and very significant level, the children of bankers and executives of non-financial corporations frequently intermarry, so that the family—the basic social unit of the American bourgeoisie and of class society as a whole—cuts across and transcends the industrial/financial division.

The common interests of *all* elements of the American capitalist class—whether Wall Street investment bankers, Midwestern manufacturers, Texas oilmen or California agribusinessmen—are qualitatively greater and more important than their differences. All want to maximize the exploitation of labor and to minimize the overhead costs of government social programs.

Although Henwood's *Wall Street* focuses almost exclusively on the state of the U.S. economy, he draws from this material sweeping generalizations about the capitalist system as such. Yet the financial structure of so-called "bank-based" economies like Germany and Japan is very different from the "market-based" economies in the U.S. and Britain. In the former cases, it is particularly meaningless to speak of a division, much less an antagonism, between industrial and financial capitalists. For example, Japanese capitalism has since the late 19th century been organized around tightly integrated groups of financial, industrial, distribution and commercial capital known today as *keiritsu* (whose origins stem from the pre-1947 *zaibatsu*).

And in Germany, the big three banks—Deutsche Bank, Dresdner Bank and Commerzbank—have representatives on over 40 percent of the supervisory boards of the country's *Aktiengesellschaften* (AGs, share corporations). These boards appoint, dismiss and monitor the management of the largest corporations. Banks directly own 10 percent of the common stock issued by German corporations. More importantly, other stockholders normally vest their proxy votes with a firm's principal bank rather than its management, regarding the former as the best guardian of their investment.

For most of the post-World War II period, the "bank-based" economies of Germany and Japan performed better than the "market-based" economies of the United States and Britain, with higher rates of growth of national income and industrial productivity. If the U.S. has regained a certain competitive edge in world markets over the past decade or so, it is due entirely to the savage intensification in the exploitation of labor, which union bureaucrats and liberal intellectuals blame on "Reaganomics" and its aftereffects. Ironically, the German bourgeoisie now insists that the relatively high pay and benefits of its labor force be reduced to or near the level of British and American workers, while many trade-union reformists in these countries look to the supposedly more industrial-based German economy as the reason for higher living standards for workers there.

Neo-Populism and "the Greed Decade"

During the 1950s and '60s, American capitalism was popularly identified with

continued on page 8

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Youth and minorities in capitalist America face chronic unemployment or minimum-wage jobs.

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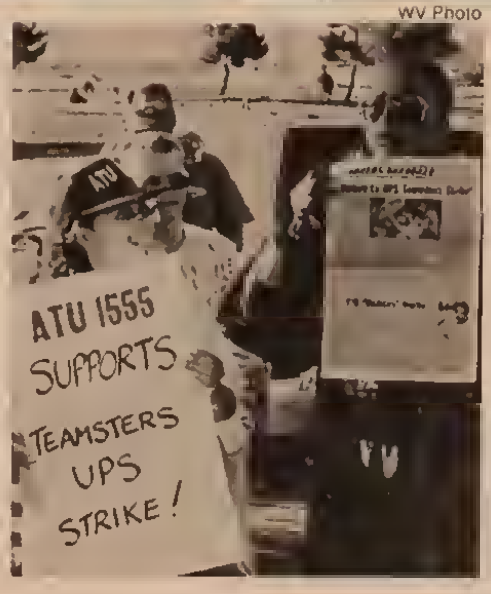

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Wall Street...

(continued from page 7)

large industrial corporations like General Motors, U.S. Steel, Du Pont and IBM. The CEO of the Pentagon war machine, otherwise known as the secretary of defense, was typically a former top executive of one of the "Big Three" auto companies. Charles Wilson, who held this post under Republican president Eisenhower in the 1950s, proclaimed, "What's good for General Motors is good for America." His successor under Democrats Kennedy and Johnson in the 1960s was former Ford Corporation head Robert McNamara, the main architect of the Vietnam War.

In the 1980s, however, financial operators of a new type appeared to become the strongmen of American capitalism. Big-time "corporate raiders" like Carl Icahn and T. Boone Pickens, wheeler-dealers like Donald Trump and junk-bond kings like Michael Milken became household names. Yet how many people could identify the chief executives of General Motors, Exxon or Citicorp? The deteriorating conditions of American working people—layoffs, plant closures, cuts in wages and benefits—were now blamed on the new financial operations, such as leveraged buyouts. Corporate raiders and their financial henchmen were denounced by union leaders and liberal intellectuals for killing the "American Dream."

The liberal populist view of the changing American economy was well expressed in the 1991 film, *Other People's Money*. The plot centers around the efforts of a Wall Street raider, "Larry the Liquidator"—played by Danny De Vito as a wiseass sleazeball—to take over a small New England manufacturing company. The firm's profits are down because its main division is losing money due to the low level of capital construction in the U.S. The company's patriarchal head, played by Gregory Peck, waxes nostalgic about the late 1940s, when Harry Truman made a campaign speech outside the plant gate. Peck's character says: "That was the golden age—rebuilding America." At a key stockholders' meeting, he proclaims: "Here we care about more than the price of our stocks; here we care about people." Another character comments, "Wall Street's in the liquidation business these days." The implicit message is that Wall Street used to be in a different, more constructive "business" and that the recent wave of layoffs and plant closings was dictated by outside financial interests against the will of old-line owners and managers.

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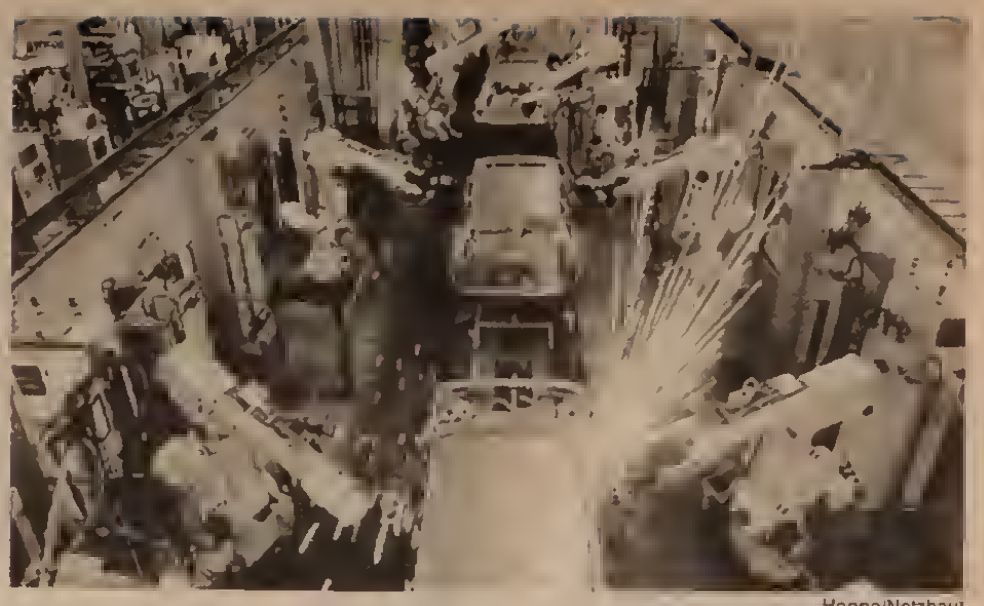
Labor tops' chauvinist Japan-bashing helped strangle 1994-96 Bridgestone-Firestone strike.

During the 1980s, the financial structure of American capitalism did undergo a real and important change. For the first four decades after World War II, the ratio of debts to assets for non-financial corporations remained basically stable. Then there was a veritable explosion in corporate debt, which rose from $900 billion in 1980 to $2.4 trillion by the end of the decade. This massive increase in debt was used to finance or resist takeovers. In a study of such financial operations between 1983 and 1989, liberal economists Margaret Blair and Martha Schary found that the firms involved on average increased their debt-to-asset ratio from 60 to 90 percent (Margaret Blair, ed., *The Deal Decade* [1993]). This was usually followed by a contraction in productive capacity and with it, of course, the labor force.

To understand the sudden and radical changes in corporate America in the 1980s, it is necessary to consider previous, more "normal" periods. Coming out of the Great Depression of the 1930s, the U.S. massively rebuilt its industrial plant and infrastructure (e.g., interstate highways) in the years during and after World War II. By the early-to-mid 1950s, the U.S. had by far the largest and most technologically advanced productive capacity of any capitalist country. American-manufactured products dominated world trade, while the dollar, then considered "as good as gold," dominated international financial markets.

Under these conditions, corporations could grant their workers steady, modest wage increases without reducing the return on capital. If a particular division or new investment project was losing money, this was more than offset by healthy profits from other operations. Hence corporate management could negotiate a labor contract, open up a new factory or start a new product line without looking over its shoulder to see how the stockholders would respond. As Margaret Blair put it: "For thirty years after World War II, investment opportunities were good enough in general, and the opportunity cost of capital was low enough, that financial interests did not try to interfere with [corporate] strategies to retain and reinvest."

However, by the mid-1960s, Germany and Japan had rebuilt the industrial capacity destroyed during World War II. In many cases, the new plants embodied more advanced technology than that prevailing in American factories. U.S. corporations now found themselves facing increasingly effective competition in world markets and even in the domestic market. The U.S. economy was further weakened by the inflationary pressures generated by the long, losing imperialist war in Vietnam. Taking inflation into account, 1965 was the high-water mark for corporate profits during that tumultuous decade. The real volume of corporate profits did not reach that level again until the early 1970s.



Hoppe/Netzhaut

High-tech Opel auto plant in Germany. As German and Japanese technology outpaced U.S. industry, American capitalists moved to intensify exploitation of labor to regain competitive edge.

Following year after year of massive balance-of-trade deficits, especially with Japan, in 1971 Republican president Nixon devalued the dollar, signaling the end of U.S. imperialist hegemony. The deterioration of American capitalism was further exposed by the 1974-75 world economic downturn, with after-tax profits of U.S. corporations plunging 21 percent in little over a year. Between 1972 and 1974, the Dow Jones plummeted from over 1,000 to below 600.

The "Giveback" Era and the Labor Bureaucracy

America's capitalist rulers responded to these unhappy developments with a concerted drive to intensify the exploitation of labor. Corporate managers demanded "giveback" contracts from the unions, and the AFL-CIO bureaucrats duly obliged. Two-tier wage systems were widely introduced, thereby institutionalizing the superexploitation of younger and particularly minority workers. Production was shifted from the unionized North and Midwest to the low-wage South and Southwest, and also to East Asia and Latin America. The AFL-CIO tops turned a blind eye to the need to organize the "open shop" South, which would require mobilizing labor to take up the fight against the union-hating KKK fascists and all-sided racist oppression. And rather than promote international labor solidarity, the labor bureaucracy turned up the volume on its chauvinist calls for "American work for American workers." Meanwhile, the "AFL-CIA" continued its decades-long collusion with U.S. imperialism in subverting class-struggle unions abroad.

Partly as a result of the attacks on labor, U.S. corporate profit margins recovered somewhat by the end of the 1970s. But then came the 1981-82 world depression, the worst since the 1930s. Blair and Schary calculated that the profit rate of U.S. non-financial corporations fell from 18 percent in 1979 to 15 percent in 1983. It was precisely at this point that the binge of hostile takeovers and leveraged buyouts hit Wall Street with hurricane force. Blair and Schary give the core reason:

> "The cost of capital, which is the minimum return investors require to finance future investment, rose dramatically in the first half of the 1980s. The increase was worse in some industries than in others, but it affected all industries to some degree. The decade was also different from its predecessors in that realized returns to capital in many industries fell."

In their own empirical way, these liberal economists recognize a central aspect of the Marxist understanding of the capitalist system. It is changes in the rate of profit, i.e., the ratio of profit gained to the amount of money-capital invested, which govern the expansion and contraction of production. As Marx wrote in Volume III of *Capital*:

> "It is for this reason that the capitalist mode of production meets with barriers at a certain expanded stage of production which, from the other point of view, would be altogether inadequate. It comes to a standstill at a point determined by the production and realization of profit, not by the satisfaction of social needs."

In the early 1980s, the American capitalist class was unwilling to accept the reduced rate of profit resulting from the relative deterioration of the economy and the share of national income then going to the working class. Stockholders demanded that corporate managers further slash wages and benefits, lay off "redundant" workers—white-collar as well as blue-collar—and close down operations which were losing money or were only marginally profitable.

If stockholders perceived that the management was not adequately carrying out these demands, they were more than willing to sell their shares to raiders (or to the incumbent managers) at a premium over the existing market price. In order to buy off and buy out the stockholders, the raiders and/or incumbent managers had to borrow huge sums of money. The explosive growth of corporate debt over the past decade and a half is a financial repercussion of the drive to intensify the exploitation of labor. It is an *effect, not a cause* of the immiseration of America's working people.

Although she views the U.S. economy through the distorting prism of liberal bourgeois ideology, Margaret Blair recognizes that stockholders (i.e., owners) were the principal authors of "the greed decade," not the raiders, investment bankers or other financial operators:

> "In many cases improved returns [to stockholders] could be achieved only by obtaining concessions from suppliers or customers, reducing the amount of taxes paid, extracting wage concessions, or cutting white-collar corporate staff. Or they could come from reducing investment. In other words, the improved returns to shareholders had to be achieved at the expense of other social goals of the corporations."

The *only* "social goal" of a capitalist enterprise is increasing the wealth of its owners. The notion that large corporations have other, competing goals, such as the well-being of their workers or the expansion of production, is a liberal myth. However, the idea that the interests of some sections or elements of the capitalist class coincide with those of working people is deeply rooted in American political culture. And this idea must be uprooted if the working class is to effectively combat the capitalists, their political henchmen in the Democratic and Republican parties and their labor lieutenants in the AFL-CIO bureaucracy.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

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Anti-Abortion Thugs Repulsed

Ireland: For United-Front Defense Against Fascist Terror!

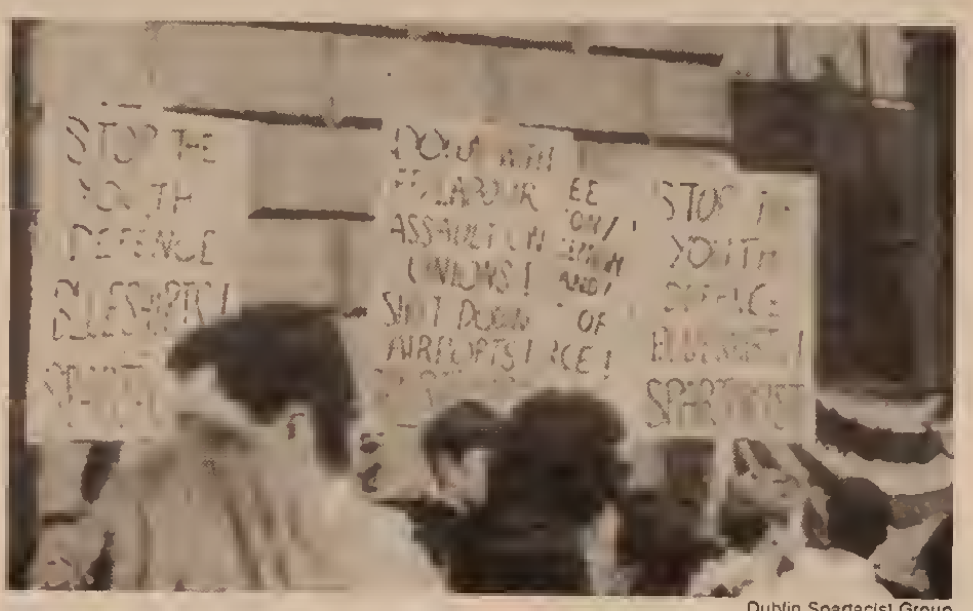
We reprint below a leaflet issued by the Dublin Spartacist Group on October 8.

Youth Defence, an organisation of extreme anti-abortion bigots, harbours a violent, clerical-fascist core. Two of these Blueshirt thugs launched a clearly premeditated violent assault against left paper sellers at University College Dublin (UCD) Freshers' Fair on 30 September. This outrageous attack was repulsed, which was a modest victory for the intended targets of fascism—leftists, those fighting for women's rights, immigrants, Travellers and, ultimately, the organised workers movement. The fascists must be stopped in their tracks now when they are small!

Youth Defence are out for blood. Bearing grotesque posters of foetuses, the two thugs arrived on campus ready to attack anyone they deem to be "pro-abortion." After attempting to disrupt the Socialist Workers Students' stall, they targeted a lone paper seller at the Socialist Party's (SP) literature table. They began menacing the SPer, shouting "Baby murderers!" as they brandished their gory posters. Two supporters of the Dublin Spartacist Group (DSG) came from our nearby table to help protect those being menaced. After making a quick call on a mobile phone, the Youth Defence thugs began pushing, then punching, first the SP supporter and then the supporters of the DSG. During the struggle, the SP's literature table was knocked over, one of our comrades was very nearly thrown over a wall with an eight foot drop to a concrete floor, and at least one SP supporter was bloodied and bruised. Within minutes, the Gardaí [police] arrived and informed SP and DSG supporters that they, who had just been attacked, now face possible charges of assault levelled by Youth Defence!

This is the latest in an escalating series of attacks by Youth Defence, whose storm troopers are the cutting edge of a reactionary drive to wipe out the minuscule amount of family planning services and abortion information that is legally available in Ireland. Since January of this year, the Youth Defence bigots have besieged the Marie Stopes Reproductive Choices Clinic in Dublin, which was raided by the cops, and a doctor was arrested on suspicion of having carried out an abortion there. Youth Defence has picketed the clinic daily with up to 50 bigots aggressively abusing and intimidating any woman entering the clinic. ***Defend the Marie Stopes Clinic! For free abortion on demand!***

Ominously, at the beginning of this university year, Youth Defence have raised their heads at UCD, Trinity College and Dublin City University. In the past, mobilisations of Trinity students have driven the likes of British fascist David Irving off campus. Students at UCD and Trinity have also been active in mobilisations for abortion rights and in protests against the horrific state ban on a young woman travelling to England for an abortion in 1992, known as the "X case." In 1988, the Society for the Protection of the Unborn Child (SPUC), a reactionary anti-abortion outfit with connections in the higher echelons of society, secured the first of a series of court injunctions against students at UCD, and later Trinity College and the Union of Students in Ireland, in an attempt to stop them distributing telephone numbers for abortion services in Britain. Students defied the injunctions and distributed abortion information, resulting in massive fines.



Dublin Spartacist Group

Dublin Spartacist Group at 1994 protest against Youth Defence anti-abortion bigots.

The DSG has insisted for some time now that Youth Defence harbours a fascist core that harks back to the Blueshirts who in the 1930s sent contingents blessed by the Church to fight for Franco and fascism in Spain. They seek to implement their programme in *action*, particularly targeting those fighting for women's abortion rights. In October 1992, Youth Defence laid into Democratic Left supporters with snooker cues outside the Pipers Inn in Dublin. At the May Day demonstration in 1993 they tried to stage a provocation, but their efforts were spiked by an action initiated by supporters of the DSG. In July 1994, forty of these thugs launched an organised attack, ready-equipped with hurley sticks, on abortion rights protesters outside the Dáil [parliament].

What is necessary and possible is a united-front mobilisation to stop Youth Defence thugs from getting on campus. Minorities, gays, leftists and women all have an interest in stopping Youth Defence from getting a toe-hold on the campuses where they will not only distribute their anti-woman filth, but will carry out physical assaults. United-front action means "march separately, strike together," that is, unity in action against the fascists while maintaining the separate political identities of the participating groups. Not simply students, but campus workers and other trade unionists have a stake in stopping the fascists.

We fight for trade-union mobilisations to stop Youth Defence/SPUC reaction. Mobilisations of the organised working class, with the power to shut down society, are critical to driving the fascists back into their holes. But for this to be achieved it is necessary to politically confront the reformist misleaders of the Labour Party/Democratic Left and trade-union bureaucrats who tie the working class to the capitalist order.

The reaction of left groups such as the Socialist Party, the Workers Solidarity Movement and the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) has been to turn a blind eye, and hope the clerical fascists will go away. This is a dangerous game, which can only embolden the fascists. The reformist organisations bear their share of responsibility for the fact that outfits like Youth Defence today feel the wind in their sails; their bottom line is to channel all protests for women's rights into support for the wretched Labour Party in elections, while peddling illusions in legal reforms through the courts. The DSG said no vote to the Labour Party and Democratic Left who were running on their track record in government as the "Rainbow Coalition" in alliance with Fine Gael, a bourgeois party.

The right to abortion is an explosive question in Irish society. Despite cosmetic changes such as the introduction of legal (if massively expensive) divorce, abortion is unavailable. The Irish state is deeply reactionary and sets the stage for an offensive by SPUC and Youth Defence. The fight to win and retain abortion rights must be part of the struggle to overthrow the clericalist capitalist state and replace it with workers rule based on soviets.

Working in the shadows behind SPUC and Youth Defence are such outfits as Opus Dei and the Knights of Columbanus, sinister arms of the Catholic Church. Outfits like SPUC and Youth Defence, in addition to the vigilante mobs who conduct pogromist attacks on Travellers, usually under the protection of the cops and courts, provide a fertile culture medium for Irish fascism. However, the Socialist Party is notorious for condoning vigilante groups which are the shock troops of anti-Traveller pogroms; their particular variety of sewer "socialism" has led them to embrace Billy Hutchinson, a convicted [Loyalist] UVF killer of two Catholics, in meetings in Belfast and Dublin. Neither the SP nor the SWP even mentioned abortion rights in their general election campaigns.

Appealing to the cops and courts to stop the fascists is a suicidal strategy. Cops are not neutral, nor "workers in uniform" as the Socialist Party and Socialist Workers Party would have it. The capitalist state, its cops and courts know which side they are on when it comes to the workers movement and oppressed. The cops are the "armed fist" of the capitalist state, there to defend the bosses and their private property. Similarly, appeals to the university administration (which are bastions of reaction) for bans are counterposed to and will only demobilise the necessary united-front action to stop the fascists. Moreover such bans if implemented will more likely be used against defenders of abortion rights.

The fight for separation of church and state is integral to the struggle for elementary rights for women. Only working-class revolution and the establishment of a planned, collectivised economy can provide the material conditions for women's liberation. For women to be free the working class must rule. This requires above all a revolutionary party, the vanguard of the working class, a tribune of all the oppressed. We are fighting to build such a party, on the programme of Lenin and Trotsky, which will lead the working class to power. ■

Spartacist League Public Offices

—MARXIST LITERATURE—

Bay Area
Thurs.: 5:30-8:00 p.m., Sat.: 1:00-5:00 p.m.
1634 Telegraph, 3rd Floor (near 17th Street)
Oakland, California Phone: (510) 839-0851

Chicago
Tues.: 5:00-9:00 p.m., Sat.: 12:00-3:00 p.m.
328 S. Jefferson St., Suite 904
Chicago, Illinois Phone: (312) 454-4930

New York City
Saturday: 1:00-5:00 p.m.
41 Warren St. (one block below Chambers St. near Church St.)
New York, NY Phone: (212) 267-1025

Bigotry...

(continued from page 2)

bureaucratic whirlwind, meting out punishment to all concerned. The parents of the girls initially faced misdemeanor charges, which were later dropped. The two teenagers have been ripped away from their friends and family and are now being held in "protective custody" outside Lincoln. And the older girl's boyfriend, whom she obviously cared for and trusted, was arrested and ultimately convicted of "debauching" and contributing to the delinquency of a minor, spending 234 days—almost *eight months*—in jail. This is a classic example of why we oppose reactionary and arbitrary "age of consent" laws, which in a more rational society would be replaced by the principle of *effective consent* of the parties involved.

As for Al-Hussani and Al-Tamimy, after doing prison time in Nebraska, they face deportation or further imprisonment at the hands of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS). Various crimes of "moral turpitude" are deemed deportable offenses, and the sweeping anti-immigrant laws passed by Congress and approved by Clinton last year gut the right of appeal against arbitrary—and often secret—deportation rulings. If Iraq refuses to allow the two refugees back, "the worst-case scenario is long-term detention in INS custody," an immigration lawyer told the *Lincoln Journal Star* (25 September).

Ironically, it was as a result of the U.S.-led imperialist slaughter in the Persian Gulf that the anti-Arab and anti-Muslim racism evident here sharply escalated. In defense of its imperialist oil interests and to drive home its self-proclaimed role as master of the world, the U.S. rained terror on the Iraqi people and continues to subject the country to a starvation embargo which has resulted in the deaths of hundreds of thousands of people, many of them young children. Meanwhile, U.S. imperialism props up the utterly reactionary ruling elites of Kuwait and Saudi Arabia, where women are slaves under the veil and are subject to beheading for such "crimes" as adultery.

The U.S. racist ruling class is a proven enemy of women's liberation, at home and abroad. It will take international socialist revolution to create a truly humane society in which both women and men can freely choose their own futures. Free Majed Al-Tamimy and Latif Al-Hussani! ■

Italy...

(continued from page 12)

participate and praised the "magnificent welcome" he received, noting that the head of the UIL trade-union federation "called me from Venice to thank me. Cofferati came up to shake my hand" (*Corriere della Sera*, 21 September).

Ulivo, Fascists Foment Racist Terror

The purpose of these demonstrations is to cement the popular front with nationalist chauvinism, which feeds racism and supports the bloody imperialism of the Italian bourgeoisie. The popular front is in the front line of a renewed racist witchhunt, fully supported by the bourgeois mass media. PDS minister of the interior Giorgio Napolitano has presented a draft law against immigrants which, if approved, would make immigration even harder and deportations easier. The PDS mayor of Rimini, Giuseppe Chicchi, openly labels immigrants "parasites" and has called for regional passports for immigrants. This fascist-type proposal was naturally supported by the fascist National Alliance and the Northern League.

Napolitano's police have already launched a large-scale manhunt and mass deportation of Albanian refugees, many of whom fled the misery and chaos produced by Italian imperialism in Albania. These criminal deportations are part of Italian imperialism's neocolonial assault on Albania, which includes the sinking of a refugee ship in which 89 people died last March. "We're here to work and we're treated like criminals," one Albanian bitterly complained as he was about to be deported. "But we'll be back soon," he continued defiantly. Finance Minister Lamberto Dini has replied by demanding that concentration camps be set up in Albania to contain the deportees. Meanwhile, the green-shirted thugs of the Northern League's Committee for the Liberation of Padania (CLP) have been terrorizing immigrants on the beaches at Rimini, Alassio and elsewhere.

Action Press

Cordon Press

Mobilizations of skinhead stormtroopers and Umberto Bossi's fascistic Northern League in early 1990s. Popular-front government's assault on immigrants, women, workers opens the road for the fascists.

AP

Ulivo government sent Italian occupation forces into Albania earlier this year.

The incitements to racist murder coming from the state and the Northern League were taken up in Torino on July 20, when a band of racists beat up Abdellah Doumi and then drowned him in the Po River. In Milano, several immigrants were burnt by Molotov cocktails thrown by two carloads of racists. On September 4 in Prato, six immigrants were hospitalized after a Molotov cocktail was thrown into a garage where they were sleeping. And there are *many* other cases both reported and unreported by the press.

For Worker/Immigrant Mobilizations to Smash the Fascists!

The destruction of the Soviet Union and the bureaucratically deformed workers states of East Europe has heightened interimperialist rivalry for redivision of the world market into new spheres of exploitation. As the masses of the neocolonial "Third World" are forced into deeper poverty, large numbers of refugees seek a means of survival in the imperialist countries. Intent on increasing the rate of exploitation, the European bourgeoisies are savagely attacking the working class and use immigrants as the scapegoats for the growing misery, unemployment and other evils of decaying capitalist society. Racism is used to divide the working class and to lower its level of consciousness.

As Marx said regarding black slavery in the United States: "Labor cannot emancipate itself in the white skin where in the black it is branded." Immigrant workers are concentrated in the most dangerous, most difficult and lowest-paid jobs. What's needed is a fight for *unionization of all immigrant workers* and for *equal pay for equal work!* This requires mass class struggle and a hard political fight against the union bureaucracy, the PDS and RC—who deepen the divisions within the working class by supporting differing wage levels, racist deportation laws and agreements on temporary jobs. It's necessary to fight for *full citizenship rights for all immigrants and their families*, including the right to health care, education and abortion! Anyone who has made it to this country must have the right to stay here!

In September, workers from Torino's Fiat Mirafiori factory and surrounding areas provided a good example of how the Northern League can be smashed by dispersing an anti-union provocation organized by the CLP, destroying their literature table and propaganda and teaching some of these sewer rats a well-deserved lesson. This type of action must be generalized and carried out by the organized workers movement along with immigrants, Rom (Gypsies), women, gays and all potential victims of the fascists. But for this to be possible, the working class must make a clean break with the racist and nationalist policies of the popular front and with the organizations which promote these policies. For workers actions against the deportations! For union-based workers militias to defend immigrant communities!

The racist, nationalist appeals for "jobs for Italians" must be opposed by the fight for all existing work to be divided at no loss in pay among *all* workers, Italians or immigrants! Against the high cost of living, it is necessary to fight for a real *sliding scale of wages* which covers inflation 100 percent! Because capitalism isn't capable of satisfying these basic demands and guaranteeing a decent life, we must fight for workers power.

RC: Loyal Supporter of the Popular Front

During last December's RC congress, the majority voted for a motion which promised "absolute" and "determined" opposition to the pact between the government and the unions. RC then voted in favor of the government's program of two-tier wages and temporary jobs. RC leader Bertinotti has repeatedly thundered that "social welfare will be the mother of all our battles." But from the very beginning, RC supported the finance decree which lays the basis for further cuts in social spending, and RC parliamentary spokesman Giuliano Pisapia has praised the proposed racist anti-immigrant law for having "many positive aspects" (*Liberazione*, 17 August).

While RC voted against sending imperialist troops into Albania—because its vote wouldn't have affected the outcome and because RC considered it inopportune, given the lack of a United Nations fig leaf for the intervention—RC's Senate fraction recently voted *in favor* of prolonging the presence of Italian troops there for a further 45 days. RC also supports the deportation of Albanian refugees, demanding only that "the repatriation be organized in a rational and realistic way" (*Liberazione*, 30 August).

Despite politics which should disgust anyone who considers himself a leftist, Rifondazione Comunista tries to maintain the support of its base by depicting its support to the Ulivo coalition as the "lesser evil" while on the other hand rhetorically pushing for a "more leftist" version of the popular front. The model currently in fashion with RC is Jospin's popular front, which includes the French Communist Party. But despite illusions spread by RC, Jospin's government is no less anti-worker and racist than Prodi's.

It is not a question of Ulivo's policies being too far to the right. Any popular front in power is a bourgeois government that is necessarily imperialist, anti-worker, racist and anti-woman, opening the road to the fascists. In a coalition between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat it is inevitable that the bourgeois parties, however much they are in a minority, determine the politics of this bourgeois coalition. For this reason the LTd'I opposes, in principle, any political support to the popular front. And we were against any electoral support to the PDS and RC in the 1993 and 1996 elections.

The Long Left Tail of the Popular Front

A section of Rifondazione Comunista's membership is becoming increasingly intolerant of the daily capitulations of its leadership. But even had pressure from the base forced the RC leadership to break with the Ulivo coalition, this would only have been a momentary tactical maneuver, in no way signifying a break with RC's popular-frontist perspective, which is deeply rooted in decades of Stalinist politics. RC is not reformable. Like the PDS, it is a bourgeois workers party, which represents an obstacle to the real emancipation of the working class. These parties must be split, separating the healthy elements at the base from the treacherous reformist leadership, in the fight to build a Leninist party. Many "leftist" groups do quite the opposite, acting as waterboys for the popular front.

The Bologna-based Socialismo Internazionale, which is linked to Tony Cliff's Socialist Workers Party in Britain (and the International Socialist Organization in the U.S.), is one of the left tails of RC and the popular front. *Socialismo Internazionale* (June 1996) saluted the Ulivo election victory, saying "this can't be considered as anything other than an important success for the working class. For the time being, the right isn't in government." A headline in the same issue read, "Prodi! We Didn't Vote for Cuts and Sacrifices!" But the anti-abortion bourgeois politician Prodi and the Ulivo coalition promised bloody austerity and have carried it out—and that's exactly what SI voted for! This same issue is entirely dedicated to immigrants and the Northern League. But it never comes out against all deportations, for organizing immigrant workers into the unions, for full citizenship rights for all immigrants or for equal pay for equal work—nor does it ever criticize RC for its support to the current racist campaign.

But the main obstacle preventing leftist members of Rifondazione Comunista from finding a proletarian revolutionary perspective is the so-called left wing centered around "Motion Two" and *Proposta*, whose role is precisely to keep them tied to the politics of the popular front. In *Proposta* (July-August 1997), RC minority leader Marco Ferrando lists a series of correct examples of the leadership's capitulations to the anti-worker policies of the Prodi government. He even criticizes the "culture of the lesser evil" which has been RC's main argument for supporting the Ulivo coalition. But this is the same argument used by *Proposta* in voting for the Ulivo popular front and even for the Vatican-linked Popular Party inside the Ulivo coalition.

Last year, *Proposta* (13 June 1996) hailed the formation of the Ulivo government with the very same logic of the "lesser evil," crowing that "the right has been defeated and this is a good thing."

Little Rock...

(continued from page 3)

> responsibility for defending the Negro people rests today upon the trade unions."

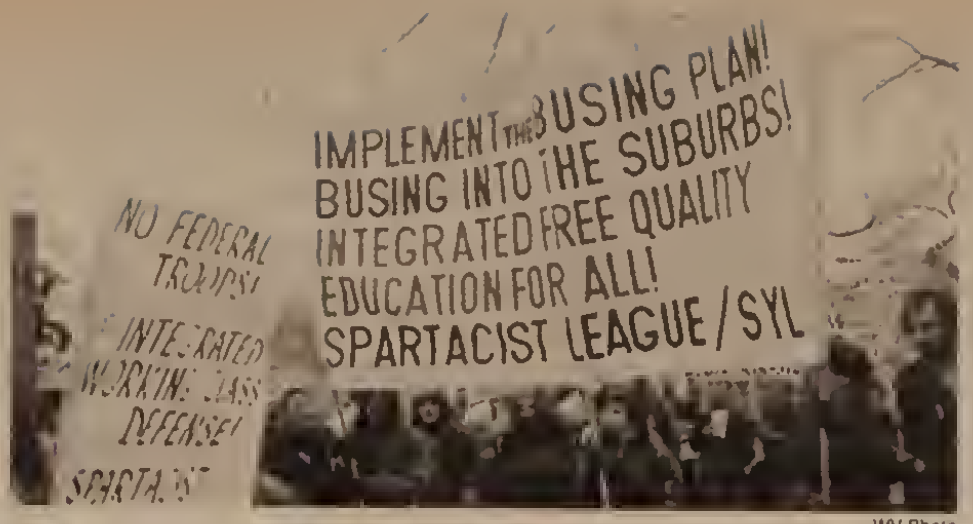
Over a decade later, an editorial in the SWP's *Militant* (20 September 1957) cheered the introduction of federal troops in Little Rock as an "important victory.... A reluctant President has been compelled by an outraged public here and abroad to enforce the Negro people's constitutional rights."

This did not go unopposed within the SWP. In his "Resolution on the Little Rock Crisis," veteran Trotskyist Dick Fraser tore apart the SWP leadership's support for the federal troops, pointing out that the end result had been the crushing of local black self-defense efforts. As Fraser outlined:

> "The crisis in Little Rock had gone beyond the power of the local authorities. 25,000 Negroes were poised and ready for action—many of them did act. They held a strong strategic position in that the overwhelming public opinion of Little Rock whites was either apathetic or sympathetic to the Negroes. The largest mob that all the agencies of reaction, including the official apparatus of the State government, could muster after a month of organization under the protection of the National Guard was a thousand white supremacists—many if not most of them 'country people'."

Revolutionary Integrationism—The Road to Black Freedom

Through his involvement in black freedom struggles and his dedicated study of the black question in America, Dick Fraser developed the program of revolutionary integrationism (see *Marxist Bulletin* No. 5 [Revised], "Trotskyism vs. Black Nationalism"). Understanding that the segregation and oppression of the black population is a foundation stone of American capitalism, Fraser argued that just as it had taken the American Civil War to smash chattel slavery, it would take a proletarian socialist revolution in this country to smash the capitalist system which is premised on the forcible segregation of the black population at the bottom of American society. In the struggle of the black population in Little Rock, Fraser saw the powerful impulse for equality and integration out of which could come the best fighters for the necessary proletarian revolutionary struggle to finally achieve genuine emancipation.



WV Photo

December 1974 pro-busing march in Boston. Spartacists called for labor/black defense of black schoolchildren against racist mobs.

As he wrote in his "Resolution on the Negro Struggle" which was submitted for discussion at the SWP national convention of 1957 (reprinted in *Prometheus Research Series* No. 3, "In Memoriam: Richard S. Fraser"):

> "The struggle for racial equality is an integral part of the struggle of the American working class for socialism. The connection between these two goals is so fundamental that one cannot be envisaged without the other.
>
> "This connection has been implicit from the very beginning of the anti-slavery struggle and found clearest expression in Karl Marx's dictum to white American workers: 'Labor cannot emancipate itself in the white skin where in the black it is branded'."

Fraser's understanding of the revolutionary integrationist road to black freedom was taken up by young leaders of the Revolutionary Tendency (RT), the forebears of the Spartacist League, in their fight against the degeneration of the SWP.

In the late '50s and early '60s, as the civil rights movement gained momentum, the SWP *abstained* from intervening, ceding leadership first to liberal petty-bourgeois misleaders like King and the NAACP, and later to black nationalists. The liberal civil rights leaders, who looked to the Democratic Party and sought only to end *legal* racism, had no program for fighting black oppression and segregation which is deeply rooted in American capitalism. Against the abstentionism of the SWP, the RT argued for communist intervention into the civil rights movement. In a 1963 document titled "For Black Trotskyism," RT leaders James Robertson and Shirley Stoute argued:

> "*Our leadership* means the revolutionary class struggle program carried out by revolutionists in the mass movements, fused into the revolutionary party. Just as trade unionists will not join the revolutionary party if they do not see it as essential to winning the struggle, so Negro fighters for liberation will not join the party on any basis other than that the *only* road to freedom for them is the revolutionary socialist path of struggle through the combat army. Negro militants will *not* see any advantage in joining a party which says in effect: 'We cannot lead the Negro people. We are the socialist vanguard of the white working class, and we think it is nice to have fraternal relations with *your* vanguard'."
>
> —*Marxist Bulletin* No. 5 [Revised]

The SWP's abstentionism squandered the possibility of winning young black militants, who were looking for an alternative to King's pro-Democratic Party politics and "turn the other cheek" pacifism, to revolutionary Trotskyism. Instead, many of these militants embraced the despairing program of black nationalism as an answer to the failure of the civil rights movement.

For its fight against the SWP's abstentionism, as well as other issues, the RT was bureaucratically expelled from the SWP in 1963. After degenerating into full-blown reformism, in 1974 the SWP demanded that the government send in federal troops against the racist mobs who were mobilized in the streets of Boston against a minimal court-ordered school busing plan. The Spartacist League and the Spartacus Youth League actively fought to defend school busing. We called on the integrated labor movement—including teachers, bus drivers and meatpackers unions—to organize labor/black defense of bused children. Against the narrow limits set by the federal judges, we called to ***extend busing to the suburbs*** so poor kids, black and white, could have a shot at real education (see the 1975 Spartacus Youth League pamphlet, *The Fight to Implement Busing*).

The Boston busing plan was defeated on the streets, emboldening racists to further attack integration—attempts to integrate Boston housing projects were defeated in the late 1980s. Today, in Southern cities like Little Rock and Atlanta, as well as Northern cities like Boston and New York, segregation in housing and education remains the rule. Yet at the same time, black workers remain a significant component of organized labor, integrated into strategic sections of the proletariat. In this society based on unbridled capitalist greed, it will take a communist revolution to secure quality education, housing and jobs for black, Hispanic and all working-class youth, just as it took the revolutionary Civil War to smash the slavocracy and to establish public education for black people in this country. What is needed is a revolutionary workers party, acting as a tribune of all the oppressed, that can lead the multiracial working class in a fight to replace the racist capitalist system with an egalitarian, classless society where those who labor rule.■

And a year earlier, *Proposta* (May 1995) affirmed: "The fight against Berlusconi's right is, and remains, the main task of communists." In every electoral campaign, which is what counts most for a parliamentarist organization like RC, *Proposta* puts aside its criticism and dedicates itself to voting and gathering votes for the popular front. Trotsky's statement in "Centrism and the Fourth International" (February 1934) that "for a revolutionary Marxist, the struggle against reformism is now almost fully replaced by the struggle against centrism" is truer than ever today.

Bertinotti hopes to pressure the PDS and the Ulivo, while *Proposta* speaks about reforming RC. This is what Trotsky called "the syphilitic chain of the popular front." It is largely thanks to the rhetoric with which RC covers the Ulivo's left flank and the same kind of left cover which *Proposta* provides to RC that the working class has until now accepted cuts in social spending which in large part it managed to resist from Berlusconi in 1994. On one important occasion, the "Motion Two" leaders even managed to provide the bourgeoisie with proof that they were more trustworthy than the RC leadership. At an October 1995 RC leadership meeting, *Proposta* leaders Grisolia and Ferrando voted against a majority motion in favor of a vote of no confidence to bring down the government then headed by Lamberto Dini. In the end, the 24 RC parliamentarians changed their minds and saved the government by abstaining on the vote.

What shows most clearly how *Proposta*'s criticisms of the RC majority never go beyond the confines of popular-front politics is the total absence of any mention of the racist politics of RC and, in general, a complete blindness regarding all forms of special oppression. Even a more "leftist" popular front would necessarily be white, male and Italian. The syphilitic chain of the popular front is, in fact, a chain of racism and chauvinism.

Build a Leninist-Trotskyist Party!

As do social democrats and Stalinist remnants in other countries, the Ulivo, Rifondazione Comunista and its left tail, *Proposta*, present themselves as the "lesser evil" in a world in which the collapse of the Soviet Union has ushered in greater poverty, exploitation, unemployment and oppression for the overwhelming majority of the earth's population. They want to make workers believe that to "limit the damage" there is no practical alternative to an alliance with the bourgeoisie.

We fight for a fundamentally different program and perspective. Along with Marx, we're deeply conscious that "the emancipation of the workers must be the act of the working class itself" and that every political alliance with the bourgeoisie serves only to prop up this decaying capitalist system which is the basis for every existing form of exploitation, oppression and discrimination. For this reason, we seek to build a revolutionary party modeled on Lenin's Bolshevik Party—the expression of the complete independence of the working class from the bourgeoisie, the tribune of the oppressed and the historical memory of the proletariat and its revolutionary vanguard.

We know that this requires intransigent struggle against the centrist and reformist traitors of the workers movement. Those youth and workers who are disgusted with the never-ending class-collaborationist politics of the misleaders of the workers movement and who want to fight for a socialist future must draw the necessary lessons. Break with the popular front! Join the LTd'I in the struggle to build the revolutionary proletarian party in Italy, section of a reborn Fourth International.■

Spartacist Events

NEW YORK CITY

China on the Brink: Workers Political Revolution or Capitalist Enslavement?

Saturday, October 18, 3 p.m.
New York Law School, Room A700
47 Worth Street (north of Chambers)

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series
Alternate Mondays, 7 p.m. Next class, October 20: ***Communist Internationalism and Permanent Revolution***;
41 Warren St. (one block below Chambers St., near Church St.)
Information and readings: (212) 267-1025

CHICAGO

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series
Alternate Saturdays, 2 p.m., Next classes, October 18: ***The Bolshevik Revolution***; November 1: ***How the Soviet Workers State was Strangled***;
328 South Jefferson, Suite 904
Information and readings: (312) 454-4930

SAN FRANCISCO

Unchain Labor's Power—Those Who Labor Must Rule!

Friday, October 17, 7 p.m.
The Women's Building, 3543 18th St.
(BART stop: 16th and Mission)

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series
Alternate Thursdays, 6 p.m. Next class, October 23: ***How the Soviet Workers State was Strangled***;
SF State, Psyc 122
Information and readings:
(415) 777-9367 or (510) 839-0851

BOSTON

China on the Brink: Workers Political Revolution or Capitalist Enslavement?

Monday, October 20, 7 p.m.
Harvard University, William James Hall, Room 4, 33 Kirkland St., Cambridge

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series
Alternate Wednesdays at **two locations**. Next class, October 22: ***The Capitalist State and Revolution***.
- 2:30 p.m.: UMass-Boston, McCormack Building, Room 1-212.
- 7:30 p.m.: Harvard Univ., Emerson Hall, Room 305, Harvard Yard.

Information and readings: (617) 666-9453

OAKLAND

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series
Tuesdays, 7 p.m. Next classes: October 28: ***How the Soviet Workers State Was Strangled***; November 4: ***Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution***;
UC Berkeley, 204 Wheeler
Information and readings:
(510) 839-0851or (415) 777-9367

Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste Events

TORONTO

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series
Alternate Wednesdays, 7 p.m. Next class, October 22: ***The Russian Revolution***; International Student Centre, 33 St. George Street
Information and readings: (416) 593-4138

WORKERS VANGUARD

Rifondazione Comunista—"Left" Roadblock to Workers' Struggle

Italy: Anti-Worker Popular Front in Turmoil

The following article is adapted and abridged from Spartaco *No. 51 (October 1997), published by the Lega Trotskista d'Italia.*

OCTOBER 14—After 17 months of escalating attacks on workers, immigrants, pensioners and youth, last Thursday Prime Minister Romano Prodi submitted the resignation of the Ulivo (Olive Tree) coalition government centered on the Party of the Democratic Left (PDS). The government's move was triggered when its "left" prop, Rifondazione Comunista (RC), withdrew its support to Prodi on the eve of a parliamentary vote on a new austerity package which slashes pensions and social services in order to meet the Maastricht Treaty requirements for entry into the European Monetary Union. As we go to press, RC has agreed to vote for the austerity budget and Prodi has announced

SPARTACO
Newspaper of the Lega Trotskista d'Italia

that the "center-left" government will continue in office. To cover its left flank, RC is trumpeting a bogus "compromise" involving minor reductions in funding cuts and a vague promise by the government to aim for a 35-hour workweek.

In the frenzied parliamentary maneuvering that followed Prodi's threatened resignation, most of the bourgeoisie made it clear that they wanted RC's participation in the government in order to avoid a massive proletarian revolt against the new austerity bill. Right-wing opposition leader and former prime minister Silvio Berlusconi, who offered to join in a "grand coalition," joined with the fascists in denouncing the latest deal as a sellout to the "Communists." But President Luigi Oscar Scalfaro pushed Prodi and RC to reach an agreement, fearful that a change in government would endanger the chances of Italy joining the Monetary Union.

The reformist RC—which like the social-democratic PDS is descended from the now-defunct Communist Party—has been under intense pressure from all sides. It withdrew its support to the Prodi government in the wake of a series of mobilizations and assemblies by its proletarian base denouncing the government's refusal to reconsider pension cuts and to concede a shorter workweek at no loss in pay. At hundreds of angry meetings in factories centered in the northern industrial belt—from Mirafiori Fiat in Torino to Brescia, Florence and elsewhere—workers have passed resolutions opposing *any* cuts in pensions, health care, etc. Feeling the heat from the base, 200 delegates of the CGIL trade-union federation in Torino booed CGIL head Sergio Cofferati last week when he defended pension cuts. This brings to mind the proletarian upsurge of 1992, when workers threw

Bonaventura/Contrasto

Above: Workers protest Ulivo coalition government austerity cuts, November 1996. Below (from left): Prime Minister Prodi, RC leaders Bertinotti and Cossutta as anti-worker popular front falls into disarray over new measures slashing pensions, social services.

Ansa photos

bolts and eggs at Cofferati and other union bureaucrats who had lined up behind an earlier austerity measure.

The syndicalist-influenced COBAS ("rank-and-file committees") have already been organizing for a march in Rome on October 18 against the new austerity bill, explicitly called in opposition to the RC-supported Prodi/PDS government. RC felt compelled to call a similar anti-austerity demonstration in Rome for the following Saturday. Meanwhile, from Naples to Milano, tens of thousands of students have been mobilizing against increased government funding for private Catholic schools. The latest, flagrant capitulation by the phony "Communists" of RC is bound to increase disgruntlement and frustration among leftist workers and youth. But even had RC chosen to remain outside the government, it would only have done so in order to try to channel a proletarian revolt into pressure for a new, more "left" bourgeois coalition government like Lionel Jospin's Socialist-led government in France.

In the autumn of 1994, millions of workers rallied in town squares throughout Italy under the illusion that a "left" government would improve things. Thanks to Massimo D'Alema's PDS, Fausto Bertinotti's RC and the heads of the main, social-democratic-led CGIL union federation—as well as of the smaller, more right-wing CISL and UIL federations—the end result of those mobilizations was the anti-worker, anti-immigrant, anti-woman "left-center" Prodi government. Aided by the centrists around *Proposta* in the RC minority, the reformists succeeded in using the workers' militancy to pull the cart of their parliamentary ambitions. Today it is clearer than ever that a Leninist vanguard party to fight for proletarian power must be forged in irreconcilable opposition to both bourgeois parliamentary reformism and the dead end of "apolitical" syndicalism. This is what the Lega Trotskista d'Italia (LTd'I), section of the International Communist League, fights for.

The Popular Front Opens the Road for the Fascists!

With the support of Rifondazione Comunista and the various union bureaucrats, the bourgeois government of Prodi, D'Alema & Co. has managed to meet the hitherto unsatisfied needs of the bourgeoisie and to throw back the gains obtained through working-class struggle to a level that was impossible for previous governments to obtain. This "leftist" government has introduced a series of austerity budgets, reintroduced lower wage levels in the South, pushed through more "temporary labor" agreements and continually increased taxes. Meanwhile, the bourgeoisie has imposed mass layoffs, factory closures and increased exploitation. And for the first time since Mussolini's fascist regime, Italy's bloody imperialist troops have occupied Albania.

Immigrant workers, superexploited as low-wage manual laborers and suppressed through racist terror and mass deportations, have been made scapegoats for the misery which capitalism is imposing on the majority of the working class. Women are increasingly pushed out of production and into the home to look after the aged, children and the sick who are the prime victims of social service cuts. Even as funding for state schools is slashed, full state funding of Catholic schools is becoming a reality for the first time since Italy's unification in the late 19th century, facilitating the ecclesiastical hierarchy's spread of anti-woman poison and its indoctrination of new generations to prostrate themselves before "god, nation and family." Differences in wages and working conditions between North and South are being deepened by law, while the army has been sent into entire areas of the South.

The Ulivo coalition—a popular front of workers parties and bourgeois parties which subordinates the proletariat to its class enemy—got the workers' support on the basis of "fighting the right." But like all popular fronts, it opens the road to fascism. By tying the workers to the wagon of the bourgeoisie, the popular front paralyzes and disarms the working class, sowing criminal illusions that the fascists can be stopped through "parliamentary democratic" means. The popular front also exasperates the petty bourgeoisie, who see the working-class organizations as being responsible for their ruin.

The "secessionist" delirium and racist, anti-union terror spread by Umberto Bossi's fascistic Northern League are encouraged by the politics of the "left" government. On the one hand, the government makes the petty bourgeoisie, Bossi's social base, pay for austerity. On the other hand, the Prodi regime exacerbates divisions in the working class by fomenting racist terror through deportations and repression of immigrants. The Northern League is so emboldened by the situation that it has begun to directly attack the economic organizations of the working class. In August, a union hall in Varese was attacked by vandals; the following month, two trade unionists were attacked with iron bars as the League organized a campaign of burning union cards.

Instead of giving these scum a well-deserved lesson, the trade-union bureaucrats' answer was to mobilize a million workers on September 20 under the nationalist slogan, "Italy is not to be divided." The demonstration was supported by all the governing parties, aspiring bonapartist and former judge Antonio di Pietro, the sinister right-wing ex-P2 "Masonic" Lodge and...Rifondazione Comunista. For the first time since the fall of the fascist regime, the tricolor of Italian nationalism was as visible as the red flag at a mass workers demonstration. The demonstration was so reactionary that the fascist president of the Campania region, Antonio Rastrelli, decided to

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 677

31 October 1997

Black Monday II on Wall Street

"Death of Communism" Myth Goes Splat

OCTOBER 28—Just ten years after "Black Monday" 1987, the world's financial markets were again in a frenzy. As share prices plunged yesterday following yet another sharp decline in the Hong Kong market, trading was halted on the floor of the New York Stock Exchange for the first time in 16 years. The money men tried to put a positive spin on it all, congratulating themselves for the braking mechanism put in place after the last crash and speaking of an "orderly" and "systematic meltdown." The tabloids were less circumspect. "Yikes!" screamed the front page of today's New York *Daily News*.

News columnist Juan Gonzalez commented, "A generation of Wall Street brokers convinced themselves the past few years that stocks could fly and never come back to earth." With the destruction of the Soviet Union through capitalist counterrevolution, the men who rule Wall Street, the German Fourth Reich and Japan Inc. proclaimed the "death of communism" and a bright new world of unfettered capitalism. There was even talk of "the end of history," in the fatuous words of State Department ideologue Francis Fukuyama, with the contradictions generated by the anarchic capitalist mode of production suppressed or at least easily controllable. Corporate directors and the International Monetary Fund and World Bank envisioned a return to the "golden age" before the First World War and the Bolshevik Revolution—few or no restrictions on international movement of capital, stable foreign-exchange rates, "investor-friendly" governments and, above all, a limitless growth of profits.

Buying into this ideological impressionism, right-wing economists and pseudo-leftist theoreticians alike have proclaimed the dawn of a new era of "globalization." South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong et al. were hailed as the East Asian "tigers" for their aggressive policies to promote economic growth. In fact, capital has always moved from one country to another, even before industrialization. Its extension to East and Southeast Asia was simply a third

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Imperialist Rivalries Heat Up

U.S. Gunboat Diplomacy in Persian Gulf

Der Spiegel

Barry Iverson

U.S. aircraft carrier *Nimitz*, now in the Persian Gulf. Washington brandishes big stick as imperialist competition grows over region's oil and natural gas.

The deployment of a seven-ship battle group headed by the aircraft carrier *Nimitz* in mid-October, joining eight U.S. warships already in the Persian Gulf, has again placed the Iraqi people in the cross hairs of U.S. imperialism. The Clinton administration justified this provocation by pointing to an *Iranian* raid in the U.S.-imposed "no-flight" zone over southern Iraq in late September, and an alleged response by Iraqi planes. Defense secretary William Cohen thundered that Iraq would "bear the consequences" of any further "violations" of U.S. diktat, raising the spectre of yet another bloody imperialist attack on Iraqi cities.

Meanwhile, the U.S. pushed the United Nations to intensify the seven-year embargo of Iraq, by banning international travel by Iraqi government officials. The U.S.-engineered starvation blockade has already resulted in the deaths of well over *600,000 young children* from malnutrition and disease. As we did at the time of the Pentagon's "Desert Slaughter" in 1990-91, and in the face of subsequent missile assaults against Iraq, the International Communist League calls on class-conscious workers in the U.S. and internationally to demand: *U.S. hands off Iraq—U.S./UN/NATO out of the Persian Gulf! Down with the starvation blockade!*

Down With Starvation Blockade of Iraq!

U.S. imperialism is motivated by far more than the desire to teach Iraqi strongman Saddam Hussein another bloody "lesson." During the Gulf War, we declared: "Defeat U.S. imperialism! Defend Iraq!" At the same time we noted: "The immediate U.S. target is Iraq, but ultimately its aim is to bring its economically more dynamic imperialist arch-rivals Germany and Japan to heel" (*WV* No. 517, 4 January 1991). Washington's latest moves in the region are even more transparently aimed at its imperialist rivals.

The Pentagon ordered the *Nimitz* into the Gulf only days after the nationalized French oil giant, Total, joined with Russia's Gazprom and Petronas of Malaysia in signing a $2 billion contract with Iran to pump offshore natural gas. The *New York Times* decried the deal as a "direct challenge to the United States," and the Clinton administration threatened to retaliate against Total under the terms of the 1996 Iran and Libya Sanctions Act sponsored by Republican Senator Alfonse D'Amato. But Total refused to knuckle under, while French "Socialist" prime minister Lionel Jospin declared that he "rejoiced" over the gas deal. Nor is Clinton keen on imposing sanctions against Gazprom—the personal bailiwick of Russian prime minister Viktor Chernomyrdin—which is currently floating a $1 billion bond issue through the Goldman Sachs brokerage firm, whose former co-chairman is Treasury secretary Robert Rubin.

So instead, the U.S. has again lashed out at its favorite whipping boy, Saddam Hussein's Iraq. Not surprisingly, Russia and France—which last year broke with Washington over policing the "no-flight" zone over northern Iraq—were among the UN Security Council members who refused to endorse the call for new sanctions against Baghdad. The growing divergence between the U.S. and its imperialist "allies" is also reflected in the current wrangling over reducing carbon emission

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PDC Partisan Defense Committee

CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES

Chicago Anti-Klan Three Win Wrongful Arrest Settlement

On October 27, the City of Chicago agreed to pay $5,000 to three anti-racist protesters who were arrested on frame-up charges brought by the Chicago police during a 29 June 1996 anti-Klan demonstration initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee and Labor Black Struggle League in Daley Plaza.

A federal lawsuit filed last April by the Chicago Anti-Klan Three—Gene Herson, labor coordinator of the PDC; Dennis Glass, a young black worker; and Jeff Lyons of Refuse and Resist!—charged that police brutally attacked the anti-Klan demonstrators, making false arrests on phony charges of assault and battery against police.

The lawsuit charged that Ku Klux Klan members had staged a potentially lethal attack on the anti-Klan protesters. After the anti-Klan demonstrators successfully defended themselves and turned back the Klan attack, the police retaliated by launching a vicious rampage against the anti-Klan protesters. The suit also charged that the police attack was part of a city policy to suppress social protest in Chicago last summer before and during the Democratic National Convention.

In May, after a four-day trial, a jury cleared the anti-Klan defendants of all charges after little more than an hour's deliberation. After delivering their "not guilty" verdict, jurors came out to shake hands with the defendants. A juror explained how they reached their decision: "We argued that this case was much bigger than what happened at the Klan rally. Every day, people in this country are having their civil liberties cut back."

Faced with the prospect of further litigation leading to another jury trial exposing the police vendetta against the June 29 anti-Klan demonstration, the city agreed to settle the federal suit out of court.

WV Photo

Anti-Klan Three: Jeffrey Lyons, Dennis Glass and Gene Herson.

"This settlement is a victory for the right of political protest and in particular for the right of the working class and minorities to organize mass action to stop the genocidal race-terrorists of the Ku Klux Klan," said Gene Herson. "At a time when racist police brutality and frame-ups are making daily headlines in Chicago, the settlement is also a real if modest blow against the racist frame-up system."

Pointing to the need for labor to take up the cause of others who have been victimized by the state's frame-up machine, Herson announced that he would donate his share of the Chicago settlement to the legal defense of Mumia Abu-Jamal. A former Black Panther framed up by Philadelphia police, Jamal has been on death row in Pennsylvania for the past 15 years. "Mine is a small contribution to Jamal's defense," said Herson. "It is vital for the labor movement to actively mobilize to demand 'Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the racist death penalty!'"

Lessons of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution

TROTSKY

LENIN

November 7 (October 25 in the old Russian calendar) marks the 80th anniversary of the 1917 Russian workers revolution, led by the Bolshevik Party of V.I. Lenin and Leon Trotsky. In a 1942 speech, American Trotskyist leader James P. Cannon described the undying significance of the October Revolution—the defining event of the 20th century—which demonstrated in practice how the proletariat, led by a Leninist vanguard party, can seize state power and sweep away the capitalist system. Fatally undermined by nearly seven decades of Stalinist betrayal, the Soviet Union was ultimately destroyed through capitalist counterrevolution in 1991-92. As we fight to forge a party modeled on Lenin and Trotsky's Bolsheviks, the International Communist League reaffirms our commitment to struggling for new October Revolutions throughout the world.

November 7, 1917. The death sentence on the old order of capitalism and the beginning of the new order of world socialism were both proclaimed on that day. And whatever vicissitudes, whatever setbacks, betrayals or defeats may overtake the proletariat on the road to that final goal; however sharp and deep may be the zigzags in the line which charts the course of the struggle through which humanity shall pass from capitalism to socialism; whatever may befall: the starting point in the line of development will always be traced to that great day which we commemorate tonight—November 7, 1917....

Marx and Engels lifted the conception of socialism from utopia to science. The Russian Revolution developed scientific socialism from theory into action, and proved several things that before had been abstract generalizations and predictions. The Russian Revolution proved in action that certain things were true beyond all further doubt. The first of these things proved by the revolution was that it is possible for the workers to take power. It is possible for the workers to forge out of their ranks a party that is capable of leading the struggle to victory. And the workers in all countries will everlastingly remember that. Nothing can erase from history that example. Victory of the proletariat is possible—the Russian Revolution in action, in blood and fire, proved that it is so.

—James P. Cannon, "The 25th Anniversary of the Russian Revolution" (November 1942)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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EDITOR: Len Meyers

EDITOR, YOUNG SPARTACUS PAGES: Jacob Zorn

PRODUCTION MANAGER: Susan Fuller

CIRCULATION MANAGER: Mindy Sanders

EDITORIAL BOARD: Ray Bishop (managing editor), Bruce André, Helene Brosius, George Foster, Liz Gordon, Frank Hunter, Jane Kerrigan, James Robertson, Joseph Seymour, Alison Spencer

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Mumia's Son Convicted in Frame-Up

Free Jamal Hart!

On October 14, Jamal Hart, the 26-year-old son of death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal, was convicted by an all-white jury in a federal court in Philadelphia on false weapons possession charges. These charges carry a mandatory minimum 15 years in jail, and a maximum of life in prison. Sentencing is scheduled for January 6.

Jamal, a prominent fighter for his father's freedom, is the victim of a transparent frame-up cooked up by the Philadelphia police and then taken over by the feds (see "State Vendetta Against Mumia Ensnares Son," *WV* No. 675, 3 October). Under existing state laws, Jamal Hart's conviction on the bogus gun possession charges would likely have resulted in probation. But in an example of the ominous expansion of federal jurisdiction over a vast array of crimes, he will now likely be sentenced to decades of prison hell.

Jamal's imprisonment is a continuation of the deadly state vendetta aimed at silencing Mumia, the former Black Panther spokesman and noted journalist whose case has sparked an international outcry against the racist death penalty. As Mumia noted, the vindictive jailing of his son is "punishment for his efforts on behalf of his dad."

Jamal Hart has been transferred to a prison in Virginia which has no law library and is far from his lawyers and family. It is the duty of all fighters against racist injustice to demand: Free Jamal Hart now! Free Mumia! Messages of solidarity can be sent to: Jamal Hart, Northern Neck Regional Jail, P.O. Box 1090, Warsaw, VA 22572.

Defend Anti-Duke Protesters!

The Partisan Defense Committee in Los Angeles sent the following letter to L.A. County district attorney Gil Garcetti on October 14.

Dear Mr. Garcetti:

The Partisan Defense Committee vehemently denounces the prosecution now taking place in Van Nuys Municipal Court of Edward Vasquez, a student at the University of California at Berkeley, and Sergio Gutierrez, a student at Mission College, in conjunction with their participation in the protest against fascist David Duke which took place on 25 September 1996 at the California State University at Northridge (CSUN). The prosecution of these two young anti-racists on felony charges follows the conviction of four other protesters, some of them supporters of the Coalition to Defend Affirmative Action By Any Means Necessary. The phony charges leveled against the six, such as "assault with a deadly weapon" and "attempting to harm a police horse," are an attempt to whitewash a savage police attack on anti-racist protesters. We demand: Drop all charges immediately!

As "former" Nazi and Klansman David Duke spewed obscene fascist filth from the stage of the CSUN Student Union, to a crowd ostensibly hearing a "debate" on affirmative action, armed police flanked both sides of the stage, and afterwards the 200 LAPD and state university police outside used pepper gas, tear gas, batons, rubber bullets and horses to beat a path clear for Duke. Several protesters were bloodied.

David Duke came to California emboldened by the passage of anti-immigrant Proposition 187 and the racist anti-affirmative action Proposition 209 which has now passed into law. He came to incite racist terror and to recruit to his genocidal program. A week after Duke's appearance at Northridge, skinheads in Newport Beach carrying white-supremacist literature attacked a Latino fisherman with a knife. Duke seeks to sow his seeds of fascism in the fertile ground tilled by the Democrats' and the Republicans' savage gutting of welfare which especially targets the besieged black population in this country and is accompanied by an all-sided assault on immigrants. While the capitalist state coddles and protects fascist scum like Duke, it saves the business end of its batons for those who dare protest the current wave of racist, anti-working-class reaction. Drop the charges against Vasquez and Gutierrez!

Steve Bull
PDC

Britain: Labour Party Turns the Screw on Working Class

PA News

Tony Blair (center) and fellow Blairites seek to sever Labour's ties with trade unions in order to better serve City of London financiers.

On October 3, Britain's Labour Party concluded its first annual conference as the governing party in nearly two decades. Since coming to office in May, Labour prime minister Tony Blair has followed through on his racist "tough on crime" crusade and has begun implementing American-style "workfare" slave-labor schemes, earning the praise of corporate CEOs for his "modern business agenda." Blair has also worked to refurbish the badly tattered image of the monarchy (see "Blair's Labour Fashions Facelift for British Monarchy," *WV* No. 675, 3 October). As is made clear in the article below (reprinted from *Workers Hammer* No. 158, September/October 1997, bimonthly newspaper of the Spartacist League/Britain), published shortly before the annual conference of the Trades Union Congress (TUC) in early September, Blair's Labour has trumpeted its intent to sever the party's historic ties to the trade unions and become an overtly capitalist party like the U.S. Democrats.

WORKERS HAMMER

Newspaper of the Spartacist League/Britain

At the Labour Party conference in Brighton, Blair boasted that his "heroes" include former Liberal prime minister Lloyd George and effectively renounced Labour's formation as a working-class party, bemoaning the "division among radicals almost 100 years ago" which led to Labour's break from the capitalist Liberals. A columnist in the London *Observer* (5 October) noted semi-ironically how the Labour leader was now "formally accepting the leadership of the Liberal Democrats and declaring them part of his New Labour project."

At the TUC conference, Blair underlined his determination to maintain anti-union laws pushed through under the Conservative government of Margaret Thatcher in the 1980s, raving: "We will not go back to the days of industrial warfare, strikes without ballots, mass and flying pickets, secondary action and all the rest of it." Yet despite occasional bleating over Blair's more egregiously anti-union diatribes, the TUC misleaders are no less committed to the capitalist order than is the Labour government they fulsomely support. Thus the "theme" of the TUC conference was a "partnership for progress" with the British bourgeoisie, punctuated by an address by the Archbishop of Canterbury (who got more applause than Blair), head of the Church of England.

The British fake lefts likewise fall in step behind Blair's capitalist government. "Red Ken" Livingstone, spokesman for the Labour "left," said at the party conference: "I would do anything to make certain we get this Government re-elected." Meanwhile, Tony Cliff's Socialist Workers Party (SWP)—which had the most minimal presence at a recent support rally for Liverpool dockers sacked for honoring picket lines—organized a "lobby" of several thousand at Brighton to plead that this overtly pro-business government implement reformist schemes to "tax the rich."

* * *

Labour's commitment to serving decaying British capitalism, which was plain as a pikestaff before, is rapidly being proven in office. Blair has already deployed the armed fist of the capitalist state against the oppressed, seen in the massive army and Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC) invasion of a Catholic enclave in Portadown, Northern Ireland this July, and the use of riot cops in August against asylum seekers in Campsfield detention centre in southern England. Another round of Thatcherite attacks against the working class is in the works, targeting the public sector unions, and the threat of union-busting privatisation hangs over London Underground and the postal service. Blair is committed to doing what Labour governments invariably do—strikebreaking, attacking the working class and oppressed—in the service of the capitalist rulers.

In addition, those who today lead the Labour Party, a bourgeois workers party, are on a course which will result in them leading a bourgeois *liberal* party—something that they yearn for. Blair has appointed a host of millionaire business magnates to government posts and set up a joint cabinet committee with the Liberal Party as a precondition for more systematic class collaboration. This harks back to the strike-breaking Lib-Lab pact during the Callaghan Labour government in the 1970s, and indeed to Ramsay MacDonald's National Government of 1931, which from the standpoint of the working class was a historic betrayal. Blair is searching for a regroupment of bourgeois forces as part of refashioning the Labour Party into an outright capitalist party, which means reverting back to the conditions of a century ago, before trade unions broke with the bourgeois Liberal Party and founded the Labour Party.

Since the Soviet Union was destroyed by counterrevolution in 1991-92, the ruling class perceives an opportunity to return to a situation they would prefer—to rule without the mediating influence of reformist parties. The "Blair project," which involves severing the union links to the Labour Party, is very much tied to this aim.

Blair is very keen to sever the union link but less keen to reject union members' money. In protest at the way the union bureaucrats are being sidelined within the party, right-wing AEEU (Amalgamated Engineering and Electrical Union) General Secretary Ken Jackson announced that his union had cancelled a cheque for £250,000 to Labour. This hit Labour where it hurts, in the bank accounts, which are substantially in the red following the up-market election campaign. Until Labour secures alternative sources of funding it is still dependent on substantial donations (estimated at £11 million per annum) from the unions. But while the bureaucracy may protest, and from time to time withhold the unions' political funds in an effort to strike a bargain with Blair, the union ties to the Labour Party are likely to be formally severed whether the union bureaucrats like it or not. The situation is entirely of the union bureaucracy's own making, since they share the same political outlook as New Labour, as Jackson confirmed when he said, "We made New Labour possible."

Christopher Thomond

Labour and trade-union tops have knifed Liverpool dockers' two-year struggle against victimization for honoring picket lines.

The problems the working class face today, including the massive web of Thatcherite anti-union laws which the Labour government will enforce, are a product of class collaboration and betrayal of struggles, in which the 1984-85 miners strike was pivotal. Now there is a palpable sense that Labour and the unions can no longer go on in the same old way. The union leaders are so tied to the capitalist order that they reject class struggle, the very means by which the unions were built.

The question posed quite starkly in Britain today is: what kind of party does the working class need, to actually represent their interests, independently of the capitalists? While the Labour Party was born out of the basic class division in society, even in the days when it formally claimed to be "socialist" it has always been based on the illusion that the way to advance the cause of the workers is through tacit or overt collaboration on "national" issues while standing for elections to Parliament. But Labour in government is a capitalist government. Capitalism is a social system of class rule, not merely a set of government policies, and fundamental change in the interest of the working class cannot be achieved through the "Mother of Parliaments" while leaving the capitalist state machinery intact. The working class cannot simply take over the existing apparatus of the capitalist state; that state must be shattered and replaced by one based on organs of working-class rule—the dictatorship of the proletariat.

A genuine workers party must be based on the understanding that only through the mass mobilisation of workers in struggle can the workers fight for their interests and in defence of all the oppressed. The best example in history was the Bolshevik Party led by V.I. Lenin and Leon Trotsky, which led the workers of Russia to power in the October Revolution of 1917 and created the first workers state in history. The Spartacist League is fighting to build such a party, forged in sharp political struggle against the Labour misleaders.

Labourite Treachery and the Liverpool Dockers Fight

More than ever before, it is obvious that the felt needs of working people and the oppressed will not be met through a Labour government, or through a reconstitution of the old relationship between Labour and the unions, which has served to strangle workers' struggles, as is graphically seen in the case of the Liverpool dockers. The dockers have battled for *two years* in defence of a basic principle: *never cross a picket line*. Their struggle has repeatedly inspired solidarity action by workers from the U.S. to Australia and Japan. Yet from the very start TGWU (Transport & General Workers Union) leader Bill Morris and Co. have done all in their power to knife their struggle. At the biennial TGWU conference in July, Morris tried to get the union to disown the dockers completely. But this proposal was angrily voted down by TGWU delegates who included representatives from British Airways cabin crews fighting a union-busting attack by Tony Blair's friend, Bob Ayling. UNISON (public employees union) bureaucrats similarly disowned Asian women members sacked from London's Hillingdon hospital; union officials called the cops to prevent them speaking at a commemoration of the Tolpuddle martyrs [six farm labourers transported to an Australian penal colony in the 1830s for trade union organising].

The Socialist Workers Party (SWP) who claim to champion "rank and file"

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Washington Threatens Embargo of Japanese Cargo Ships

On October 16, an obscure government agency known as the Federal Maritime Commission (FMC) invoked the Merchant Marine Act of 1920 to order U.S. Coast Guard vessels to detain Japanese cargo ships in American ports. This outrageous provocation threatened to escalate an ongoing trade dispute over Japanese port regulations into a direct confrontation between the two imperialist powers. U.S. and Japanese negotiators have now hammered out an agreement aimed at resolving the dispute.

Put simply, seizing another country's ships is an *act of war*. The Clinton administration claimed to have known nothing about the FMC's decision beforehand. Nonetheless, administration officials let it be known that "if no accord was reached, the Coast Guard should be allowed to stop Japanese ships" (*New York Times*, 18 October). As the *Times* noted, the last time Washington imposed an embargo on Japan, cutting off vital oil and iron shipments, was in July 1941. That was a direct prelude to the 1941-45 Pacific War, which ended with the nuclear incineration of some 200,000 people through the A-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki by the U.S. imperialists.

According to the *Times*, the White House could not decide "whether this was a brewing crisis or a comic series of missteps." All proportions guarded, it was "missteps" of this kind that paved the way to the outbreak of World War I in August 1914, drowning humanity in an unprecedented slaughter. When the Austro-Hungarian Empire declared war on Serbia in late July 1914, a month after an Austrian archduke was assassinated by a Serbian nationalist in Sarajevo, the intent was to humiliate the small Balkan republic and to refurbish the great power status of the disintegrating empire. But in the space of a week, all of Europe had been drawn into a widening conflagration that would continue for four years.

The root causes of World War I went far deeper than the assassination of an aristocrat or the ambitions of individual diplomats. Rather, they lay in the inexorable clash among the imperialist powers over markets, natural resources and spheres of investment. Likewise, the recent action of this tiny federal agency in Washington simply casts a sharp spotlight on the burgeoning trade war between the U.S. and Japan and the growing economic conflict between the two powers over the Far East.

The particular issue involved in the current port dispute is an attempt by shipping companies both in the U.S. and Japan to break the power of the Japanese dockers unions, which currently have some control over work shifts and how ships are unloaded. Last March, 50,000 dockers at 50 Japanese ports staged a 24-hour strike against the proposed union-busting measures and other anti-labor attacks. What is called for is international class solidarity in struggle among unions in the U.S., Japan and elsewhere to fight for the highest level of wages and working conditions in all countries. To its credit the West Coast International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union vowed to defy the government's threatened embargo, as ILWU president Brian McWilliams declared, "We object to this anti-worker action and pledge to work any Japanese ships calling on a West Coast port."

This stands in marked contrast to the general practice of the AFL-CIO bureaucracy, which specializes in chauvinist protectionism and virulent Japan-bashing, epitomized by the flag-waving "America first" mobilizations which derailed the Bridgestone-Firestone rubber workers strike a few years ago and the viciously racist Toyota-bashing protests staged by UAW officials in the 1970s and '80s. The ILWU tops have themselves joined in chauvinist campaigns for "American ships, American jobs," targeting Filipino and other foreign maritime workers. For their part, Japanese dockers union officials have also sought to divert workers' opposition to the shipping companies' anti-union attacks into nationalist channels. Thus, union leaflets issued last March focused on "intervention by foreign companies" and denounced Japanese firms for having "abandoned their responsibility" and "working in alliance with the U.S. and EU [European Union]."

On both sides of the Pacific, the chauvinist union misleaders seek to tie the workers to "their" bourgeoisies and subvert the class struggle against the capitalist exploiters. We say: The main enemy is at home! Down with the threatened U.S. embargo! For international workers solidarity!

Persian Gulf...

(continued from page 1)

(i.e., energy consumption) levels. Underlining the ominous character of these disputes is the threat by Washington to embargo Japanese cargo ships in American ports (see article above). Such threats have historically been the stuff of war preparations.

During the Cold War, the rival capitalist powers reined in their mutual antagonisms in pursuit of weakening and destroying their main enemy: the Soviet degenerated workers state. With the destruction of the Soviet Union in 1991-92, the world is increasingly coming to resemble the pre-1914 period that led to World War I. In the main resolution of the Second International Conference of the ICL in 1992, we warned:

> "The end of the Cold War will not bring a new 'American century' but intensifying interimperialist rivalries. The global system of 'free trade'—the economic cement which held together the U.S.-dominated anti-Soviet alliance—is crumbling as the major capitalist powers seek to redivide the world into regional trade blocs."
>
> —*Spartacist* (English-language edition) Nos. 47-48, Winter 1992-93

This prognosis has been amply confirmed, as Yankee imperialism seeks to extend the tentacles of its North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) beyond Mexico to the entire Western Hemisphere, the Fourth Reich pushes to cohere a German-dominated "Fortress Europe" and Japan Inc. drives to build a present-day version of its Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere of the 1930s. Nowhere is the escalation of interimperialist rivalries clearer than in the sharpening clash over energy resources.

Painting by I.I. Brodsky

Revolutionary traditions of the fight for communism in the East: Painting depicts execution of 26 heroic commissars, murdered by British-backed counterrevolutionaries in bloody suppression of 1918 Baku Soviet.

Big Oil—From the Near East to the "Wild East"

In this post-Soviet world, the oil- and gas-rich region stretching from the Mediterranean to Central Asia has again become a tinderbox of competing imperialist interests and conflicts. Underscoring the utter hypocrisy of its latest tirades against Iraq and Iran, Washington simultaneously turned a blind eye to a full-scale invasion of the Kurdish region of northern Iraq by over 15,000 troops of its ally, Turkey, which boasted that its fighter planes had "leveled the camps [of Kurdish nationalist groups] to the ground."

Ever since the reactionary mullahs under Ayatollah Khomeini deposed the despotic U.S.-backed shah in early 1979, establishing an Islamic theocracy, successive American governments have branded Iran a "terrorist state." This takes some chutzpah coming from the U.S., whose cruiser *Vincennes* shot down an Iranian civilian airliner in 1988, coldbloodedly killing 290 passengers. And throughout the bloody eight-year war between Iran and Iraq, which ended that year, Washington supported first one side and then then the other, prolonging the bloodshed and draining both countries. With the election in May of "liberal" fundamentalist Mohammed Khatami as Iran's new president, influential sections of the U.S. ruling class have floated the idea that this may be the time to formally end the embargo of Iran. Pentagon chief Cohen took care to note that the "show of strength with the Nimitz was meant as a warning to Iraq, not Iran."

Despite talk of "liberalization" of the ayatollahs' regime, it remains as tyrannical as ever toward women, national minorities and workers. What is behind Washington's mooted change of heart is that Iran sits atop the world's second-largest natural gas reserves. A recent article in the *New York Times* (30 September) bitterly described how an earlier deal with Teheran by Total had initially been claimed by Conoco, until the American firm was forced to pull out by the U.S. government. The article goes on to report that Italian, German, Japanese and other companies are all active in Iran. Iraq, which has the world's second-largest oil reserves, is also negotiating contracts with 60 foreign firms ("pending" an end to the UN embargo). American concerns are frozen out of all these dealings by their own government.

Germany is today Iran's leading trade partner and military backer. Utilizing these ties, Bonn engineered a spectacular prisoner exchange in August 1996 between the pro-Iranian Hezbollah guerrillas in Lebanon and Israel, encroaching on what had been an American preserve since the end of World War II. It was after this slap in the face by Germany—and when Total moved in to snatch the deal set up by Conoco—that Congress passed the D'Amato bill penalizing foreign companies for investing in Iran. After Bonn last March expelled a CIA agent who was snooping into the sale of high-tech German equipment to Iran, an American "national security expert" voiced Washington's "concern" over "what our Western allies, particularly the Germans, have been doing with the Iranians" (*Scientific American*, June 1997).

At the same time, as European spokesmen have been quick to point out, this summer Washington tacitly approved construction of a 2,000-mile pipeline through Iran to carry natural gas from the former Soviet republic of Turkmenistan to

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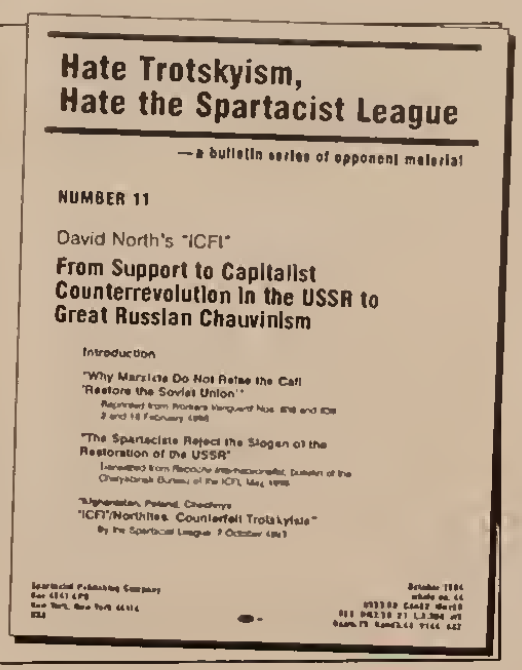
Hate Trotskyism, Hate the Spartacist League

—a bulletin series of opponent material

NUMBER 11

David North's "ICFI"

From Support to Capitalist Counterrevolution in the USSR to Great Russian Chauvinism

Introduction

"Why Marxists Do Not Raise the Call 'Restore the Soviet Union'"

"The Spartacists Reject the Slogan of the Restoration of the USSR"

"Afghanistan, Poland, Czechoslovakia: 'ICFI'/Northites, Counterfeit Trotskyists"

Turkey. In an op-ed piece in the *New York Times* (18 August), analyst Stephan-Götz Richter commented acerbically:

> "On the one hand, the United States constantly reminds everyone that under United States law, Iran—like Cuba—is economically 'untouchable.' Yet this policy seems expendable as soon as American interests decide to go after Central Asian oil.
>
> "Europeans find it particularly hard to swallow the idea that the entire world should dance to the tune of American domestic politics."

There is more than American hypocrisy at issue here. Hitler's *Drang nach Osten* (drive to the East) in World War II was in part aimed at seizing the Baku oil fields in what was then Soviet Azerbaijan. Today, following the collapse of the Soviet Union, the competing imperialist powers are increasingly fixing their sights on the Caucasus and Central Asia, the "Wild East" whose huge petroleum reserves are presumed to be worth trillions of dollars. In 1994, the U.S. and others signed a $7.4 billion "contract of the century" with Azerbaijan. More contracts followed when Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan struck deals with France, Italy, Japan, Malaysia and China. Meanwhile, Chevron and Mobil have been staking out claims in the Tengiz oil fields surrounding the Caspian Sea.

Competition is now raging over pipeline routes, a question of strategic importance for the various imperialist powers. This was a key reason for Washington's initial support to the Islamic fundamentalist Taliban in Afghanistan, in the hope that these bloodthirsty cutthroats would consolidate a stable regime and ensure U.S. control over a projected pipeline through the country. And in September, the Pentagon staged a "rapid deployment" drill in Kazakhstan, flying in 500 paratroopers from Fort Bragg. Meanwhile, Germany hopes to use its position in Iran to exert control over the planned pipeline from Turkmenistan, while vying with the U.S. for influence in Turkey. And one factor in Turkey's ferocious war against the Kurds is its drive to control pipelines that may one day pass through the country's Kurdish areas.

The "great game" for control of the oil and gas resources of Central Asia and the Near East, which led to numerous wars in the past, is being played out again today, sketching the outlines of world conflagration in which all the belligerents will be armed with nuclear weapons. One thing is certain: continued imperialist domination can only mean further national oppression of the peoples of the region, intensified exploitation of the proletariat and sharpened interimperialist rivalries. To throw off the imperialist yoke, the working masses—leading behind them the impoverished peasantry, horrendously

Wye/Washington Post

Garanich/Reuters

U.S. Marines in Crimea in Ukraine. U.S. has beefed up military presence in the region to back up imperialist oil and gas ventures in Caucasus and Central Asia.

oppressed women and subjugated national minorities—must sweep away the reactionary ayatollahs, Zionist butchers and blood-drenched colonels. This requires the forging of Leninist vanguard parties committed to the Trotskyist perspective of permanent revolution, linking the struggle against all the despotic capitalist regimes of the region with the fight for socialist revolution in the imperialist centers. For a socialist republic of united Kurdistan! For a socialist federation of the Near East!

Imperialism, War and Revolution

In this epoch of imperialist decay, the productive forces of society strain explosively against the boundaries of the bourgeois nation-state. This century has twice brought humanity devastation and ruin as the imperialists clashed over redivision of the world—markets, spheres of influence, greater profits and access to natural resources. In his 1916 book, *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, Russian revolutionary leader V.I. Lenin argued against the notion propagated by German Social Democratic leader Karl Kautsky that an "ultra-imperialism" could overcome the contradictions of capitalist imperialism by peaceful means. Lenin asserted:

> "Imperialism is the epoch of finance capital and of monopolies, which introduce everywhere the striving for domination, not for freedom. The result of these tendencies is reaction all along the line, whatever the political system, and an extreme intensification of existing antagonisms in this domain also."

With a handful of exceptions, the leaders of Kautsky's Second International went over to the side of their own bourgeoisies at the onset of World War I, helping to mobilize the workers for the great slaughter. Lenin hailed the revolutionary German workers' leader, Karl Liebknecht, who proclaimed: The main enemy is at home! Lenin fought for a new proletarian International—a vanguard party of professional revolutionaries based firmly on the program of Marxism—that would carry through a split with all shades of opportunism and chauvinism.

It was only because of the Bolsheviks' firm opposition to national chauvinism that Lenin, Trotsky and their comrades were able to lead the multinational proletariat of Russia to power in the October Revolution of 1917. After usurping political power in 1923-24, Stalin and his heirs repudiated Bolshevik internationalism in favor of the nationalist dogma of "socialism in one country," undermining and subverting not only the fight for international proletarian revolution but the gains of the Russian Revolution itself, leading finally to the collapse of the Soviet Union and the bureaucratically deformed workers states of East Europe. From Berlin to Moscow, the ICL fought tooth and nail against capitalist counterrevolution, seeking to mobilize the working masses in political revolution to oust the Stalinist betrayers.

Today we continue the fight for new October Revolutions around the globe, seeking to forge an internationalist party of the type Lenin built. A revolutionary workers party in the U.S. can only be built through political struggle to oust the pro-capitalist labor misleaders, who fuel the danger of renewed interimperialist war by whipping up protectionist racism, spreading the lie that the workers of Japan, Mexico and other countries are responsible for unemployment at home. Such a party must act as a "tribune of the people," mobilizing the working class to fight all manifestations of social oppression. As the memory of the workers movement, we seek to instill the most conscious layers of the proletariat with the history of working-class victories and defeats in order to prepare for future class battles. Like Liebknecht and Lenin, we say today, in this era of sharpening imperialist antagonisms: The main enemy is at home!

With the U.S. entry into World War II, Socialist Workers Party (SWP) leader James P. Cannon and 17 of his comrades were sent to prison for opposition to "their" ruling class in the war. In December 1941, the then-Trotskyist SWP, section of the Fourth International, defied the war hysteria around them to issue a clarion call of proletarian internationalism, "A Statement on the U.S. Entry into World War II." We recall their fighting appeal as we struggle today to reforge Trotsky's Fourth International:

> "Twice in twenty-five years world wars have wrought destruction. The instigators and leaders of those wars do not offer, and cannot offer, a plausible promise that a third, fourth, and fifth world war will not follow if they and their social system remain dominant. Capitalism can offer no prospect but the slaughter of millions and the destruction of civilization. Only socialism can save humanity from this abyss. This is the truth. As the terrible war unfolds, this truth will be recognized by tens of millions who will not hear us now. The war-tortured masses will adopt our program and liberate the people of all countries from war and fascism. In this dark hour we clearly see the socialist future and prepare the way for it. Against the mad chorus of national hatreds we advance once more the old slogan of socialist internationalism: Workers of the World Unite!"■

Black Monday II...

(continued from page 1)

wave of industrialization, following on the Industrial Revolution in England beginning in the late 18th century and then spreading to Germany, the U.S. and Japan a century later. Today, the "globalized" capitalism of the post-Soviet world means that stock markets around the globe are crashing—Hong Kong, Tokyo, the City of London, Wall Street.

The present crisis began last July when Thailand devalued its currency, the baht, thereby cheapening the cost of its exports in dollars, yen and major currencies. Other countries in the region were soon engaging in competitive devaluations aggravated by international currency speculators. During the Great Depression of the 1930s this was called "beggar my neighbor" trade policies. The economies of the relatively small capitalist states of East and Southeast Asia were further undermined by the flood of cheap exports from China, whose Stalinist bureaucrats are hell-bent on becoming capitalist exploiters.

The East Asian "tigers" did all they could to attract money, from Tokyo, New York, London and elsewhere, for example, pegging their currencies to the dollar to ensure investors against loss through devaluation. Much of the billions of dollars, yen, pounds and D-marks which flowed in was squandered on luxury imports for the local ruling elite, real-estate speculation and payoffs to government officials and military men. But more fundamentally, these countries could not continue to generate the exorbitant profits expected by Wall Street and Tokyo financiers, even with police-state repression enforcing wages a small fraction of those in Japan and North America.

The recent economic boom in East Asia, like *all* such capitalist booms, generated a drive for ever-greater profits and resulting financial speculation which could not be sustained. It had to crash, and it did crash. Now Barton Biggs, a top honcho for the main branch of the House of Morgan, America's premier financial dynasty, complains that "the governments of these countries were not doing the tough things they have to do to clear the markets." This Wall Street bloodsucker is demanding that East Asian rulers impose savage austerity on their already impoverished peoples.

When Hong Kong's stock market went into free fall last week, Wall Street analysts tended to argue that it would have little impact on U.S. financial markets. Nonetheless, as the London *Financial Times* (28 October) reported, while the latest sell-off was "initially prompted by the renewed turmoil in southeast Asian financial markets," it "was driven by worries over US corporate valuations."

The bull market on Wall Street was not generated by increased economic productivity and expanding productive capacity. The boom in computers and software is no substitute for the expansion of basic industry like steel, shipbuilding and machine tools. Behind the speculative feeding frenzy that has driven stock prices to record highs is the enormous intensification in the rate of exploitation of the American working class—two-tier wage systems, the shift of production from the North and Midwest to the non-union South and Southwest. But squeezing labor to expand the share of profit has its limits, not least by provoking worker resistance. Here it's significant that the biggest one-day sell-off on Wall Street before the present crisis occurred during last August's UPS strike, the most effective and *popular* labor struggle in the U.S. in years.

The first modern global financial crisis—the panic of 1837—which was followed by a severe economic depression, came several decades after the onset of industrial capitalism. The world has not changed all that much since then. The question yet to be answered is whether the latest crash is also a prelude to depression. It is fashionable these days to ridicule the teachings of Karl Marx as a quaint anachronism. But as we observed in our article on the "Crash of '87" (*WV* No. 439, 30 October 1987), in the *Communist Manifesto* Marx pointed to "the commercial crises that by their periodical return put the existence of the entire bourgeois society on trial." Marx's economic analysis has been amply vindicated over the past 150 years. His political program is today all the more urgently posed: socialist revolutions internationally—ushering in a classless, egalitarian society based on production for need, not for profit—is the only answer to the anarchy and brutality of the capitalist system. It is our task to forge the proletarian leadership needed to lead humanity out of this abyss.■

Wall Street and the War Against Labor

Part 2: American Populism in the 19th Century

Part One of this series appeared in WV *No. 676, 17 October.*

The United States is the only advanced capitalist country where the working class has not attained even a minimal level of political class consciousness. The American working class in its mass has never supported a party whose declared ultimate goal is the replacement of the capitalist system with a socialist society or which even claims to stand simply for workers' interests in their day-to-day struggles against the employers.

Ever since the emergence of an organized labor movement in the late 19th century, the American working class has been under the ideological sway of liberal populism, whose main political carrier is the Democratic Party. When Jesse Jackson addresses a labor rally today, he voices ideas and values that were the stock in trade not only of Franklin D. Roosevelt's Democratic Party in the 1930s—FDR's third-term vice president, Henry Wallace, in particular was a vaunted "progressive"—but of the Democratic Party of William Jennings Bryan, who in the 1890s denounced "the moneyed interests, aggregated wealth and capital, imperious, arrogant, compassionless."

As one early social-democratic labor historian wrote: "American labor has always been prone...to identify itself in outlook, interest, and action, with the great lower middle class, the farmers, the small manufacturers and business men,—in a word, with the 'producing classes' and their periodic 'anti-monopoly' campaigns" (Selig Perlman, *A Theory of the Labor Movement* [1928]). In the populist view, all economic evils are caused by certain sections of the capitalist class—the "robber barons," the monopolists, the Wall Street bankers—who are condemned on moral grounds as devoid of feeling for their fellow man. If only the government would adopt the right policies—"cheap money," trust-busting, spending for public works, taxing the rich—such a reformed capitalism would produce general and permanent prosperity.

While one can point to several factors accounting for the hegemony of liberal populism over the U.S. working class over the past hundred years, there are two fundamental reasons, both rooted in the country's origins. One is the enormous social weight of petty capitalist proprietors; the other is the ethnic and racial diversity of the working class and the population in general, the result of the slave trade and successive waves of immigration. In Europe (and also Japan) the capitalist system developed out of pre-existing feudal social formations. In contrast, the American nation-state was created through European colonial settlement of a continent-wide land previously inhabited by a sparse aboriginal population of hunter-gatherers and primitive agriculturalists; in the early South, the social/economic system was based centrally on the use of enslaved black Africans (supplanted after the Civil War by sharecropping and tenancy).

The legacy of the slave system—the all-sided oppression of blacks under capitalism—remains the central question of the American socialist revolution. Racial and ethnic divisions in the working class, deliberately fostered by the bourgeoisie, have been the single greatest obstacle to the development of proletarian class consciousness in this country.

Except in the South, the absence of a feudal inheritance in land tenure, the relative shortage of labor and the availability of abundant and fertile land produced a highly commercialized and mechanized capitalist agriculture based on the family farm. Compared to the impoverished and benighted peasant villages of Europe, 19th-century rural America was prosperous and economically dynamic. With the right combination of business acumen and good fortune, a farmer could make a lot of money, many times that of a factory worker.

The U.S. working class thus developed in a social environment permeated with petty-bourgeois "republican" attitudes and values. The farmer, the merchant, the self-employed master mechanic or carpenter were regarded as the backbone of the American republic, the main guardians of its "democratic way of life." A hired laborer was looked down on as a man lacking the moral fiber, enterprise or intelligence to become economically independent.

Even after the United States had become an industrial power dominated by giant corporations and banks, official bourgeois ideology still upheld the ideal of a nation of small proprietors. In the first years of the 20th century, a right-wing Republican U.S. Circuit Court judge, Peter Grosscup, wrote that "the acquisition of property, by the individuals who constitute the bulk of the people" is "the soul of republican America" (quoted in Richard Hofstadter, *The Age of Reform: From Bryan to F.D.R.* [1955]). Almost a century later, many workers, including trade unionists, still aspire to go into business for themselves.

Notwithstanding such profoundly false consciousness, on an economic level the American proletariat has historically been one of the most militant in the world. The latter half of the 19th century featured bitter class battles—like the 1877 railroad strike, the 1886 Chicago fight for the eight-hour day (marked by the infamous Haymarket massacre, which gave rise to May Day as the international workers holiday) and the 1892 Homestead steel strike. This history continued with the explosive citywide general strikes and sit-downs which led to the formation of industrial unions in the 1930s. Despite this, however, the American working class never developed a mass political party of its own.

Doubleday

From William Jennings Bryan in the 1890s to Jesse Jackson today, capitalist Democrats push liberal populism to bind workers to the class enemy.

Reuters

The proletariat in the late 19th and early 20th centuries was heavily drawn from successive waves of immigration from different countries. These immigrants, who often did not speak English, usually settled in the same towns or neighborhoods in large cities as their fellow countrymen. This created a sense of ethnic-cultural identity which cut across class lines. A skilled German American machinist of the Lutheran faith might feel he had more in common with a German American merchant or even a small manufacturer than with an Irish Catholic construction worker, much less an unskilled laborer. Ethnic and religious antagonisms—especially between Anglo-Saxon and German Protestant workers and those from Irish, Italian and East European Catholic backgrounds—impeded the formation of mass industrial unions until the 1930s.

Meanwhile, in the South, the hostility and contempt of even the poorest whites toward blacks prevented the development of any significant labor movement at all. The promise of black freedom heralded by the Civil War which smashed the slave-based plantation system was snuffed out by the defeat of Reconstruction codified in the Compromise of 1877. In the aftermath, most Southerners—both white and black—were horribly exploited sharecroppers or tenant farmers who worked land owned by the Bourbon elite. Toward the end of the century, Southern Populists made an admirable and heroic effort to unite poor black and white farmers around their common interests. But this movement was defeated when the local ruling class launched a new wave of racist demagogy and violence.

Many Populist leaders, such as Tom Watson, openly embraced racism in order to carve out a niche in the Southern Democratic Party, which presided over the Jim Crow system of entrenched racial segregation in league with (and often overlapping) the race-terrorist gangs of the Ku Klux Klan. Watson's evolution was not unique. Anti-black racism and anti-immigrant nativism have historically been significant components of populist movements in the U.S. Such reactionary poison has infected the labor movement from the beginning, promoting the scapegoating of immigrant and black workers for the social ills produced by capitalist exploitation. For example, craft unions in California successfully fought to ban Chinese and Japanese immigration; in 1877, Chinese immigrants in San Francisco were the target of pogroms. At the same time, craft unions routinely excluded black workers or forced them into segregated locals.

In more recent years, the term "populism" has served as a cover for outright racist and anti-immigrant movements, many of which have been linked to the KKK and other fascist outfits. In the 1968 presidential campaign, George "Segregation Forever" Wallace's appeals to the "little man" were simply a threadbare veneer for virulent racist attacks on the minimal gains of the civil rights movement. The "white backlash" of the late 1960s and early '70s helped create the conditions for a successful capitalist offensive against the working class as a whole—two-tier wage systems, union-busting, falling living standards. But even those movements which partially overcame ethnic/racial divisions in the name of the common interests of American working people—Populism in the 1890s, the 1930s New Deal coalition which tied labor and minorities to FDR's liberal Democrats—were imbued with illusions in a reformed, progressive and benevolent capitalism.

The Social Roots of 19th-Century Populism

Free of a feudal heritage, transplanted to the virgin soil of the New World, the agrarian economy of 19th-century America developed in a historically unique way. In Europe, peasant smallholders

still primarily grew crops to feed their families, and the little that was left over mainly went to pay taxes. In the U.S., with the widespread construction of canals and railroads in the 1830s-40s, farmers in the North and Midwest increasingly produced for the market, developing the social mentality of small capitalist entrepreneurs. By the mid-to-late 19th century, many farmers were speculating in land, changing their crop mix from year to year in light of existing and anticipated market demand and borrowing heavily from banks to purchase new and improved farm machinery.

American family farms were not only on average substantially larger than European peasant plots, they were also worked by fewer hands. Rural French and German villages were commonly inhabited by the same families for centuries, while grown children of American farm families usually left home to move into the burgeoning cities or further west to start their own farms. The chronic labor shortage in U.S. farm areas spurred the mechanization of agriculture to a degree unknown in the Old World. Yankee inventor-entrepreneurs like Cyrus McCormick and John Deere revolutionized agricultural technology in the decades before the Civil War.

The highly commercialized and mechanized family farms generated a huge and growing market for manufactured goods. This in turn led to the formation of a large class of industrial, commercial and financial capitalists drawn from the ranks of the petty bourgeoisie and even the working class. Enterprising Yankee mechanics and carpenters borrowed money to start up small factories. The sons of well-to-do Midwestern farmers became bankers or owners of lumber mills or granaries. The small-town banker who had the local state senator in his pocket had no counterpart in late 19th-century Britain, Germany or Japan, where finance capital was far more concentrated.

Culver

Pitched battle with militia strikebreakers during 1877 railroad strike. U.S. working class has history of economic militancy.

tle for control of the Erie Railroad. The term "battle" is used here in a literal, military sense. At one point, the Gould/Fisk forces assembled their own private army which deployed cannon around the railroad's office in New Jersey.

Such antics would have been inconceivable at the time in Britain, France or Germany, where the state exercised far greater control over individual industrialists and financiers. For that reason, the *class* character of these states as guardians of the new bourgeois order was generally clear to the European working classes. But in the U.S., brutal exploitation of labor, financial panics and the periodic collapse of production were all blamed on the actions of a small number of greedy and unscrupulous men. The very term "robber baron" implied that the captains of industry and finance were violating some traditionally accepted economic order. During the "Progressive Era" at the beginning of the 20th century, liberal intellectuals would distinguish between "responsible" and "irresponsible" wealth. Their ideological successors in the 1980s would similarly distinguish between raiders and financial operators who wanted to liquidate established corporations and old-line managers who wanted to preserve them.

NY Historical Society

Populist cartoon in 1880s depicts brutal "robber baron" railroad magnate William Vanderbilt.

In this period, the U.S. bourgeoisie differed from those of Europe and Japan not only in relative size and structure but also in social psychology. European large merchants and financiers were the descendants (in many cases literally) of the guildmasters of the late Middle Ages. Centuries of struggle against the feudal aristocracy, and then fear of social revolution from below, produced a European bourgeoisie with a high level of class consciousness, cohesion and organization. American capitalist entrepreneurs, on the other hand, were usually "self-made men" who took pride in their own ruthless abilities. They acted as laws unto themselves, beholden to no one. The popular designation "robber barons" captured the anarchistic individualism of the top dogs of the American business world.

A leading robber baron, Cornelius "the Commodore" Vanderbilt, exclaimed, "Law? What do I care for law? Hain't I got the power?" In the late 1860s, Vanderbilt and another gang of robber barons led by Jay Gould and Jim Fisk fought a battle for control of the Erie Railroad.

Another important feature of 19th-century American capitalism did much to shape populist ideology. Because the demand for investment capital to fuel the country's dynamic economy far exceeded the supply of domestic savings, American capitalists borrowed in European, primarily British, money markets. The foreign debt (government and private) of the United States increased steadily and massively for over a century, from $60 million when the American state was founded in 1789 to $3.3 billion in 1896. Not coincidentally, the latter year marked the high point of populism, the presidential campaign of William Jennings Bryan on the Democratic Party ticket.

A classic study of the House of Morgan by the Marxist intellectual Louis Fraina (writing under the pseudonym Lewis Corey) explained the conditions which gave rise to America's premier financial dynasty:

> "The immense expansion of agriculture, industry and trade encouraged new borrowings of foreign capital by State governments and business enterprises. The United States was predominantly an agricultural economy and its demands for goods and capital exceeded supply. Foreign trade increased four-fold between 1820 and 1860 and the import of manufactured goods almost six-fold. There was an unfavorable balance of trade which increased steadily, our excess of imports over exports being paid for largely by the sale of American securities in Europe."
>
> —*The House of Morgan: A Social Biography of the Masters of Money* (1930)

The House of Morgan originated in the 1830s when George Peabody, a well-to-do Yankee merchant turned investment banker, moved to London to sell U.S. state and corporate (mainly railroad) bonds. In the 1850s, his junior partner and successor, Junius Morgan, likewise moved to London because that's where the money was. The House of Morgan was in this respect typical of the top echelon of American financiers in this period. For example, in the decade or so following the Civil War, the most prominent figure in New York financial circles was August Belmont, the U.S. agent for the Rothschilds, the great German/French/British Jewish banking dynasty. For most of the 19th century, Wall Street served as a large and important branch office for the City of London financiers.

Consequently, populist hostility to Eastern bankers was associated with American nativism, which was rife not only with intense antagonism to Britain but with anti-Semitism. The enemy was labeled the "Anglo-American Gold Trust," accused of plotting to enslave the American nation and its honest working people. In the mid-1890s, a manifesto issued by leading figures in the People's Party declared:

> "As early as 1865-66 a conspiracy was entered into between the gold gamblers of Europe and America....
>
> "Every device of treachery, every resource of statecraft, and every artifice known to the secret cabals of the international gold ring are being made use of to deal a blow to the prosperity of the people and the financial and commercial independence of the country."
>
> —quoted in Hofstadter, *The Age of Reform*

The Panacea of "Cheap Money"

Why did such views attract broad support from industrial workers as well as farmers? From the late 1860s to the late 1890s, "cheap money" was the main battle cry of leftist radicalism in the United States. Half a dozen or so parties—the Labor Reform Party, Greenback Party, Greenback Labor Party, Antimonopolist Party, People's Party—were formed around the central demand to replace a monetary system based on gold with one based on paper currency and/or silver. All of these parties enjoyed the support of significant sections of the labor movement of the day.

Prior to the Civil War, money in the U.S. consisted of gold coins and bank notes issued by the states which were convertible into gold. In order to finance the massive expenditures of the Civil War, the federal government issued nonconvertible paper currency, popularly called "greenbacks." Following the war, monetary radicals advocated the continuation and expansion of the greenback system. However, the forces of monetary conservatism prevailed. New issuance of greenbacks was halted, the amount in circulation gradually reduced, and in 1879 all paper money issued by the federal government was made redeemable in gold. Monetary radicals then shifted their tack and agitated for the unlimited coinage of silver, then in abundant and growing supply in the Western states.

It is difficult today to appreciate the widespread popularity of the notion that an expanding supply of money was the key to opening the door to general and permanent prosperity. This belief was held not only by some intellectual cranks but by intelligent, responsible and popular leaders of working people. In the late 1860s, William Sylvis, head of the National Labor Union—the first such organization in U.S. history—proclaimed:

> "We now come to the greatest question before the American people—a question of the very first importance to every producer in the land—a question in which is involved the freedom or slavery of every workingman in America—a question that must destroy the power of a monster moneyed aristocracy, or bind the whole

continued on page 9

Library of Congress

Mechanization of 19th-century American agriculture produced a large class of rural proprietors with the social outlook of small capitalist entrepreneurs.

Young Spartacus

Columbia University

Victory to Campus Workers Strike!

Roberts/NY Times

Local 2110 clerical workers on strike against Columbia University. Picket lines mean don't cross!

Not content to sit by and watch as New York City's Columbia University attacks their standard of living, 800 largely female and minority clerical workers of UAW Local 2110 have headed to the picket lines. On October 16, the union rejected Columbia's insulting offer which included a raise averaging a paltry $16 per week along with cuts in health care benefits. Local 2110 has also declared its opposition to Columbia's plan to restore the racist "merit" pay system, by which the supervisor—not seniority—determines who gets raises. The first union contract, in 1985, eliminated this scheme which was clearly designed to divide the workers. Restoring it would hasten Columbia's union-busting campaign, which has already led to the elimination of over 300 unionized clerical positions. The Spartacus Youth Club seeks to link the struggles of students with the power of the integrated labor movement as a whole, and came out to support Local 2110 on the picket lines. Students, faculty and campus workers must demand: *Victory to Local 2110!*

Columbia University is a chief think tank for the U.S. ruling class, a training ground for the bourgeoisie's future war criminals and union-busters, and a notorious racist slumlord with a history of routinely evicting black and Hispanic tenants in Morningside Heights and nearby Harlem. The same class and race prejudices permeate Columbia's relations with its employees. In a display of its ruling-class arrogance, the university also is reportedly trying to force work-study students to do the work of the striking workers. Work-study students, along with all other campus workers and students, should refuse to cross Local 2110's picket lines and help shut down the university. No reprisals against work-study students who refuse to perform scab labor!

The elite private institutions like Columbia should be nationalized and run by the workers, teachers and students. Against the inherent race and class bias of higher education under capitalism, we demand open admissions and free higher education for all with a paid living stipend, posing the fight for the right to a decent education. Columbia's gates should be thrown open—including to those who work there!

In contrast to the 185,000 Teamsters at UPS who struck two months ago, a campus union does not have a lot of social power by itself, and the division of the workforce at Columbia into nine separate unions only compounds this lack of power. Defending the interests of all the workers at Columbia requires *one campus-wide union*, breaking the pattern of setting one sector of the workforce against another with separate contracts and pay scales. Workers must affirm the basic working-class principle that an injury to one is an injury to all. Crucial to winning this strike is the active support of students, faculty and particularly all the campus unions, as well as off-campus workers like UPS and postal service deliverymen who should be honoring Local 2110's lines.

There has been a show of support among students and faculty, many of whom have come to the picket lines, and the Columbia College Student Council declared its "support for the members of Local 2110." The only way to win this strike is for the union to shut down the campus through strong picket lines. But at least one "strike support" demonstration began on campus, *behind* picket lines. This shows the absence of any perspective of class struggle. And when the strikers took down their pickets to join the student rally, the Students for a Fair Contract Coalition organizers accommodated the administration by refusing to let a union speaker use the sound system! With the administration hardlining it and the campus continuing to function, the danger of a prolonged strike that would sap the energy and resources of the union is posed.

The picket line is the most effective weapon a union has; it is a potentially powerful tool of struggle, and should not be seen simply as a gesture of moral outrage. Moving classes off campus, although sometimes a symbol of solidarity, actually helps Columbia keep the university functioning and is counterposed to shutting down the school. What's needed is for professors and graduate students to bring classes *to build* the picket lines: mobilizing several hundred students and faculty at Columbia's gates would pave the way for a union victory. ***Shut down the compus! No business os usual! Build picket lines—don't cross them! Victory to the Columbio strikers!*** ■

California Protests...

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stop demonstrating.

The Spartacist League and the Spartacus Youth Clubs oppose the racist purge of higher education. At the same time we recognize that affirmative action programs are *ot best* a limited gain for a tiny percentage of minorities and women, especially compared to the massive racial oppression which forms the hedrock of American capitalism. Unlike the reformists who accept the capitalist system but merely want to improve it a little bit, we seek to end the ruling-class offensive by building a revolutionary party to fight for a workers government and the kind of world where decent education is the *right* of all, not a privilege of the rich. We fight for free, quality, integrated education—for open admissions with no tuition and including a state-paid living stipend. While reformists appeal to campus administrators to "defy" Prop. 209, the SYC calls to *obolish* the administration and the Board of Regents; the schools should be run by the students, workers and teachers. We also demand *jabs for all* so that students will be able to survive after graduation.

The Teamsters' limited victory against UPS and the six-day BART transit workers strike in the Bay Area in September signaled that the workers are fed up with the bipartisan ruling-class offensive and are ready to fight. The SYC at San Francisco State University (SFSU) rallied with the call "Victory to the BART strike! Unchain labor's power!" The SYC made the point that because the multiracial working class produces the wealth in this society and can stop production, it has tremendous social power to change society through social revolution. As our speaker said,

> "We as students need to ally ourselves with these workers and help win their strike, not by appealing to our capitalist administrator [SFSU president] Corrigan or Democrat strikebreaker [mayor] Willie Brown—these are the class enemies of the workers. Instead students should come with us to the picket line which is where labor's battles are won."

The UPS workers struck against the company's part-time, low-wage exploitation of its overwhelmingly black and Hispanic workforce—the same layer (and sometimes the very same people) that faces exclusion from higher education with the end of affirmative action programs. The widespread racist harassment and job-tracking at UPS should have been taken up by the union as a whole during the strike, providing a big impetus for the organized labor movement to resist the all-sided racial oppression in this country. And in the BART walkout, the union bureaucracy, unwilling to play hardball, was instrumental in derailing the strike by chaining the union to the same Democratic Party to which the anti-Proposition 209 "movement" genuflects.

Fake Lefts March for Jesse

A host of organizations endorsed the march in Sacramento on October 27, including the National Organization for Women, the American Civil Liberties Union, the NAACP and the pro-Democratic Party labor tops of the AFL-CIO. But the real donkey work is being done by groups that claim to be "socialist." Forming a "syphilitic chain" that keeps the racist status quo intact, the ruling class enlists a Democratic president to protect its interests; the racist Democratic president utilizes the services of Jesse Jackson to rally the oppressed to the capitalist system; at the end of the chain, serving as loyal waterboys for Jesse Jackson, are various avowed "socialists."

Among the most enthusiastic of these ostensible socialists are: the Stalinist-derived Committees of Correspondence (CoC), whose members split from the Communist Party in 1991 largely because it didn't support Jackson strongly enough; the International Socialist Organization; and the Revolutionary Workers League (which, on the rare occasion that it travels under that name, nominally claims to be Trotskyist) with its current front group, the Coalition to Defend Affirmative Action By Any Means Necessary (BAMN). As far as defending affirmative action goes, the programs of these three groups are *identical*: each has its compass firmly fixed on the Demo-

Young Spartacus

Berkeley, October 23: Spartacus Youth Club fights to make decent education the right of all, not a privilege of the rich.

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Wall Street...

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> labor of the nation, white and black, in fetters to gold—that question is one of finances."
>
> —quoted in Gretchen Ritter, *Goldbugs and Greenbacks: The Antimonopoly Tradition and the Politics of Finance in America* (1997)

One of the leaders of the Massachusetts Greenback Party in the 1870s was Wendell Phillips, a former radical abolitionist who declared that the struggle against the "money monopoly" was more profoundly revolutionary than the struggle against slavery.

It is common to consider late 19th-century populism as a movement of small farmers seeking to reduce the burden of their bank debts by depreciating the currency. Indeed, agitation for "cheap money" peaked in the 1890s, a period of severe depression in agricultural prices which threatened large numbers of farmers with bankruptcy. The strongholds of the People's Party and the Bryan Democrats were the grain belt of the Great Plains and those parts of the rural South dependent on cotton and tobacco farming.

However, the breadth and intensity of support for monetary radicalism cannot be adequately explained simply by the economic self-interest of debt-ridden small farmers. The leaders of the populist movement were intensely "god-fearing" men, to use the language of the day, who believed they were fighting for the interests of all "productive" members of society, which included workers as well as farmers and small businessmen. Moreover, the leaders of major labor organizations (e.g., the Knights of Labor) were just as committed to "cheap money" as those of the Farmer's Alliance with whom they were in a political bloc.

Why did intelligent men like William Sylvis and Wendell Phillips, who were dedicated to the interests of the laboring classes, believe that the gold standard was a potent weapon of the rich against the poor? Why did they believe the steady expansion of the money supply would eliminate financial panics, economic depressions and even wide social inequalities? The answer is given by a leading populist theorist, Alexander Campbell, in his 1864 tract, *The True American System of Finance*:

> "The rate of interest on money governs the rent or use of all property, and consequently the reward of labor. The centralization of the property of the nation into the large cities and the pockets of a few capitalists, is in proportion to the rate of interest maintained on loans of money above the average rate of increase in the national wealth."
>
> —quoted in Ritter, *Goldbugs and Greenbacks*

Frank Leslie's Illustrated Weekly

Anti-Chinese riot in Denver in 1880. Racist poison has historically weakened U.S. labor movement by scapegoating immigrant and black workers for capitalism's ills.

According to Campbell and his cothinkers, increasing the money supply would reduce the interest rate bankers charged for loans and thus encourage farmers and other small businessmen to borrow more for productive investment. Hired laborers would benefit from the expansion of employment and a tighter labor market and would have greater opportunities to go into business for themselves. Furthermore, if small-scale manufacturers gave less of their revenues in interest to banks, more money would be available to raise workers' wages. This kind of economic thinking was by no means peculiar to 19th-century American populism. During the Great Depression of the 1930s, the British liberal economist John Maynard Keynes developed and popularized a substantially similar theoretical doctrine and political program.

Marxist Economics vs. Monetary Radicalism

Revolutionary workers' leaders Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels opposed the idea that an expansion of the money supply could overcome the basic contradictions of capitalism. When the U.S. government discontinued the limited coinage of silver in 1893 and returned to a straight gold standard, Engels commented in a letter to his German American colleague Friedrich Sorge:

> "The repeal of the silver-purchase law has saved America from a severe money crisis and will promote industrial prosperity. But I don't know whether it wouldn't have been better for this crash to have actually occurred. The phrase 'cheap money' seems to be bred deep in the bone of your Western farmers. First, they imagine that if there are lots of means of circulation in the country, the interest rate must drop, whereby they confuse the means of circulation and available money capital, concerning which very enlightening things will be brought out in Volume III [of Marx's *Capital*]. Second, it suits all debtors to contract debts in good currency and to pay them off later in depreciated currency."

Engels went to the heart of the matter: the theoretical confusion of the quantity of money with the availability of money capital for productive investment.

There were two competing trends in monetary theory among bourgeois economists and financiers in the 19th century: the currency school and the banking school. The currency school maintained that the quantity of money governs the overall level of economic activity. According to this view, an influx of gold into the country would lead bankers to lower interest rates in order to lend out the additional stock of money. This, in turn, would encourage industrial and commercial capitalists to borrow and invest more, thereby increasing output and/or prices. A contraction of the money supply would have opposite effects.

The banking school held that the expansion or contraction of money capital adapts to "the needs of trade": in an economic boom, credit expands rapidly because both entrepreneurs and financiers believe that loans would be repaid out of the increased profits from new investment. In a depression, the reverse is the case. Within broad limits, the flow of money adjusts to overall economic activity through changes in what bourgeois economists term the "velocity of circulation." In this regard, Marx endorsed the views of the banking school:

> "The mass of circulating media [currency] serving the expenditure of revenue grows decidedly in periods of prosperity.
>
> "As concerns the circulation required for the transfer of capital, hence required exclusively between capitalists, a period of brisk business is simultaneously a period of the most elastic and easy credit....
>
> "As long as the state of business is such that returns of loans made come in regularly and credit thus remains unshaken, the expansion and contraction of circulation [of money] depend simply upon the requirements of industrialists and merchants."
>
> —*Capital*, Volume III

The validity of Marx's views was clearly demonstrated during the Great Depression, which was touched off by the stock market crash of 1929. In the mid-to-late 1930s, U.S. banks were swimming in excess reserves, with few borrowers. Following a further sharp downturn in 1937, the *Federal Reserve Bulletin*, the official organ of the U.S. central bank, recognized that "an abundant supply of gold and a cheap monetary policy do not prevent prices from falling" (quoted in Charles P. Kindleberger, *The World in Depression, 1929-1939* [1986]).

The decade-long depression and leftward radicalization of the American working class produced a new version of liberal populist ideology, which perpetuated illusions in a "progressive" wing of the capitalist class. A key agency in perpetuating those illusions was the Stalinist Communist Party which, adapting the class-collaborationist policy of the popular front to American terrain, worked to channel an upsurge in militant labor struggle into Roosevelt's New Deal Democrats. This was crucial in blocking the road to the development of an independent political party of the working class in the U.S.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

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crats and aims to pressure the reactionary Rehnquist Supreme Court to overturn Prop. 209.

While sitting side by side pushing bus tickets to the same reformist march, these groups are also scurrying around stabbing each other in the back in competition for Jackson's attentions. At UC Berkeley, the CoC, having no doubt absorbed the fine art of witchhunting as victims of McCarthyite redbaiting, launched a hysterical campaign against BAMN—which, for its part, touted itself as the *real* Jackson lackeys, bragging that "Reverend Jesse Jackson...joined our call." The campus paper, the *Daily Californian*, demanded a "coalition against BAMN" to drive them off campus, which is littered with leaflets and signs stamped "not affiliated with BAMN."

The CoC's hysteria is not new. Two years ago, they distributed a deranged screed entitled "Divide and Disrupt" (a variation of Stalin's "split and wreck"?) which inaccurately berated the RWL/BAMN as "a vanguardist Trotskyist party" and called for their purge from the pro-Democratic Party protests. We oppose these attempts to dictate who has the "right" to protest affirmative action; although aimed at the liberal BAMN now, such censorship will primarily be used to silence revolutionary views and serves only the interests of the ruling class.

None of these organizations can even conceive of demanding anything more radical than "defend affirmative action" (with the RWL mechanically tagging on the "militant" phrase "by any means necessary"). BAMN writes in one leaflet, "There is no liberal scheme that can replace affirmative action." But affirmative action *was* a liberal scheme—originally proposed as a union-busting initiative against union control of hiring and ultimately embraced by the ruling class as a means of buying off a layer of talented black youth and young women after the civil rights struggles of the 1960s.

Even at its most effective, affirmative action granted pitifully few spots in universities to blacks and Latinos. Subsequently, in the absence of significant class struggle, the ruling class sought to reclaim "its" universities for the privileged. The past years have brought escalating purges of blacks, Latinos and working-class youth from higher education through tuition hikes. Prop. 187, aimed at all immigrants and Latinos, paved the way for a racist assault on blacks. In 1994, *before* the passage of Prop. 209, blacks made up only 5.5 percent and Latinos only 13.8 percent of the student population at UC Berkeley. To glorify this recent past by demanding no more than the overturn of Prop. 209 is to capitulate to hellish racist reality.

The key to victory is unchaining labor from the twin parties of capitalism, building a revolutionary workers party that fights in the interests of the working class and in defense of all the oppressed. We look to the example of Lenin and Trotsky's Bolshevik Party which led the Russian workers to power in the 1917 October Revolution. The Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth Club are fighting to build such a party, forged in sharp political struggle against the pro-capitalist labor misleaders and based on the Marxist understanding that the capitalist system must be rooted out through socialist revolution.■

SPARTACIST LEAGUE/U.S. LOCAL DIRECTORY

National Office: Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116 • (212) 732-7860

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Britain...

(continued from page 3)

opposition to the bureaucrats, are making an all-out effort to channel anger against Morris and the TGWU tops into the dead end of lobbying the vehemently anti-working-class Labour government. The Socialist Labour Party [SLP, headed by miners union leader Arthur Scargill] is wedded to the same conception. At a Liverpool conference of dockers support groups in July, members of the Spartacist League argued strongly against a motion presented by Jimmy Nolan (chairman of the shop stewards committee and a member of the SLP), which called upon "the government to intervene in the long-running Liverpool Docks dispute in order to return the sacked dockworkers to their rightful place of work in the port of Liverpool." Our comrades pointed out that any "intervention" by the government would likely he the kiss of death. Since the dockers were sacked, the SWP and Workers Power, who supported Bill Morris for leader of the TGWU, have offered nothing but mealy-mouthed "criticisms" of Morris' back-stabbing of the dockers. What the dockers need is the mobilisation of the power of the trade union movement in joint strike action to smash the anti-union laws. Of necessity this means coming up sharply *against* the anti-working-class Labour government. ***Far a revolutionary leadership in the unians!***

For his part, Jimmy Nolan dismisses the possibility of class struggle alongside the dockers in Britain today, which reveals the SLP's defeatist perspective when it comes to the anti-union laws. This also shows up in the RMT (Rail, Maritime and Transport) union in London Underground and rail, where the SLP has a base of support. But it has no perspective to mobilise this racially integrated and strategically placed workforce, either to fight against the threat of privatisation, or against racist attacks which are a daily fact of life in the city. A Leninist party actively seeks such opportunities to mobilise the social power of the working class to combine the fight against racist terror with resistance to anti-union attacks. We fight for: *Full citizenship rights for all immigrants! For trade union/minority mobilisations to crush the fascists!*

Colin McPherson

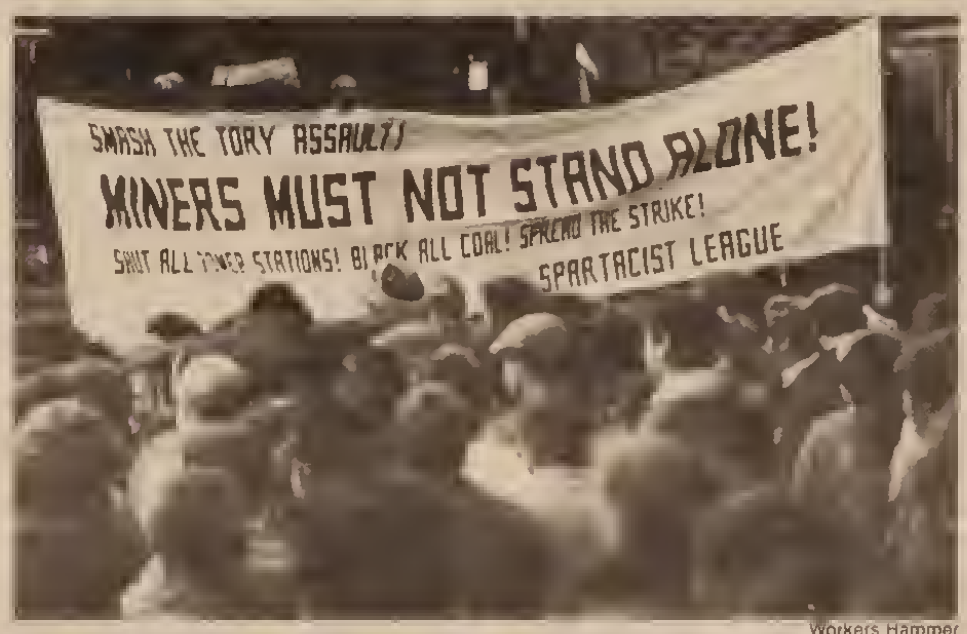
1996 destruction of Ravenscraig steelworks in Scotland symbolized gutting of British industry as bourgeoisie wages war on jobs, trade unions.

Break with Labourism, Old and New!

In the general election we said "no vote to New Labour," which was standing on a blatantly anti-working-class, pro-imperialist programme, using the chauvinist symbol of the British bulldog. We extended critical support to the Socialist Labour Party, which stood against New Labour, albeit on a programme of Old Labour parliamentary reformism. Scargill's split from New Labour, in opposition to the latter's outright hostility to the working class, represents a fracture in the Labour monolith. It offers an opportunity to break the stranglehold of Labourism over the workers movement and an opening for Marxists to intervene to demonstrate the need for an authentic workers party. We campaigned for the election of SLP candidates. At the same time we intervened into SLP meetings and widely distributed our election statement, "For a Revolutionary Workers Party! For a Federation of Workers Republics in the British Isles!" Workers' interests cannot be met through Old Labour reformism. History shows that the tradition of Keir Hardie and Nye Bevan (Labour Party leaders at the time of its birth and post-World War II respectively), upheld today by Arthur Scargill, is an anti-revolutionary, anti-internationalist tradition, which has at times frustrated the bourgeoisie, but has never raised a finger to overthrow the system of capitalist rule.

The SWP, Workers Power, Socialist Outlook, all joined in *hailing* Blair's landslide as a victory for the working class. The bottom line for the SWP was to elect a Labour government, but during the election campaign they also occasionally used the slogan "Vote Labour or Socialist" to give themselves something of a left face, and to keep the door open to tailing Scargill's Old Labourism. Nonetheless their position was to the right of the SLP, which stood in opposition to Labour and refused to campaign for a Labour victory.

Even in the face of Labour's flagrant hostility to the working class, the SWP works overtime to foster the illusion that this vehemently anti-working-class government can be pressured to act on behalf of the working class. This is the main purpose of the SWP-organised 28 September lobby of the Labour conference in Brighton, demanding: "for workers' rights—keep the union link." This boils down to a call to keep the unions shackled to Labour. In a similar vein Workers Power demands that: "In every affiliated union a campaign must be launched now. Resolutions, petitions, district and regional conferences must all be used to demand no breaking of the union link..." (*Workers Power*, October 1996). This is pure parliamentarist pressure politics. The situation the unions face in regard to Labour reflects the relationship of class forces, which will not be fundamentally altered through resolutions in the trade unions or in the Labour Party but through class struggle, which the Labourite bureaucracy are hostile to.



Workers Hammer

Labour/TUC bureaucrats betrayed heroic 1984-85 miners strike. Spartacist League/Britain fought for a strategy to win through spreading the strike.

To polish up their image as a "socialist alternative" to Labour, the SWP recently wrote: "Winning fundamental improvements for working people means breaking with the Labourist, parliamentary tradition altogether and taking on the priorities of the bosses and their system" (*Socialist Worker*, 9 August). All well and good, but the SWP has never put forward a programme for breaking with Labourism. The SWP has supported the pro-imperialist Labour Party in every election. They uphold the Labourite view that cops and prison guards, who are part of the capitalist state, are part of the working-class movement, or potentially so. This is a rejection of the Leninist understanding of the capitalist state as "special bodies of armed men." Moreover, since their inception in the 1950s at the time of the Korean War, when the Labour government of the day presided over British imperialist military intervention on the side of U.S. imperialism against North Korea, China and the USSR, the SWP has taken the side of their own bourgeoisie on every crucial question of the international class struggle. Their refusal to defend the USSR and the North Korean and Chinese deformed workers states was of a piece with welcoming British troops to Northern Ireland in 1969, sent in by a Labour government. During the imperialist anti-Soviet hysteria of the 1980s, they supported every counterrevolutionary scum, from the barbaric Afghan *mujahedin* to Polish Solidarność, Thatcher's favourite "union." They welcomed Yeltsin's accession to power, which resulted in counterrevolution. They stood with the pro-imperialist Labour Party on these decisive international questions for the working class.

The 1917 Bolshevik Revolution was the signal event of the twentieth century, the first and only victorious proletarian revolution. But the pressure of imperialist encirclement on an economically backward country, the devastation of the Russian working class through the Civil War, and the failure and defeats of proletarian revolutions abroad—due in large part to the betrayals of West European social democracies—set the scene for a political counterrevolution in 1923-24. This led to decades of misrule by a nationalist, parasitic caste headed by Stalin and his heirs. The ultimate result of the Stalinist betrayals carried out under the lie of building "socialism in one country," whereby workers revolution was subordinated to an accommodation to imperialism, was the capitalist counterrevolution which destroyed the Soviet degenerated workers state in 1991-92.

As Trotskyists, the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) consistently defended the gains of October against imperialism and counterrevolution and fought for political revolution to sweep away the Stalinist usurpers. In 1979 we headlined "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!" against the CIA-backed *mujahedin* Islamic reactionaries. We said extend the gains of the October Revolution to the Afghan peoples. In 1981 we said "Stop Solidarność counterrevolution." Only the Trotskyist programme of political revolution could have prevented the disaster of capitalist counterrevolution in the former USSR and Eastern Europe.

The Bolshevik Tradition vs. Labourite Treachery

The Labourite left regard the existence of a mass reformist party in Britain as something of a historic birthright—something that must always exist. The organisational structure of the Labour Party, based on bloc affiliation of the trade unions, is antithetical to building a proletarian vanguard party, that is, a party of the most class-conscious elements of the working class which can translate the historic interests of the proletariat into a fight for socialist revolution. The SLP's adherence to the Labour Party structure reflects their insular conception that the Russian Bolshevik Party is not an appropriate model for Britain, a prejudice which stems from rejection of the programme of Leninism.

An independent working-class party would necessarily have to have all the elements that were found in the party which issued out of the majority faction of the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party, in the course of many different struggles, learning from their mistakes along the way, in the period from 1903, through the outbreak of World War I. This experience included a wave of mass

WORKERS HAMMER

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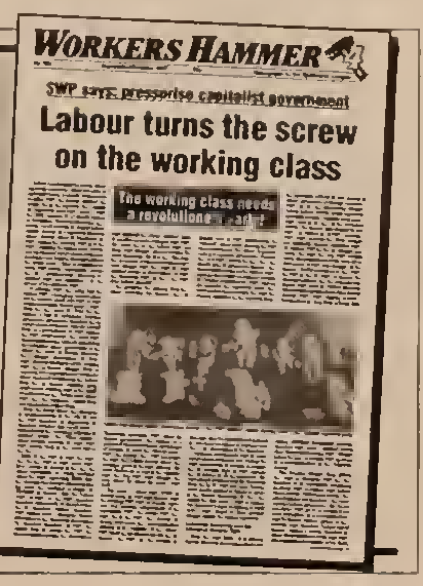

WORKERS HAMMER
SWP says: pressurise capitalist government
Labour turns the screw on the working class
The working class needs a revolutionary party

strikes unparalleled in the world, leading to the 1905 insurrection which was crushed, and the birth of soviets (workers councils) as organs of working-class power. The Bolsheviks acquired a wealth of experience combining parliamentary and non-parliamentary forms of struggle, as well as legal and illegal work. Lenin noted that one of the principal reasons the Bolshevik Party was able to lead the working class to victory in October 1917, based on the support of the broad masses of the proletariat, was that especially since the outbreak of World War I in 1914, they had been ruthlessly exposing "the baseness and vileness of social chauvinism" to which the views of the leaders of the Independent Labour Party and the Fabians corresponded. Through this experience the working masses in Russia became more and more convinced of the correctness of the Bolshevik views. Led by the Bolshevik Party, the Russian working class was able to win the support of the peasantry and, amidst the carnage of the war, to acquire a crucial base of support among the soldiers. The October Revolution of 1917 liberated oppressed nationalities and peoples from the yoke of Tsarist rule. Like the Bolsheviks we seek to build a revolutionary workers party that serves as a tribune of the people.

A Leninist vanguard party is counterposed to Karl Kautsky's conception of the "party of the whole class," of which the Labour Party and its organisational setup is a particular example. A party "*of* the whole class" necessarily submerges the most advanced layers of the class into the most backward ones; hence such parties are inevitably chauvinist, based on the dominant ethnic grouping and tied to the defence of the imperialist interests of its own ruling class.

Labourism is and has been the main obstacle to revolutionary struggle of the working class in Britain. A strategic perspective for revolutionaries is to split the working-class base from the pro-capitalist leadership. The formation of the Labour Party as a bourgeois workers party at the beginning of this century was a deformed and organisational expression of the political independence of the working class, separate from the capitalist Liberal Party. Yet the role of the Labour Party has always been to tie the working class to British capitalism and imperialism. This was particularly evident in periods of upsurge by the working class, such as in the aftermath of the Russian Revolution. Labour's adoption in 1918 of "Clause IV," which promised "common ownership," served to stave off the "threat of Bolshevism" which the British ruling class dreaded; the massive wave of struggles of the working class was diverted into the pursuit of reforms of capitalism through parliament.

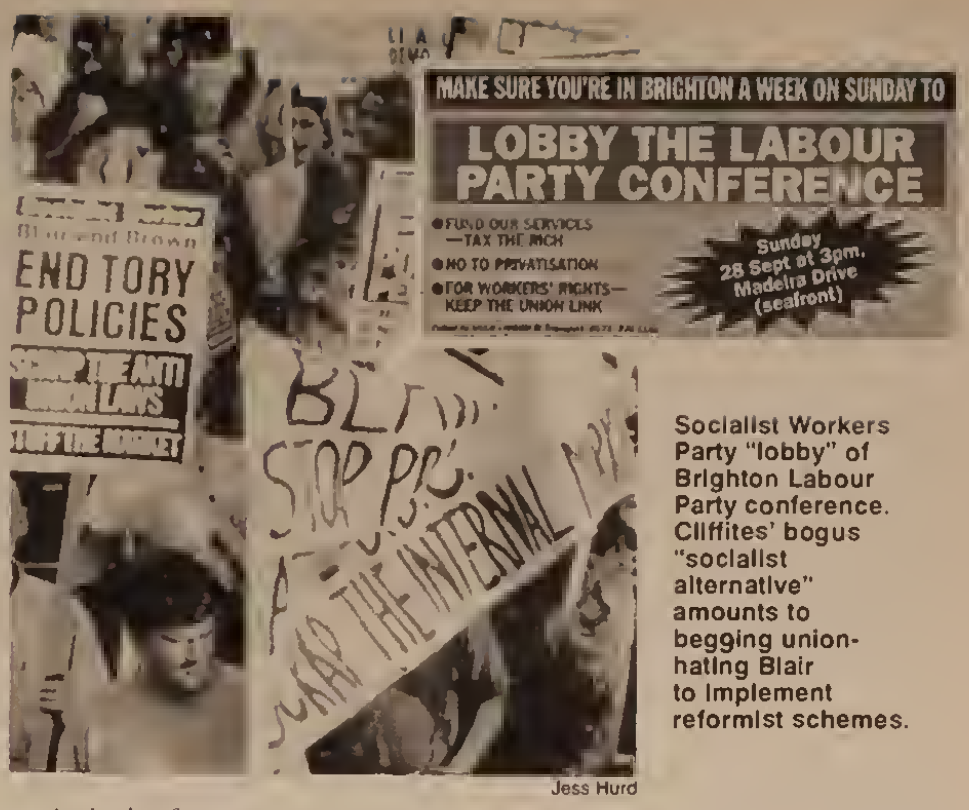
Labour's "Clause IV socialism" was the corollary to betrayal of actual struggles of the working class, such as in 1919, when the prime minister Lloyd George summoned the leaders of the "Triple Alliance," a powerful combination of the rail, coal and transport unions who were preparing a joint strike. Lloyd George noted that the army was disaffected and could not be relied upon, and that these trade union leaders were in a position to challenge the capitalist state power. He asked the union leaders: "Have you weighed the consequences," noting that this meant being prepared to "take on the functions of the State." Robert Smillie, the miners leader, commented that from that moment on "we were beaten and we knew we were" (from *In Place of Fear*, autobiography of Aneurin Bevan).

In "*Left-Wing*" *Communism—an Infantile Disorder* Lenin made it clear that mass reformist parties cannot be simply written off as "irrelevant" but must be engaged through intelligent tactics to win their working-class base to the communist party and programme. This has nothing in common with the "socialist" left's idea of "tactics," which amounts to always voting Labour to "keep the Tories out." The Labour Party was not, Lenin insisted, the political organisation of the trade union movement. It represented the political interests of a narrow, bureaucratic, upper stratum of the working class, who benefited from the superprofits of imperialism and were thoroughly imbued with the chauvinism of "their" ruling class. At the Second Congress of the Communist International in 1920, Lenin described the Labour Party in the following terms:

> "Regarded from this, the only correct, point of view, the Labour Party is a thoroughly bourgeois party, because, although made up of workers, it is led by reactionaries, and the worst kind of reactionaries at that, who act quite in the spirit of the bourgeoisie."

The Lessons of the Miners Strike

As Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels stressed in the *Communist Manifesto*, every *serious* class battle is a political struggle, and the Communists are distinguished from other working-class parties because "they everywhere represent the interest of the movement as a whole." As Leon Trotsky wrote in "Communism and Syndicalism" (1929), "The question of the relationship between the party, which represents the proletariat as it should be, and the trade unions, which represent the proletariat as it is, is the most fundamental question of revolutionary Marxism." As defensive organisations the unions must be built on the broadest possible basis to maximise the *unity* of the working class against the capitalist exploiters. This is directly linked to the fight for communist leadership within the unions.



Socialist Workers Party "lobby" of Brighton Labour Party conference. Cliffites' bogus "socialist alternative" amounts to begging union-hating Blair to implement reformist schemes.

Jess Hurd

on the basis of our programme, against pro-capitalist and centrist elements who reflect and transmit the bourgeoisie's divide-and-rule policies. At the same time, the task of the communist vanguard party is to *sharpen the differences* between competing political tendencies in order to bring the workers to communist consciousness and to assemble the cadre, through splits and regroupments, in a Leninist party whose purpose is to lead the workers to state power.

Arthur Scargill, who led the miners strike to just about the limits of trade union militancy, at the time made it clear that his idea of "power" did not transcend a parliamentary Labour government, telling a miners rally in Mansfield in 1984 that "Above all, we will pave the way for a general election to elect a Labour government." In order to prevail against the bosses and their state it was necessary to spread the strike to other key sections of the working class. We fought for a *fighting Triple Alliance* of railworkers, dockers and miners. Such united strike action with the miners would have effectively meant a general strike, which goes beyond simple trade union struggle and poses the question of which class shall rule. Scargill refused to struggle for power. This would have meant a political break with the Labour bureaucracy. But it was the TUC/Labour "leadership," "left" and right, who did everything in their power to help Thatcher strangle the heroic miners. And the SWP played their own nefarious role—their steelworker members waltzed across miners' picket lines.

Today New Labour pushes the lies of bourgeois triumphalism, that the collapse of the USSR means the "death of communism," and the defeat of the miners and gutting of industry means the end of class struggle in Britain. The TUC under John Monks concurs, peddling "New Unionism" as a signal that "the unions are ready to take an active part in making the UK economy more competitive." It is precisely with the intention of making British Airways "more competitive" that Bob Ayling seeks to bust the TGWU, and why the Mersey Docks and Harbour Company wishes to return to non-union labour in the docks.

Especially since capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, the drive for competition between imperialist powers has become more intense. The need to increase the rate of exploitation means further grinding the working class and poor and fuelling anti-immigrant hysteria. Across Europe, social democratic parties in government, like Jospin's Socialist Party and the Party of the Democratic Left in Italy are, like Blair's Labour, the enforcers of vicious capitalist austerity and the racist anti-immigrant policies of "Fortress Europe."

To save the working class and oppressed from further devastation requires working-class rule and the establishment of a rationally planned economy on an international scale. The task of a revolutionary party in Britain is to fight for a new October revolution, which will sweep away the capitalist order. We say: for a start abolish the monarchy, House of Lords and established churches. For the revolutionary mobilisation of the working class—black, Asian and white; English, Scottish, Welsh and Irish—in a struggle for a federation of workers republics in the British Isles, part of a Socialist United States of Europe.■

Rail...

(continued from page 12)

If the BMWE goes out, the bourgeoisie and its media mouthpieces will no doubt manufacture a crescendo of "public outrage," particularly aimed at mobilizing petty-bourgeois commuters against the strike. Not only rail unions, but all trade unionists and indeed all riders have a stake in supporting Amtrak rail workers. In recent years, cuts in government funding combined with "cost-saving" measures by Amtrak management and the profit-bloated freight giants have turned the railways into a safety nightmare. As we wrote in "Death on the Tracks" (*WV* No. 640, 1 March 1996) in the wake of a series of deadly crashes early last year:

> "As railroad magnates scramble for ever-greater profits—and the government at all levels slashes away at everything from welfare to health care to public transportation in order to boost corporate America's bottom line—the lives of workers and passengers have increasingly become an expendable commodity....
> "In any rationally organized society, cheap, safe mass transit—like decent and affordable housing and free, quality health care and education—would be considered a necessary public service. But capitalism, with its frenzied competition for profits, is hardly rational. Only under a socialist, planned economy can there be a rational distribution of resources—democratically determined by elected workers councils (soviets)—to harness modern technology with the aim of providing public services to society as a whole."

Transport safety goes hand in hand with union power. Workers must be able to shut down unsafe equipment and worksites with the full backup—including strike action—of the unions. The fight for a *shorter workweek with no loss in pay* is not only necessary to combat layoffs, but is literally a question of life and death for rail workers forced to work long shifts through the night. This must include fighting the bosses' racist employment practices. Every real measure to defend jobs and working conditions means a bitter fight against the rail corporations and the bosses' state—and a political struggle against their labor lieutenants.

Rail workers are potentially one of the most powerful sections of the working class, strategically positioned to cripple the economy and bring the capitalists to their knees. What is needed is a union leadership willing to mobilize that power in *joint strike action by all rail unions*—passenger and freight, skilled and unskilled—breaking down the craft divisions and forming *one industrial union of rail workers*. This requires a political program based on intransigent class struggle against the capitalists and their state—from the White House and Congress to the courts, cops and federal troops. A class-struggle leadership of the unions must be forged as part of the fight for a revolutionary workers party built in opposition to both the Republican and Democratic parties of capital. *Victory to Amtrak rail workers!*■

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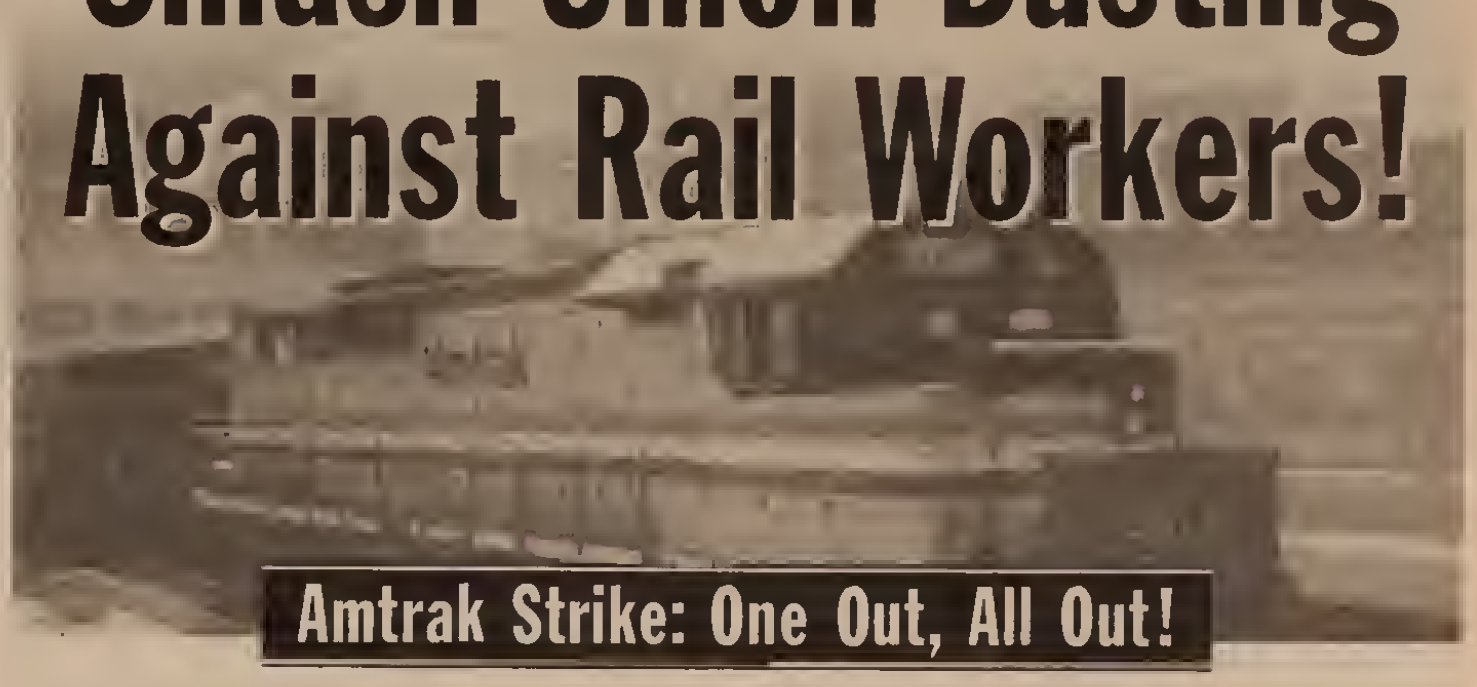
WORKERS VANGUARD

Smash Union-Busting Against Rail Workers!



Amtrak Strike: One Out, All Out!

OCTOBER 28—As we go to press, the Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees (BMWE) union has agreed to a further postponement, this time for eight days, in the deadline for the strike against Amtrak over demands to bring wages in line with those of workers at commuter and freight lines. The 2,300 BMWE members—who build and maintain track, tunnels, bridges, signals and buildings for inter-city trains and for commuter rail services which are operated by or run over Amtrak track—have been working without a contract or a raise since 1994. Indeed, only one of the 13 unions at Amtrak has a current contract. The rail workers have clearly been inspired by the UPS Teamsters strike two months ago, which broke the pattern of crushing defeats for labor over the past two decades. "Look at what the Teamsters did at UPS!" one BMWE member said to a *Workers Vanguard* reporter outside a union meeting in Metuchen, New Jersey last week.

Working under deadly dangerous conditions, often far from home, Amtrak workers average up to $6 an hour less than their counterparts at other rail lines. Every time the government has cut funding for the public rail transport company, the union tops have accommodated by shoving through ever more givebacks, including a 12 percent wage "concession" between 1981 and 1992. But there is more than wage parity at stake here: the larger issue is an attempt at union-busting targeting not just the BMWE but all Amtrak workers and ultimately all railway unions!

In September, a House committee pushed through the two-year-old "Amtrak Reform and Privatization Act." This measure would deny Amtrak workers protection under the Railway Labor Act's Title C-2—which stipulates that laid-off rail workers receive six years' severance pay—allowing the company to shut down even more routes, lay off unionized workers and contract out their jobs to lower-wage or non-union outfits. Such attacks will particularly target black workers. For example, Amtrak is already set on "privatizing" its Chicago reservations office, which includes over 200 workers, many of them black and with 20 or more years' seniority. And, as the *Journal of Commerce* (22 September) makes clear, "the bill opens the door to possible reductions in similar labor protections for a much larger number of freight railroad employees." Indeed, attacks on rail unions have historically been initiated in Amtrak and then extended to freight line workers.

Amtrak management and the capitalist government at all levels already have in place a formidable arsenal of anti-strike weapons. The BMWE was set to strike in August, just after the UPS settlement, until Democratic president Clinton invoked the Railway Labor Act to impose a 60-day "cooling off" period. Now Congress is prepared to pass "emergency" anti-strike legislation in the event workers walk out, particularly if commuter service is shut down. In New Jersey, state officials have already set up an "emergency management command post" at State Police headquarters. All of this serves to underscore that any serious strike directly pits labor against the bosses' state, which is nothing other than the executive committee of the capitalist class as a whole, an apparatus of repression to enforce the exploitation and oppression of the working class and minorities. Yet it is this racist, strikebreaking government, and particularly Clinton's Democrats, that the union tops look to for "support."

A solid strike, backed with concrete solidarity actions by the rest of the labor movement, could make short shrift of the capitalists' strikebreaking plans. But the BMWE officialdom has agreed to straitjacket the union even before a strike has begun. The union leaders first postponed the strike deadline set for October 22 expressly for the purpose of negotiating deals to keep commuter service on Amtrak-maintained tracks operating. BMWE members are being ordered to cross their own picket lines. That is exactly what the capitalist rulers want: with the exception of Amtrak's Northeast corridor, they don't give a damn about maintaining long-distance passenger rail service. BMWE members should repudiate this strikebreaking deal, and if they walk out, all Amtrak workers should join them on the picket lines. Picket lines mean don't cross! One out, all out!

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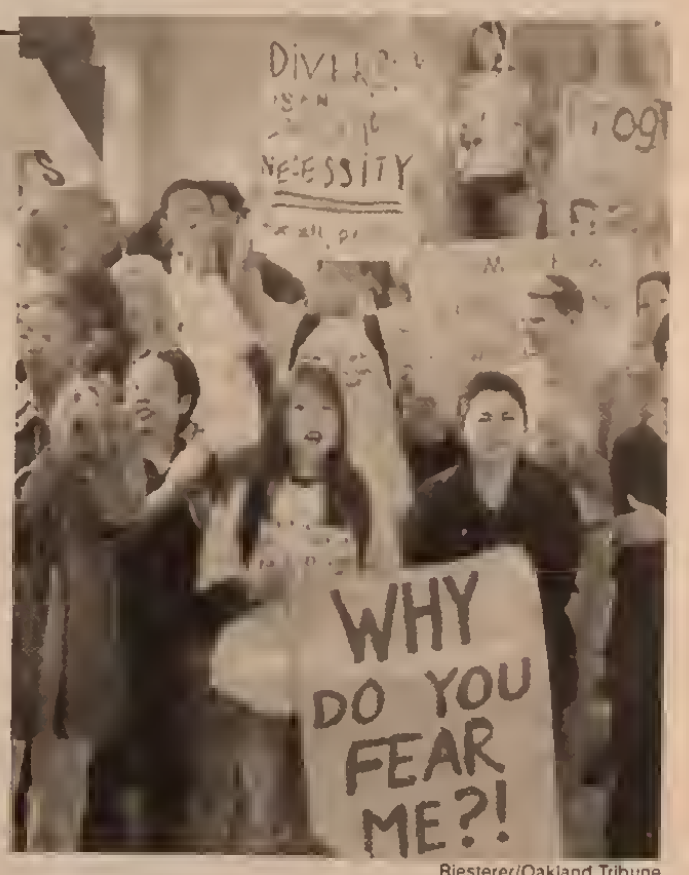
Defend Affirmative Action! For Free, Quality, Integrated Education for All!

California: Protests Against Racist Prop 209



October 13 protest at UC Berkeley law school against racist assault on affirmative action.

Riesterer/Oakland Tribune

The assault on affirmative action is raw, naked race-hate—nothing less than a threat that blacks, immigrants and other minorities will never have access to a job or a decent education in this country again. Currently, 26 states have plans to destroy affirmative action programs. The

Young Spartacus

University of Texas law school, which since the 1980s has graduated more black and Hispanic lawyers than any other university, accepted only 4 black and 26 Hispanic students this fall. At the San Diego campus of the University of California (whose regents abolished affirmative action two years ago), the medical school rejected ***all*** black and Native American applicants. The heart of these attacks can be summarized by the Jim Crow slogan "no blacks need apply."

One year after California voters approved Proposition 209 which outlawed affirmative action programs in public education and government hiring and contracting, Prop. 209 was upheld as constitutional by the state courts on August 28, sparking protests on campuses up and down the coast. On October 13 at UC Berkeley's Boalt Hall law school, hundreds of students staged a sit-in at the registrar's office which ended in the arrest of 54 demonstrators, who are still facing charges. In Van Nuys, California, two leftists are on trial for protesting against "former" Klansman David Duke's speaking in support of Prop. 209 last year (see protest letter, page 2). The Spartacus Youth Clubs demand: Drop all charges against anti-racist protesters! Defeat the racist assault on affirmative action!

From San Diego to San Francisco, the immediate goal of protest organizers was to mobilize for a march with Democratic Party leader Jesse Jackson in Sacramento on October 27. Jackson's "Save the Dream" rally has one sole purpose: to lead blacks, Hispanics and anti-racist youth into the Democratic Party fold. "Save the Dream" is a tool to perpetuate oppression by fostering illusions in the Democratic Party—which is no less capitalist than the Republicans—as the "friend" of the working class and oppressed. The Democratic Party has been busy implementing racist workfare programs to starve welfare mothers and bust unions as billions go to build more prisons and execution chambers and border cops shoot down immigrants at the increasingly militarized Mexican border. In fact, the strategy of pressuring the Democratic Party has demobilized the protests, as many students recognize the futility of begging politicians and just

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 678

14 November 1997

Capitalist Greed Fuels Worker Unrest

Crisis Rocks Southeast Asia

TOKYO, November 8—The cascading financial crisis which began in Thailand last summer, rapidly engulfing the capitalist regimes of Southeast Asia, is now threatening to spread throughout the western Pacific Rim. After months of economic turmoil and burgeoning street demonstrations, the Thai government resigned earlier this week. The past month has seen significant strikes by workers in the Philippines against the ravages of currency devaluation, fueling political instability in the run-up to presidential elections next spring, as well as in Indonesia, where the Suharto dictatorship has faced growing popular unrest since last year. Meanwhile, as the *International Herald Tribune* (6 November) reports, "South Korea is plunging deeper into a financial crisis that may soon dwarf those in Thailand and other parts of Southeast Asia." The growing turbulence has raised deep fears among the capitalist rulers of Japan—the principal industrial and financial power in the region—whose economy has been in a severe slump since the start of the decade.

The drastic fall in Thailand's currency, the baht, which began in July, touched off a chain reaction of devaluations and stock market crashes—extending to Hong Kong, Tokyo and Wall Street—simultaneously exploding the myth of the Southeast Asian "economic miracle." Following earlier industrial development in South Korea, over the past two decades there has been massive imperialist investment in the Asian "tigers," centrally by Japanese capital. But, as we noted last issue, "The recent economic boom in East Asia, like *all* such capitalist booms, generated a drive for ever-greater profits and resulting financial speculation which could not be sustained. It had to crash, and it did crash" ("Black Monday II on Wall Street—'Death of Communism' Myth Goes Splat," *WV* No. 677, 31 October).

The immediate cause for this series of crashes has a lot to do with China, now dubbed the new Asian "dragon." The baht started to fall a day after Hong Kong returned to Chinese control, with the bureaucratic regime in Beijing vowing to maintain the capitalist economy of the former British colony. Dominated by the increasingly powerful Chinese bourgeoisie expelled from the mainland by the 1949 Revolution, Hong Kong is a key gateway for capitalist restoration in the Chinese deformed workers state. As the venal Stalinist bureaucracy accelerates capitalist "market reforms," low-wage labor in privately owned factories on the mainland is greatly undercutting exports from Thailand, Indonesia and elsewhere. The danger of looming counterrevolution was underscored by the effusive welcome by American political and business leaders for Chinese president Jiang Zemin, who visited the U.S. shortly after announcing a plan to privatize the bulk of state-owned industry.

The urgent need for proletarian political revolution to oust the nationalist Beijing bureaucracy and stop the galloping threat of capitalist restoration is today posed pointblank. The fate of China—as well as of the Vietnamese and North Korean deformed workers states—is integrally linked to the region as a whole. Just as the Industrial Revolution beginning in the late 18th century gave birth to what Karl Marx called the gravedigger of the capitalist system—the industrial working class—so too economic development in Southeast Asia has created a vibrant, young proletariat from Thailand to Indonesia to the Philippines. The road to the emancipation of these workers, and with them the peasantry and oppressed ethnic/national minorities, lies in the fight for a socialist federation of Southeast Asia, linked to the struggle for proletarian revolution in Japan, the U.S. and other imperialist powers.

Jones/Sinopix

Reuters

As stock markets crashed throughout Southeast Asia, financial crisis sparked strikes and protests. Right: September 14 workers' protest in Bangkok demands resignation of Thai prime minister.

For a Socialist Federation of Southeast Asia!

U.S.-Japan Rivalry Heats Up

In large part, the industrial boom in Southeast Asia resulted from the massive shift by Japanese corporations to producing electrical appliances, automobiles and other commodities in the region. This process was accelerated following the 1985 Plaza Accord, which the U.S. pushed in order to cut its trade deficit with Japan. In doubling the value of the yen against the U.S. dollar, increasing the price of Japanese exports, the accord impelled the Japanese bourgeoisie both to step up attacks on labor at home and to sharply expand production facilities in low-wage areas. Japanese capital now accounts for more than a third of all foreign investment in Thailand, Malaysia, Indonesia and the Philippines.

While rampant speculation helped touch off the recent currency devaluations, there were more fundamental factors at work. While the economies of the region are closely tied to Japan, the currencies—including, until July, the baht—are pegged to the U.S. dollar. Until recently, Tokyo was able to maintain the yen's edge against the dollar. But when the yen dropped precipitously against the dollar, Thai, Indonesian and Malaysian exports became much more expensive in Japan. With the sharp rise in exports of Chinese manufactured goods, the previously astronomical growth rates of the "tiger" economies slowed to a crawl this year.

Southeast Asia has today become a key theater for renewed interimperialist rivalries—between not only the U.S. and Japan but also Germany, which is rapidly

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Spartacist League Debates Argentine PBCI

Trotskyism vs. Nationalism in Latin America

SEE PAGE 4

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PL in Promise Keeper Land

Reuters

Washington, D.C. rally of sinister, right-wing Promise Keepers—what was PL doing there?

"What Were PLP Communists Doing in the Midst of the PK Fascist Gathering?" That bizarre question was raised by none other than the Progressive Labor Party (PL) itself, headlining an amazing report in *Challenge* (15 October) on how these oh-so-revolutionary "Communists" actually tried to sell their paper to the October 4 Washington, D.C. rally of the Christian revivalist, men-only Promise Keepers. "All of us felt a little intimidated," the author admits, but you see, "the majority of the people there were workers, and...we have to win them away from this fascist movement."

Promise Keepers is not, as PL has it, fascist, but it's sinister enough. Headed by former college football coach Bill McCartney, Promise Keepers uses locker-room oratory and pep-rally melodrama to push deeply reactionary politics. McCartney, who was prominent in opposing a Colorado gay rights bill in 1992, raves, "Homosexuality is an abomination of Almighty God." Hundreds of thousands of men have been drawn to rallies which fanatically promote the patriarchal, authoritarian family in which the man obeys the Almighty and the wife obeys her husband. "There can be no compromise here," its followers are told: "You must lead."

The *Challenge* article reported how its sales team also dropped in on a counterdemonstration organized by the bourgeois-feminist National Organization for Women (NOW), dubbed "liberal style fascism" by PL. Taking Stalin's "third period" notion of "social fascism" to its extreme logic, PL habitually labels virtually every movement other than its own as some sort of "fascism." Despite its constant calls for "Revolution, Revolution, Communist Revolution!" PL has little sense of the class line. The recent UPS strike, the first significant break in two decades of working-class defeats, was seen by PL as "mainly a battle between two sets of bosses" (*Challenge*, 24 September). And a recent contribution by one "Red Deacon" on the letters page, which is where PL's current line is generally expounded, argued for building "a base in the enemy's organizations: unions, churches, military, etc." So why not mingle with a nest of outright retrogrades like the Promise Keepers?

PL is rarely seen at broader leftist rallies where its members might actually have to defend their politics. In the 30-plus years since its cadre split from the staidly reformist Communist Party for abandoning Stalin's supposed "militant revolutionary line," PL has regularly swung back and forth between—or combined—crude ultraleftism and craven reformism, sometimes writing off any struggle for reforms and otherwise pushing "center-left" coalitions with low-level union bureaucrats or the openly liberal campaigns against racist textbooks. These gyrations have tended to engender cynicism and a disregard for history—not to say for reality—among PL's membership.

Given its own reactionary line on social questions and "family values," there was some political logic to PL's presence at the Promise Keepers' pray-in. Early on, PL railed against "movements which unite with drug addicts and homosexuals" (*Progressive Labor*, February 1971), and to this day the group has a policy of excluding gays from membership. Celebrating Stalin's glorification of the institution of the family—one of the aspects of the Stalinist political counterrevolution which began in 1923-24 and destroyed the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Trotsky—PL pushed the line that the family is a "fighting unit for socialism." In this, PL—and Stalin—explicitly repudiated the Marxist understanding of the family, developed in Friedrich Engels' *Origins of the Family, Private Property and the State*, as a fundamental social prop for the maintenance of class society and the main social institution for the oppression of women.

For all of PL's ranting against "liberal fascism," its latest orientation is in keeping with the generally benign treatment Promise Keepers has recently gotten from the bourgeois media and politicians, including Democratic president Clinton. Thus, while the pro-Democratic Party NOW described Promise Keepers as "the third wave of the religious right," NOW head Patricia Ireland nonetheless absurdly appealed to these anti-woman reactionaries to make a "promise to respect women's equality." This sort of response led liberal columnist Katha Pollitt to moan in the *Nation* (27 October), "Where's the cynical secular liberal East Coast media elite when you really need it?"

What was striking about the Promise Keepers rally is that this reactionary, overwhelmingly white movement managed to attract some thousands of blacks and other minorities. This is a reflection of the line being pushed by middle-class black "leaders" today—from the Nation of Islam's Louis Farrakhan to Democratic Party stalwart Jesse Jackson—that black people have to "pull themselves up by their own bootstraps" to overcome the oppression, poverty and degradation they suffer under this racist capitalist system. The bourgeois rulers, who are raking in enormous profits while slashing social welfare programs across the board, loved the message of "atonement" and self-blame pushed by Farrakhan's reactionary Million Man March. And former Queens Democratic Congressman Floyd Flake, for example, urges black people to turn the other cheek in the face of attacks on affirmative action and welfare, preaching: "There was a time when we lived without it, and if they take it away, we can live without it again!" (*New York Times Magazine*, 19 October).

PL's primitive moralism and its wallowing in bigotry and backwardness—buttressed by depicting the average worker as a none-too-bright, lumbering Joe Six-Pack—have taken it some pretty strange places over the years. But, in the face of the bourgeoisie's trumpeting of the "death of communism," this Stalinoid outfit seems to be getting increasingly unhinged. As part of our fight for socialist revolution, the Spartacist League opposes all manifestations of religious mysticism and racial and sexual oppression. We seek to mobilize the multiracial proletariat to seize power and put an end to oppression and exploitation for all through the creation of a classless, socialist society. ■

TROTSKY

LENIN

The Anarchy of Capitalist Production

The financial crisis currently rocking Southeast Asia and extending to stock markets internationally underscores the anarchic and crisis-ridden nature of the capitalist mode of production. In the Communist Manifesto, *written 150 years ago, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels explained how capitalism had developed an international system of production and exchange which constantly came up against the fetters of the bourgeois nation-state. Today, capitalism has long since outlived any progressive role, fostering ever deeper immiseration of the working masses and the danger of further interimperialist wars. We fight to forge the international revolutionary party necessary to lead the working class to power around the globe.*

The bourgeoisie has through its exploitation of the world-market given a cosmopolitan character to production and consumption in every country. To the great chagrin of Reactionists, it has drawn from under the feet of industry the national ground on which it stood. All old-established national industries have been destroyed or are daily being destroyed. They are dislodged by new industries, whose introduction becomes a life and death question for all civilised nations, by industries that no longer work up indigenous raw material, but raw material drawn from the remotest zones; industries whose products are consumed, not only at home, but in every quarter of the globe. In place of the old wants, satisfied by the productions of the country, we find new wants, requiring for their satisfaction the products of distant lands and climes. In place of the old local and national seclusion and self-sufficiency, we have intercourse in every direction, universal inter-dependence of nations....

Modern bourgeois society with its relations of production, of exchange and of property, a society that has conjured up such gigantic means of production and of exchange, is like the sorcerer, who is no longer able to control the powers of the nether world whom he has called up by his spells. For many a decade past the history of industry and commerce is but the history of the revolt of modern productive forces against modern conditions of production, against the property relations that are the conditions for the existence of the bourgeoisie and of its rule. It is enough to mention the commercial crises that by their periodical return put on its trial, each time more threateningly, the existence of the entire bourgeois society. In these crises a great part not only of the existing products, but also of the previously created productive forces, are periodically destroyed....

The essential condition for the existence, and for the sway of the bourgeois class, is the formation and augmentation of capital; the condition for capital is wage-labour. Wage-labour rests exclusively on competition between the labourers. The advance of industry, whose involuntary promoter is the bourgeoisie, replaces the isolation of the labourers, due to competition, by their revolutionary combination, due to association. The development of Modern Industry, therefore, cuts from under its feet the very foundation on which the bourgeoisie produces and appropriates products. What the bourgeoisie, therefore, produces, above all, is its own grave-diggers. Its fall and the victory of the proletariat are equally inevitable.

—Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *Communist Manifesto* (1848)

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EDITOR: Len Meyers

EDITOR, YOUNG SPARTACUS PAGES: Jacob Zorn

PRODUCTION MANAGER: Susan Fuller

CIRCULATION MANAGER: Mindy Sanders

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No. 678 **14 November 1997**

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PDC Partisan Defense Committee

CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES

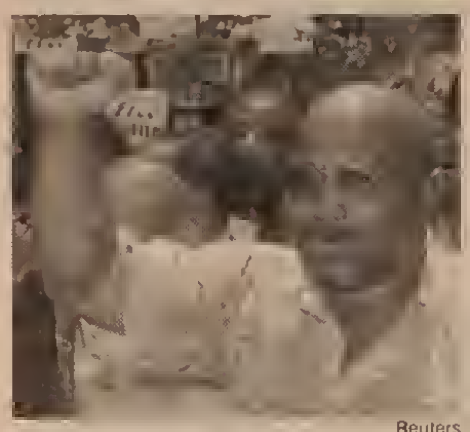
Build PDC Holiday Appeal for Class-War Prisoners!

> "The labor movement must be awakened from its slumber and must be roused to the menacing significance of the attempt of the capitalists to break the morale of the working class by imprisoning its best fighters. The workers must not be allowed to forget those who lie in prison for them, but must be stirred into action in their defense.
>
> "The International Labor Defense will take the initiative to organize a widespread campaign for the unconditional release of imprisoned fighters of the class struggle and will endeavor to unite all the forces of conscious and militant labor for this fight."

This statement, adopted at the first conference of the International Labor Defense (ILD) in June 1925, remains the aim of the Partisan Defense Committee today. This is the PDC's twelfth annual "Holiday Appeal for Class-War Prisoners." When the PDC initiated our stipend program and Holiday Appeal fundraising in 1986, we were in fact reviving a tradition of the ILD and its founder and early leader, James P. Cannon. The ILD, the American affiliate of the International Red Aid, was born in discussions between Cannon and Bill Haywood, a leader of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) in Moscow in 1925. Haywood had gone into exile in Moscow after being convicted—along with thousands of other members of the IWW and the antiwar wing of the Socialist Party—for his opposition to World War I. These discussions resulted in a fusion of the internationalism of the Russian Revolution with Haywood and Cannon's shared IWW heritage of militant labor struggle and non-sectarian defense.

Our annual Holiday Appeal fund drive sustains the monthly stipend program for 16 class-war prisoners and provides holiday gifts for them and their loved ones. For while these courageous fighters endure the punishment meted out to them by the ruling class day after day, they also must endure the pain of watching from afar as their children grow into young adulthood without them.

Geronimo out after 27 years in prison hell! On June 10, a jubilant crowd of 400 thronged around Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt), one of the PDC's original class-war stipend recipients, as he walked out of



Reuters

Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt)

jail. He was released on bail when an Orange County Superior Court judge ruled that he was denied a fair trial in 1972. But Geronimo is still not free. He has the legal status of someone charged with a crime but not yet convicted, as the Los Angeles D.A. has filed notice to appeal the decision. All supporters of this fighter for black rights must join in demanding: Drop the charges now!

Not Charity—An Act of Solidarity with Those in Prison

The class-war prisoners who receive stipends from the PDC today are from many different political backgrounds. All of them have fought and continue to fight against racist and capitalist oppression:

Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! December 1997 marks 16 years of Jamal's imprisonment on frame-up charges. Former Black Panther, well-known journalist known as the "voice of the voiceless," MOVE supporter—Jamal was framed up on false charges of killing a Philadelphia cop and sentenced to die for his political beliefs and his defiance of the racist capitalist order. Jamal's case has won support from death penalty abolitionists and anti-racist fighters around the world. A rising tide of demonstrations and protests in the summer of 1995 stayed the executioner's hand for a time.

Over the past two years Veronica Jones, an eyewitness in the 1981 shooting, and Pamela Jenkins, a government witness in the infamous "39th District" Philly cop scandal, have come forward to provide powerful evidence of police coercion that forced Jones and others to give false testimony favoring the prosecution at Jamal's 1982 trial.

Another chapter in the deadly state vendetta against Mumia is the mandatory 15-year federal sentence on bogus weapons charges faced by his 26-year-old son, Jamal Hart, who was convicted in mid-October. Mumia adopted the surname Abu-Jamal—"father of Jamal"—when his son was born. A prominent fighter for his father's freedom, Jamal Hart is the victim of a transparent frame-up.

Mumia's case is currently on appeal before the Pennsylvania Supreme Court. He continues to fight from behind bars with his biting commentaries, which are published in newspapers across the country, and his books, *Live from Death Row* and *Death Blossoms*. All opponents of the racist death penalty must mobilize now to save Jamal's life and fight for his freedom. Mumia Abu-Jamal must not die!

Jerry Dale Lowe is a United Mine Workers member framed up on federal charges in the 1993 shooting death of a scab contractor in Logan County, West Virginia. The scab was part of a convoy leaving the struck mine, and was shot in the back of the head from the direction of armed thugs hired by the bosses.

WV Photo

Jerry Dale Lowe

Lowe was singled out by authorities because he was a militant defender of the picket line. Sentenced in 1994 to almost eleven years in prison with no possibility of parole, Lowe was released pending an appeal, then forced back to federal prison in Ashland, Kentucky in January 1996. This fall, Lowe filed a petition in federal court to overturn his conviction based on inadequate legal representation and the withholding of evidence by federal prosecutors.

Ed Poindexter, 54, and **Wopashitwe Mundu Eyen we Langa**, 51, are former Black Panther supporters and leaders of the Omaha, Nebraska Committee to Combat Fascism. Victims of the FBI's racist COINTELPRO terror operation,

WV Photo

Mumia Abu-Jamal

they were framed up for an explosion in 1970 which killed a cop. Both were convicted on perjured testimony and sentenced to life. The Nebraska Board of Pardons refuses to commute their sentences to a specific number of years, which would allow them to be considered for parole. Poindexter is at Lino Lake, Minnesota and Mondo is at Lincoln, Nebraska.

Jaan Laaman and **Ray Luc Levasseur** of the Ohio 7 are radical activists with a shared history of opposition to racism and imperialism, and were arrested in 1984 and 1985, respectively. They were sentenced to 45 years to life under RICO conspiracy laws on allegations of bank expropriations and bombings targeting symbols of U.S. imperialism in the late 1970s and '80s. Jaan Laaman is at Leavenworth, Kansas and Ray Luc Levasseur is in the Administrative Maximum (ADX) high-tech torture chamber at Florence, Colorado.

Hugo Pinell is the last of the San Quentin 6 still in prison. A militant anti-racist, he was a leader of prison rights organizing along with George Jackson, who was murdered by prison guards in 1971. Pinell has languished in prison for over 30 years and was recently again denied parole. He is currently serving a life sentence at the notorious Pelican Bay prison in Crescent City, California.

Nine MOVE members are in their 20th year in Pennsylvania prisons, serving sentences of 30 to 100 years. They were falsely convicted of killing a police officer in the 1978 police attack on their Philadelphia home. They are **Chuck Africa** and **Michael Davis Africa**, Graterford; **Debbie Sims Africa, Janet Holloway Africa, Janine Phillips Africa, Merle Austin Africa**, Cambridge Springs; **Edward Goodman Africa**, Camp Hill; **Delbert Orr Africa** and **William Phillips Africa**, Dallas.

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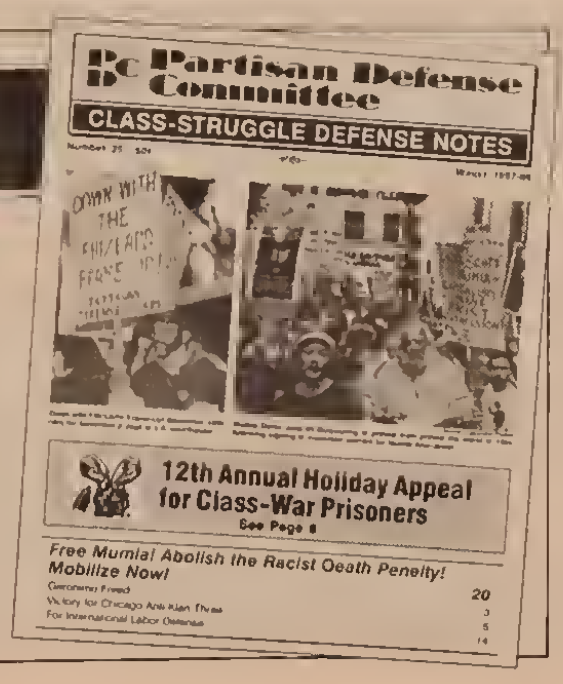

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Spartacist League Debates Argentine PBCI

Trotskyism vs. Nationalism in Latin America

A hallmark of a Leninist-Trotskyist party is the fight for programmatic clarity—internally against the inevitable pressures of bourgeois society and externally to expose before the proletariat all false pretenders, especially of the centrist variety, to the mantle of revolutionary Marxism. In this spirit, on March 15 the San Francisco Bay Area district of the Spartacist League/U.S. took up an impromptu debate challenge from a visiting representative of the Partido Bolchevique por la Cuarta Internacional (PBCI) of Argentina. As was clear in this debate, the pseudo-Trotskyist PBCI is a quintessential example of Trotsky's description of centrism as revolutionary in words and reformist in deeds.

Then calling itself the Partido de los Trabajadores (PT), the PBCI emerged from a split in late 1988 from Jorge Altamira's Partido Obrero (PO). In April 1989, the PT/PBCI wrote us with the aim of opening a discussion. Their letter asserted agreement with our polemic against Bolivian fake Trotskyist Guillermo Lora and his capitulation to bourgeois nationalism ("Revolution and Counterrevolution in Bolivia," *Spartacist* [Spanish-language edition] No. 18, October 1986). For its part, the PT/PBCI had written documents upholding the Trotskyist Transitional Program and criticizing the "anti-imperialist united front," the favored rubric of Latin American centrists and reformists for subordination to their "own" bourgeoisies. The group was then also reconsidering some of the more overtly anti-Soviet positions it had inherited from Altamira's PO.

Following a series of letters and some direct discussions, in March 1992 the PBCI and the International Communist League signed an "Agreement for Further Discussion" mandating a written and verbal exchange of views open only to the memberships of the two organizations. Among the issues to be debated were the 1982 Falklands/Malvinas war between Argentina and Britain, the class character of the states in the Soviet Union and East Europe and the questions of Afghanistan and Poland.

The PBCI subsequently demonstrated that its political trajectory was contrary to the Trotskyist program defended by the ICL (see "Discussions Between the ICL and the PBCI of Argentina," ICL *International Information Bulletin* No. 31, October 1992). Indicating its political appetites, the PBCI informed us that it was involved in intense organizational discussions with the "International Bolshevik Tendency" (IBT). The IBT was formed primarily by embittered exmembers of ours who, under the pressures of anti-Soviet imperialist revanchism during the early 1980s, wanted no part of an organization that genuinely stood for the unconditional defense of the USSR against imperialist attack and internal counterrevolution.

Workers Hammer

Spartacist League/Britain called for defeat of Thatcher government in 1982 Falklands/Malvinas war, fighting for Leninist revolutionary defeatism on both sides in this reactionary war.

The issue of possible political convergence between the ICL and PBCI had clearly been resolved in the negative. In a 3 July 1993 letter, the ICL informed the PBCI that "at the same time as we reaffirm our interest in continuing to discuss, we are forced to conclude that this no longer corresponds to the restricted framework and privileged character laid out in our agreements of 6 March of last year, and we will act according to the now obvious situation."

In early 1996, the PBCI glued together a hodge-podge alliance known as the Bolshevik Current for the Fourth International (CBCI) with the Brazilian centrists of the Liga Bolchevique Internacionalista (LBI) and the tiny Communist Workers Group (CWG), a Bay Area-based split from the decomposing IBT. The CBCI now also includes the Chilean Grupo Bolchevique.

The CBCI says it is Bolshevik. In its programmatic theses, it claims to stand for the class independence of the proletariat and to uncompromisingly oppose popular fronts, class-collaborationist coalitions of workers parties and bourgeois formations. It claims to recognize the need for a Leninist party that fights to mobilize the working class against racial, sexual and all other forms of special oppression, including anti-homosexual bigotry. It claims to have unconditionally defended the Soviet degenerated workers state and the bureaucratically deformed workers states of East Europe against capitalist restoration. The CBCI has broadcast to all and sundry its claim to the mantle of genuine Trotskyism and can produce left-sounding criticisms of fake Trotskyists like the Workers Power group in Britain, exposing these centrists for their grotesque capitulation to imperialism in the former Yugoslavia in the face of NATO bombings.

Yet the Latin American-based groups of the CBCI capitulate to the pressures of their own bourgeoisies no less than do other centrists like Workers Power. In the former case, however, the prevailing forces on the political terrain are not Labourite social democracy but bourgeois nationalism. Thus, one of the early differences we noted with the PBCI was its chauvinist position supporting its own bourgeoisie in the 1982 Falklands/Malvinas war.

As we have experienced firsthand through our own intervention in the workers movement in Brazil, the gap between the sometimes orthodox-sounding statements of the CBCI groups and their actual practice is breathtaking. They profess to be for the independence of the proletariat from the bourgeois state and to be firm opponents of racism. Yet a prominent supporter of the LBI, Artur Fernandes, seized control of the SFPMVR municipal workers union in Volta Redonda, Brazil by championing the "right" of the racist cops to be in this union and by using the bourgeois courts against his political opponents within the union!

Both the Falklands/Malvinas war and the question of the cops featured prominently in the Bay Area debate. The main speaker for the Spartacist League was Jorge Ramírez, while Sergio Romero spoke for the PBCI and was supported by the CWG, whose members also attended the debate. Under the format proposed by the SL, each side was allotted five speakers during the floor discussion. While a range of speakers—including from the Spartacus Youth Club—spoke for the SL from the floor, Romero took three of the PBCI's five speaking slots in addition to his presentation and summary time, providing a vivid example of the Latin American fake left's penchant for *caudillismo*.

Falklands/Malvinas: Acid Test for Argentine Left

In the spring of 1982, the Argentine military junta of General Galtieri and the viciously anti-working-class British government of Tory prime minister Margaret Thatcher went to war over a handful of rocky islands controlled by Britain and claimed by Argentina. Located on the edge of the Antarctic some 300 miles from the Argentine coast and inhabited by only 1,800 people, mainly sheep farmers, the Falklands/Malvinas were of marginal economic importance. This squalid war was manufactured as a *diversion* by two unpopular, reactionary regimes. In this situation, the task of Leninists in Britain and Argentina was to call for the defeat

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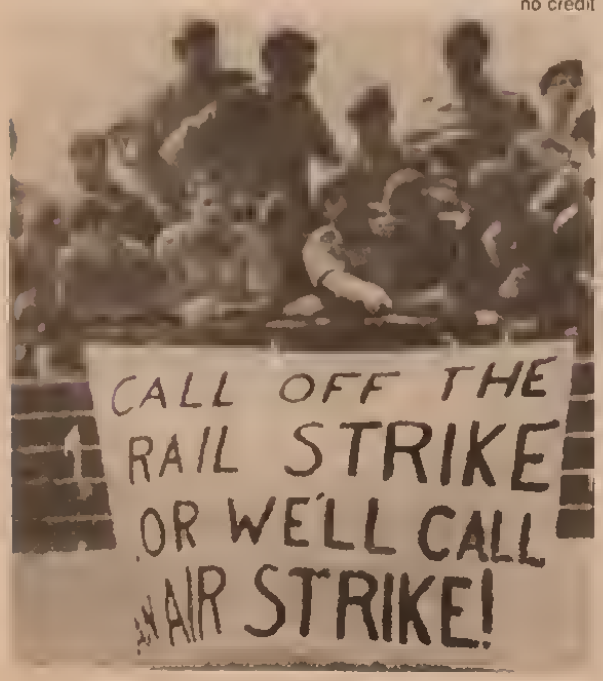

Thatcher's victory in Falklands/Malvinas fueled attacks on unions at home, as returning troops threatened to break a strike by British rail workers. In Argentina, Galtieri junta's defeat in war led to its downfall amid wave of mass workers' protests.

UPI

of one's "own" bourgeoisie, i.e., *revolutionary defeatism*. Demanding that Britain get out of all its colonies—from the Falklands to Hong Kong—the Spartacist League/Britain declared in a leaflet issued during the war (quoted in *Spartacist Britain* No. 43, July 1982):

> "For the British ruling class, the Tory government's military adventure in the South Atlantic is an attempt to resuscitate the bloodsoaked heritage of the once mighty Empire. For British workers it must be seen as an opportunity to bring down this viciously anti-working-class government and open the road to destroying every last vestige of Britain's brutal colonial history through workers revolution. War creates misery, but it also leads to dislocation and social unrest creating the possibility of revolutionary upheavals, as the Russian workers showed in 1917. That is why the communists of the Spartacist League (SL) say: ***The main enemy is at home! Let this war be Thatcher's downfall!***"

Any revolutionary party in Argentina worthy of the name would similarly have called for the defeat of *its* bourgeoisie. But, across the board, the Argentine left supported Galtieri's war.

At the debate, PBCI spokesman Romero spent much of his presentation time dreaming up rationales for this rotten position. He claimed that this was an imperialist war motivated by Britain's desire to seize the region's undersea oil reserves. In fact, the British bourgeoisie had viewed the islands as a net economic drain and had been trying to unload the Falklands, handing over various administrative powers to Argentina. But when Galtieri invaded, Thatcher decided it was time for a "nice little war."

Romero tried to conjure up the existence of an "anti-imperialist" bloc of the USSR, Cuba and Libya with Argentina. In fact, anti-Communist hangman Galtieri was solidly behind U.S. president Reagan's anti-Soviet crusade. Galtieri's bloody junta had volunteered elite military units to help overthrow the petty-bourgeois leftist Sandinistas in Nicaragua and to suppress a leftist insurgency in El Salvador. At the outset of the Falklands/Malvinas war, Reagan said, "We're friends of both countries." When he finally came down on Britain's side, the Kremlin adopted a position of (decidedly mild) diplomatic support to Argentina. But even had Argentina been an ally of the Soviet Union, this would not have justified a position of military support to Galtieri. With the PBCI's methodology, one could have supported the U.S. and Britain in World War II—when these imperialist powers were militarily allied with the USSR—or the Soviet-backed Ethiopian Derg dictatorship of the butcher Mengistu in its reactionary war against Eritrea in the 1970s and '80s.

Seeking to portray the Falklands/Malvinas conflict as a classic colonial-style war, Romero cited a statement by Leon Trotsky in a 1930s interview with Argentine trade unionist Mateo Fossa. Arguing for military support to the semi-fascist regime then ruling Brazil in a hypothetical war with "democratic" British imperialism, Trotsky explained: "If England should be victorious, she will put another fascist in Rio de Janeiro and will place double chains on Brazil."

But Trotsky's passing reference to a hypothetical war between Britain and Brazil has no relevance to the Falklands/Malvinas conflict. Trotsky was referring to the necessity to give military support to oppressed nations subject to imperialist conquest and oppression. This was the position taken by the Trotskyists toward Ethiopia, when it was invaded and occupied by Italy in 1935. Trotsky wrote at length about this conflict, stressing that "for us it is not a question of who is 'better,' the Negus [Haile Selassie] or Mussolini; rather, it is a question of the relationship of classes and the fight of an underdeveloped nation for independence against imperialism."

But Britain neither invaded Argentina nor, in the Falklands/Malvinas, was it oppressing Argentina (or, for that matter, any Argentines, since *none* were living on the islands). Thus, the 1982 war between Britain and Argentina bore no resemblance to the Sino-Japanese war, or to the U.S.-led imperialist bloodbath against Iraq in 1991-92. As SL spokesman Ramírez emphasized:

> "Only an irredentist nationalist would compare the massive onslaught of imperialist troops and occupation of half of Iraq's territory with the British navy's takeover of a couple of rocky islands in the South Atlantic which had been in Argentinean hands for 12 years sometime in the 1800s.... Fundamentally the Argentinean territory was not under attack except in the minds of a series of reformists capitulating to the bourgeois-nationalist junta."

There was nothing "anti-imperialist" about Galtieri's attempted seizure of the Falklands/Malvinas. It came only days after a march called by the Peronist CGT trade-union federation, in the midst of the worst depression in the country's history, to protest the regime's economic policies. Some 2,000 demonstrators were arrested, scores wounded and two killed. A general strike to protest the repression was called for the following week. In the meantime, Argentine commandos seized the Falklands/Malvinas.

At the Bay Area debate, Romero conceded:

> "Galtieri wanted to deflect class struggle, it's true.... Absolutely all public recordings where Galtieri speaks at the Plaza de Mayo, every time he tries to defend his administration, he is widely jeered by the workers."

By the PBCI spokesman's own admission, Galtieri's war was a diversion. Indeed, this is powerful evidence that the situation opened up an opportunity to intervene among the working masses with a *revolutionary defeatist* line against the junta. Instead, the Argentine left, including the PBCI's forebears, *assisted* Galtieri as he sought to hoodwink the workers by palming this off as a struggle against imperialism. Romero tried to alibi this capitulation at the debate:

> "But there existed among the masses the sentiment that this struggle could be developed and generalized to throw the imperialist troops not only out of the Malvinas but also to break the imperialist policy carried forward by the government.... We pose that what should have been raised was a congress of rank-and-file delegates of all mobilized unions to take the struggle in their hands and extend it to the whole country—for the expropriation of British lands, for the expropriation under workers control of American and British monopolies, for the nonpayment of the debt."

Thus, Romero & Co. push a policy of actively *deflecting* workers' struggles away from the *Argentine* bourgeoisie by supporting the war under an "anti-imperialist" fig leaf, serving as a "left-wing" propaganda machine to whip up patriotic support for the junta's war. In this way, all proportions guarded, this policy is analogous to that of the social-democratic class traitors in 1914, who aided the capitalist governments in lining up the working masses as cannon fodder in World War I.

Our line, that the defeat of one's own government could open the way for the proletariat to struggle for power, was vindicated by subsequent events. In Britain, Thatcher's victory served to fuel her war on the trade unions. A British warship returning from the Falklands/Malvinas carried a large banner threatening railway workers, "Call off the rail strike or we'll call an air strike." In Argentina, on the other hand, Galtieri's defeat paved the way for the downfall of his military junta, which was replaced by a weak, unstable civilian government. But the thoroughly servile and housebroken Argentine left, which had rallied to the cause of its discredited bourgeoisie, was totally incapable of taking advantage of this excellent opportunity.

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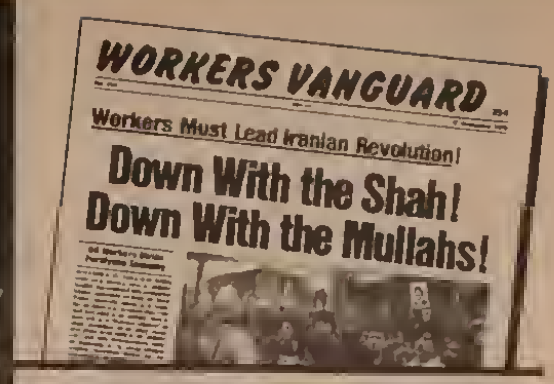

While reformists and centrists hailed Khomeini as "anti-imperialist" in 1978-79, Spartacists warned that mullahs' victory would mean bloody terror against workers, women, leftists, national minorities. Left: Executions in wake of Khomeini's "Islamic revolution."

"Anti-Imperialist United Front" vs. Permanent Revolution

In Latin America, it is common for reformists and centrists to talk of an "anti-imperialist united front" to justify tying the working class to the nationalist bourgeoisie. Its protestations to the contrary notwithstanding, the CBCI carries out the same line, albeit under a different name. Thus, a CBCI declaration refers to its founding "at a meeting of revolutionary defensist organizations." The term "revolutionary defensism" refers to Leninist policy *in a military conflict* between an imperialist power and a colonial or semicolonial country. Thus, during the 1991-92 Gulf War the ICL was revolutionary defensist toward Iraq: while giving military support to Iraq in this war, we called on Iraqi workers to overthrow anti-Communist butcher Suddam Hussein.

To describe oneself as being in general "revolutionary defensist" is a species of crackpotism. Taken literally, it means *never* being defeatist toward one's own bourgeoisie, which captures the essential thrust of the CBCI's politics. The CBCI uses its bogus theory of "revolutionary defensism" as a vehicle to prettify alien class forces—bourgeois and petty-bourgeois nationalism—in the non-imperialist countries. In a 1996 article, "The Crisis in the ICL," the CBCI accuses us of a "pro-imperialist position" on Iran in 1978-79 because we "refused to take a side with the masses that were confronting the regime of Shah Reza Pahlevi." Echoing the British Workers Power group and sundry other centrists and reformists, the CBCI attacks us for refusing to tail after the Islamic fundamentalist "mass movement" led by Ayatollah Khomeini, which placed in power a reactionary, theocratic and virulently anti-woman regime.

The potential existed for a revolutionary overthrow of the blood-drenched, U.S.-backed Shah by the powerful proletariat, centrally the oil workers who were already mobilized in struggle against the regime. We raised the call: "Down with the Shah! Down with the mullahs! For workers revolution in Iran!" But the Iranian left—especially the Stalinist Tudeh party, which had significant proletarian support—helped to rally the plebeian masses behind the Khomeiniite movement, which was based on the interests of the rich merchants and the Islamic hierarchy. And the entire fake left internationally supported this reactionary "mass movement," with the justification that Khomeini was "anti-imperialist," which boiled down to the fact that he was anti-American. (With this brilliant logic, Adolf Hitler was "anti-imperialist.") We warned that the victory of Khomeini would mean bloody terror against the left, medieval oppression for women, murder of homosexuals and Persian-chauvinist repression of national minorities. For many long years the verdict has been in, proving us, tragically, 100 percent correct.

Over Ireland and the Near East, the CBCI likewise capitulates to petty-bourgeois nationalism. Thus, it declares: "We are for the military victory of the IRA and the defeat of British imperialism in Northern Ireland, while raising our own working-class program." Marxists call for the immediate, unconditional withdrawal of British troops from Northern Ireland and defend the IRA against state repression when it strikes a blow at the British army or fascistic Loyalist thugs. But what does it mean to call for "military victory" to the IRA? These petty-bourgeois nationalists are seeking to negotiate a settlement with British imperialism, a deal premised on leaving the troops in place in Northern Ireland. Consistent with its nationalism, the IRA also carries out acts of indefensible sectarian terror targeting British civilians as well as Protestants in the North. Yet the CBCI is silent about this, while endorsing the nationalist project of forcible reunification of Ireland, which would simply reverse the terms of oppression and subject the Protestant community to the rule of the theocratic Catholic state in the South.

Northern Ireland is a situation of *interpenetrated peoples*, where the exercise of

continued on page 6

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(continued from page 5)

self-determination by one people within the framework of capitalism must necessarily come at the expense of another. Marxists recognize that the Catholics are presently an oppressed minority in Northern Ireland. We fight against anti-Catholic discrimination, while appealing to the joint class interests of Catholic and Protestant workers. We call for an Irish workers republic within a socialist federation of the British Isles, which leaves open the question of where the Protestants will end up in the course of a workers revolution.

The CBCI's glorification of nationalism is a rejection in practice of the Trotskyist program of permanent revolution. In the economically backward countries, the bourgeoisies are too weak, corrupt and dependent on imperialism to resolve the outstanding tasks—such as agrarian revolution and national liberation—historically associated with the bourgeois revolution. The atomized peasantry, reflecting its petty-bourgeois class nature, vacillates between the urban industrial proletariat and the capitalist class. Consequently, the resolution of the bourgeois-democratic tasks can only be achieved through the proletarian conquest of power—which will necessarily place the socialist tasks on the immediate agenda—and the fight to extend workers rule to the advanced capitalist countries.

Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution was confirmed by the Bolshevik October Revolution of 1917. The Menshevik conception that the "first stage" of the revolution would be purely democratic in character, placing the liberal bourgeoisie in power, was repudiated by events themselves. Prior to 1917, Lenin had advanced the idea of a "democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry," recognizing the need to mobilize the vast peasant masses behind the proletariat in struggle against both the tsarist autocracy and the liberal bourgeoisie. This slogan, however, implied the rule of two classes with historically counterposed interests, and Lenin himself renounced it in his "April Theses" in 1917, where he stressed the "necessity of transferring the entire state power to the Soviets of Workers' Deputies."

Despite the experience of 1917, the Bolsheviks never codified permanent revolution, allowing Stalin and Bukharin to later use the old formula of the "democratic dictatorship" in order to impose on the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) a strategy of unalloyed Menshevik stagism, forcing the CCP to liquidate into Chiang Kai-shek's bourgeois-nationalist Guomindang (Kuomintang). This led directly to the bloody defeat of the 1925-27 Chinese Revolution by Chiang's forces. In its aftermath, Trotsky generalized the program of permanent revolution to all backward countries (see "The Origins of Chinese Trotskyism," *Spartacist* [English-language edition] No. 53, Summer 1997).

In the post-World War II period, peasant-based guerrilla movements under petty-bourgeois leadership have smashed capitalist property relations under exceptional circumstances, i.e., the extreme disorganization of the capitalist class in a colonial country and the absence of the working class contending in its own right for power. However, they could not bring the working class to political power. Rather, they created deformed workers states, as in Vietnam, China and Cuba, which suppress any further development of these revolutions toward socialism. These instances confirm the Trotskyist program of permanent revolution, albeit in the negative: any substantial progress toward the achievement of the outstanding bourgeois-democratic tasks required the liquidation of capitalism. However, only under the leadership of the revolutionary proletariat can colonial revolution have an unequivocally progressive, revolutionary significance.

Economist

Gennady Zyuganov, Russian-chauvinist KPRF leader supported by PBCI.

In contradistinction to permanent revolution, the CBCI literally gushes over the peasant-based Zapatistas (EZLN) in Mexico, who in turn look to Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas' bourgeois-nationalist Party of the Democratic Revolution (PRD). An SL speaker at the Bay Area debate quoted the Brazilian LBI: "The Zapatistas should issue a call for student, worker, peasant unity and raise the general strike for the revolutionary overthrow of the government of Ernesto Zedillo, denouncing the class-collaborationist nature of the PRD's politics." Our comrade continued:

> "It was not a question of whether the EZLN was going to seize power. They themselves didn't want it. And now the CBCI rejects the fundamentals of Trotskyism, which understands the incapacity of the peasantry to play an independent revolutionary role.... The working masses in the countryside have no other salvation except their alliance with the communist proletariat. The words of the CBCI, which claims to be for the regroupment of the 'revolutionary defensists,' are nothing more than a centrist mask for their continuous capitulations to bourgeois nationalism and the backward consciousness of the working class."

PBCI Trips Over the Class Line I: The Russian Question

James P. Cannon, the founder of American Trotskyism, pointed out that the program of unconditional military defense of the USSR was integrally linked to opposition to one's own bourgeoisie: "Defensism and defeatism are two principled, that is, irreconcilable positions.... Defensists at home were defeatists on Russia. Defensists on Russia were defeatists at home." While Cannon was addressing the tasks of revolutionaries in the U.S., his observation applies perfectly to the PBCI. Their inability to be defeatist toward their own bourgeoisie, as over the Falklands/Malvinas war, is integrally linked to their incapacity to stand up to the imperialists' ultimately successful drive to restore capitalism in the Soviet Union.

Trotsky's call for unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union against imperialist attack and internal counterrevolution was premised on the existence of a degenerated *workers* state, whose material underpinnings were collectivized property forms. His call for proletarian political revolution was aimed at maintaining these collectivized property forms while ousting the parasitic Stalinist bureaucracy. In contrast, as SL spokesman Ramírez pointed out, the CBCI's "revolutionary defensist" line on the Soviet Union and the deformed workers states was divorced from any class criteria whatsoever: having shown "deep hostility to the Soviet workers state when it existed," after the consolidation of a capitalist state in Russia in 1991-92 in the wake of Boris Yeltsin's pro-imperialist countercoup in August 1991, the CBCI has displayed political "affinity to left-over Stalinists now transformed into the worst kind of demagogues," like Gennady Zyuganov's *bourgeois-nationalist* Communist Party of the Russian Federation (KPRF).

A CBCI article on its founding meeting calls for the "unconditional defense of the former [!] and surviving workers' states against imperialism and capitalist counterrevolution" (*Revolutionary Theory*, July 1996). Calling this "staggering," our spokesman explained: "A *former* workers state in the epoch of imperialism is a *bourgeois* state. So this is a call for the unconditional defense of a bourgeois state, born of counterrevolution, against...counterrevolution?! This makes a mockery of Marxism." Ramírez scored the PBCI for declaring "that in the aftermath of Yeltsin's countercoup, the USSR was a new *bourgeois* state. Yet, at the same time, you continue to call for a 'political revolution.' This guts this hallmark position of Trotskyism, which was premised on the social transformations left over from October [1917], of any programmatic content."

Sygma

Russian president Boris Yeltsin on barricades of counterrevolution, Moscow, August 1991. ICL distributed tens of thousands of leaflets headlined, "Soviet Workers: Defeat Yeltsin-Bush Counterrevolution!"

Polish Solidarność posed an acid test for would-be revolutionaries: one that the PBCI and its allies decisively failed. In the fall of 1981, when Lech Walesa's CIA-backed "union" had consolidated around a program for capitalist restoration, we said, "Stop Solidarność counterrevolution!" We supported the imposition of martial law by the Jaruzelski regime to spike a Solidarność power bid in December 1981. At the same time, we stressed that the Stalinists were incapable of politically defeating the counterrevolutionaries and called for a Trotskyist party to lead the workers forward to political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracy. A Spartacist floor speaker contrasted the PBCI's position on Poland "at the crucial hour": while claiming to be for military defense, it declared that the "principal task is to overthrow the bureaucracy." Our comrade said to the PBCI: "Shying away from the hard truth, you denounced any repressive measures against Solidarność's base. Your bloc partners in the LBI, who can't recognize the class line with the police, did no better in Poland, calling Solidarność 'the most powerful political revolution in East Europe'."

A particularly contentious question at the debate was the decade-long war in Afghanistan which pitted Soviet forces and the left-nationalist PDPA regime against Islamic fundamentalist cutthroats armed and financed by the CIA to kill Red Army soldiers and officers. Afghanistan was the front line of Cold War II, the anti-Soviet war drive of the 1980s. The Soviet military intervention also posed the liberation of Afghan women from hideous oppression. When the USSR moved into Afghanistan in December 1979 to defend its southern flank against the CIA-backed *mujahedin* insurgency, the international Spartacist tendency (now the International Communist League) said "Hail Red Army!" and called to "Extend social gains of the October Revolution to Afghan peoples!" At the debate, the PBCI spokesman indicated where his organization stood on this defining question by referring to the Soviet presence in Afghanistan as an "occupation." In response, SL speaker Ramírez outlined the position of the iSt/ICL:

> "As revolutionary Trotskyists, we recognized the dire threat that the imperialist-backed insurgency represented to the land of October, and we took up our positions in defense of our class and its conquests.... While recognizing that the Kremlin bureaucracy had only reluctantly intervened in order to stabilize a client state, we nonetheless also understood that it was only the Soviet military intervention which offered the possibility of opening the road to emancipation for the hideously oppressed people of Afghanistan, particularly women.
>
> "In 1989, the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan with the futile aim of trying to appease imperialism was the direct precursor to the counterrevolutions that engulfed East Europe and the Soviet Union itself. Through the Partisan Defense Committee, we offered to organize international brigades to help fight the CIA-backed *mujahedin* cutthroats in the city of Jalalabad. This proposal was aimed not only at providing concrete military assistance, it was also premised on the understanding that such an international brigade could further the struggle for political revolution in the Soviet Union...among soldiers and officers who had believed in the internationalist implications of their fight in Afghanistan."

After the ten-year Soviet military intervention had ended, *after* the collapse of the Soviet Union itself, *after* the left-nationalist government in Kabul had been overrun by the virulently reactionary *mujahedin*, the PBCI lamely referred to its military defense of the Soviet army in Afghanistan in a 1993 document. To say the least, the PBCI was not exactly putting itself on the political firing line. Moreover, the sole purpose of adopting this position of "military support" seems to have been to attack the ICL. Thus, at the debate Romero attempted to ridicule our slogans:

> "For ten years, they had been posing as a central slogan the call for the Red Army to extend the social gains of the Soviet Union to Afghanistan, as though the bureaucracy was to carry out a bureaucratic revolution. This never happened. Moreover, Trotsky very often answered to Shachtman that there was no bureaucratic revolution—there were bureaucratic impulses.... Therefore the Trotskyists' policy was not to place illusions in the Red Army but to concretely advance in building a party in Afghanistan capable of superseding the very policy of the Red Army, which is nothing but the reactionary policy of the Kremlin."

While proclaiming "military support" to the Red Army, the PBCI characterizes the policy of the Red Army as "reactionary." This is a classic example of centrist double-talk and obfuscation. The assertion that the Red Army *always* acted in a reactionary manner is a flat denial of the Trotskyist understanding of the *dual* character of the Stalinist bureaucracy—a parasitic caste that sat atop the collectivized property forms of the workers state while serving as a transmission belt for the pressures of imperialism. The CBCI's line that the bureaucracy had a "constitutionally counterrevolutionary character" is sheer Stalinophobia. Bowing to the pressure of the imperialists and their labor lackeys, the Stalinophobic PBCI couldn't say "Hail Red Army."

Moreover, Romero distorted Trotsky's position on the Red Army's occupation of Poland and the western Ukraine in 1939. It was not Trotsky but Shachtman (who was in the process of reneging on

the duty of revolutionaries to defend the Soviet Union) who denied that the Red Army could be the agency for social liberation. In "From a Scratch to the Danger of Gangrene" (*In Defense of Marxism*), Trotsky wrote:

> "Seeking to get around reality, namely that nothing else but the social foundations of the USSR forced a social revolutionary program upon the Kremlin, Shachtman refers to Lithuania, Esthonia and Latvia where everything has remained as of old. An incredible argument! No one has said that the Soviet bureaucracy *always* and *everywhere* either wishes or is able to accomplish the expropriation of the bourgeoisie. We only say that no other government could have accomplished that social overturn which the Kremlin bureaucracy notwithstanding its alliance with Hitler found itself compelled to sanction in eastern Poland."

And, as exemplified by the heroic Trotskyists of the Warsaw Ghetto, when the Red Army went into battle against the Nazi scourge following Hitler's June 1941 invasion of the USSR, the Bolshevik-internationalists proclaimed: "Long Live the Red Army!"

The SL speaker underscored the essentially ***nationalist*** viewpoint of the PBCI: "It is a fact, which you dismiss, that the level of economic development of Afghanistan was and remains such that it is ludicrous to call for the immediate development of an independent proletarian force. But only one who accepts the narrow confines of imperialist-imposed national boundaries would find in this an insurmountable task." Ramirez asserted: "The best thing that could have happened to Afghanistan would have been if the Soviet Union would have annexed it. But the 'peaceful coexistence' Brezhnevites didn't want it—and neither did you. As we said, better to fight [counterrevolution] in Afghanistan than inside the Soviet Union."

Two years after the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan, in August 1991, Boris Yeltsin seized on a dismal "coup" attempt by the incompetent "gang of eight" Kremlin bureaucrats to launch his pro-imperialist countercoup. In the absence of resistance from the Soviet proletariat, this subsequently proved to be the decisive event of the counterrevolution. But, as Ramírez noted at the debate, in contrast to the "International Bolshevik Tendency" the ICL did not immediately declare the workers state destroyed. Rather, we sought to mobilize the Soviet working class in defense of its state. Tearing apart the PBCI's lie that we were "objectively neutral" in August 1991, the SL speaker declared: "Our leaflet 'Soviet Workers: Defeat Yeltsin-Bush Counterrevolution!' was a clear statement with a program of struggle against ascendant capitalist restoration." This was the first statement widely distributed throughout the Soviet Union in opposition to Yeltsin's restorationist drive.

As for the PBCI, like the IBT, its "concrete proposal for defense was to take the side of the coup plotters at exactly the time when they actively made clear that they intended to defend nothing." The PBCI "talked about military defense, but there was no military action," Ramírez remarked, "So if there was nothing to 'militarily support,' your call can only mean political support." Far from opposing capitalist restoration, the "gang of eight" were former lieutenants of then Soviet president Mikhail Gorbachev and supported his *perestroika* "market reforms," but wanted a more controlled development toward a full-fledged capitalist economy without the democratic trappings of Gorbachev's *glasnost* ("openness"). As our comrade said, "The coupists simply sought to negotiate a better deal for themselves."

Claiming that we have moved from "Stalinophilia to Stalinophobia," the PBCI takes us to task for our article "Why Marxists Do Not Raise the Call 'Restore the Soviet Union'" (*WV* Nos. 638 and 639, 2 February and 16 February 1996). The PBCI denounces as "abstentionist" our refusal to extend electoral support to Zyuganov's Russian-chauvinist "Communist" Party, which is not part of but

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Victims of police "drug sweep" in Rio de Janeiro shantytown. Brazilian CBCI group embraces pro-cop elements in the unions.

rather thoroughly hostile to the workers movement. Today the slogan of "restoring the Soviet Union," raised by Zyuganov's KPRF and others, can only be a call for Great Russian chauvinism, which is precisely the intention. Thus, Zyuganov denounced Yeltsin *from the right* for withdrawing the troops of the Russian *capitalist* state from Chechnya, accusing Yeltsin of "betraying Russia's interests." The PBCI's political support to Zyuganov boils down to an endorsement of chauvinists who want Russia to play the role of a regional imperialist power, dominating the smaller peoples of the region like the Chechens. So much for the PBCI's alleged support to oppressed peoples against great power chauvinism!

PBCI Trips Over the Class Line II: The Popular Front

Leon Trotsky asserted: "'People's Fronts' on the one hand—fascism on the other; these are the last political resources of imperialism in the struggle against the proletarian revolution." Trotsky opposed any support to popular-front coalitions of workers parties and bourgeois parties. In entering a popular front, the contradiction implicit in what Lenin termed a bourgeois workers party—between its claimed articulation of the interests of the proletariat and its actual program defending the interests of capitalism—is suppressed. We categorically oppose calling for votes to reformist parties in popular fronts, or demanding that a coalition government "carry out its program."

Revisionists invariably seek to obscure the fact that a popular front in power is a *capitalist* government. In its founding declaration, the CBCI calls for "struggling against the Popular Front and its variants." But as comrade Ramírez noted, this is belied by the fact that the PBCI and the LBI are on record supporting a vote for workers parties in popular fronts, as for example Lula's Workers Party (PT) in the 1989 Brazilian elections, when it ran as part of the Frente Brasil Popular alliance. At the same time, the LBI rejects voting for Lula's popular front in the 1994 elections. What's the difference? In 1989, Lula's bloc included only a small representation of the national bourgeoisie, while in 1994 his popular front was directly subsumed into international finance capital. But as Trotsky stressed in his writings on the Spanish Popular Front in 1936, which likewise included only the "shadow" of the bourgeoisie, the presence of even the most modest non-proletarian political formation serves as a guarantor of the bourgeois program of such a cross-class coalition.

The LBI in effect argues that a popular front centered around the national bourgeoisie is "anti-imperialist." This is a negation of the Trotskyist program of permanent revolution. Ramírez remarked:

> "In the polemic on Afghanistan, you have taken us to task for daring to consider Trotsky's assessment in *The Revolution Betrayed* in 1936 that the Red Army is a 'factor of immense significance' for the world proletariat. But in Brazil, you're quite willing to make use of the PT as a—and this is a quote—'useful instrument to struggle for the emancipation of the working class.' So Lula's class-collaborationist appendix of the Brazilian bourgeoisie is a useful instrument, but the Red Army, organ of a workers state, cannot be?"

Seeking to justify the CBCI's line on Lula, a CWG supporter referred to the Bolsheviks' demand on the Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries (SRs) in 1917—during the period of dual power when these two parties controlled the workers soviets while participating in the capitalist government—to break with the bourgeois ministers and take power into their own hands. The CWG speaker then stated:

> "So the comrades have said, 'You support the popular front...there's no difference between 1989 and 1994.' Well, we submit that in 1989 there were thousands of workers committees who had illusions in the PT of Brazil and just as in the period between February and October in Russia in 1917, a similar tactic could be employed to educate the workers about these reformists; that is, specifically, call on the PT to break with the bourgeoisie. When they don't do it, the workers get an education. But if you're so sectarian that you could never dream of calling on these people to do something, if you're not interested in intersecting these workers at all, well you could just ignore the whole thing and say: ah, popular front, phooey."

There was only one "fly in this ointment." ***The Bolsheviks refused to call for votes to the Mensheviks and SRs in 1917***, precisely because they were in a bloc with the bourgeoisie!

If a mass reformist workers party runs in parliamentary elections independently of the bourgeois parties and is not decisively identified with openly anti-working-class or pro-imperialist policies, it may well be advantageous for revolutionaries to extend critical electoral support. Such critical support affords revolutionaries a broader hearing for their own views and puts them in a better position to attract militant workers who become disillusioned when their leaders betray, as they inevitably do, their professed principles and program.

In response to the CWGer's attempt to depict us as hopeless sectarians, an SL speaker pointed to the electoral tactics recently employed by the Spartacist League/Britain: "The comrade who spoke just before me said that we pay no attention to workers parties who get into popular fronts. We certainly do. We have something called conditional critical support, which we are applying to Arthur Scargill's Socialist Labour Party today. And we campaign alongside them and seek votes while making full programmatic criticism. But they are opposed to the popular front that Tony Blair is trying to create with the British Labour Party. So we hardly ignore what looks to be a promising left opposition."

PBCI Trips Over the Class Line III: Cops and the State

Lenin distinguished revolutionaries from reformists by their attitude toward the bourgeois state, whose core is "armed bodies of men"—the army and police and their system of courts and prisons. Reformists, who ultimately aspire to administer the capitalist state, do not view the bourgeois cops as the class enemy. Thus, the CUT trade-union bureaucracy and most of the fake left in Brazil supported last summer's police strikes. The centrist LBI claimed to oppose the strikes while arguing that the ranks of the murderous Military Police, the most notorious of the various police forces in Brazil, could be won to the side of the working class and even organized into "communist cells" (see "Brazil: The LBI and Police 'Strikes'," *WV* No. 673, 5 September). But in its actual practice, the LBI is even worse than this, embracing outright spokesmen for the cops among its trade-union supporters!

In January 1996, while we still had fraternal relations with the Brazilian Luta Metalúrgica (LM, now the Liga Quarta-Internacionalista do Brasil [LQB]), we discovered that LM had entered into an unprincipled combination with other groups, including the LBI, in promoting a slate which won leadership of the SFPMVR municipal workers union in Volta Redonda. LM had not informed us that this union contained a large number of *guardas*, municipal guards. The platform of the LM-backed Municipários em Luta (MEL) slate said nothing about the need to separate the police from the union. We pressed for LM to bring its actions into accordance with the communist program with which it professed agreement and to campaign to get the cops out of the union. Addressing this question in his presentation, SL spokesman Ramírez explained:

> "A 'union' between workers and cops is a purer form of class collaboration than a parliamentary popular front. Here is the mass organization purportedly for the defense of the workers' class interests, hereby tied to the armed bodies committed to the defense of capital. Writ large, this is indeed the most common and most dangerous form of popular-frontism—especially common in neocolonial

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PBCI...

(continued from page 7)

> countries—that between the leaders of the workers movement...and 'progressive' army officers. Examples abound—Guomindang in China, Torres in Bolivia, Allende in Chile. Comrades, the fight for the removal of the cops from the unions is the concrete expression of the Marxist principle of the independence of the workers from their bourgeois oppressors and their state."

It was the LBI and its supporter in the SFPMVR, Artur Bonizetti Fernandes, who became the major spokesmen for the *guardas* when LM, at our urging, belatedly took up the call for cops out of the union. Immediately after SFPMVR president Geraldo Ribeiro, allied with LM leader Cerezo, called for the removal of the municipal guards from the union in early 1996, Fernandes' faction issued a leaflet unambiguously solidarizing with the hired guns of the bourgeois state, which concluded with a "Call on Everyone to Stand Together to Defend the Guarda at Our Union Meeting." At the March 13 union assembly, one of Fernandes' goons provoked an invasion of the meeting by the Military Police. The ICL, in conjunction with the Partisan Defense Committee and our other fraternal class-struggle defense organizations, launched an international campaign of labor solidarity, demanding "Police Hands Off Volta Redonda Union!"

Simultaneously, the LBI was advising Fernandes on how to smear the ICL. Days before the union assembly, on March 1, the LBI wrote a letter to Fernandes attacking Spartacism as a "current which is characterized by despising the struggle of the workers through their trade-union organizations." Outrageously, the statement singled out our defense of blacks and homosexuals and asserted that we restrict our activities "to the social milieux of the rich middle class of imperialist countries where the struggle against the bosses' regime is not at stake."

The CBCI has attempted to deny that Artur Fernandes is a pro-cop element, or that he is linked to their organization. At the debate, PBCI speaker Romero blustered: "Publicly, our international current published a statement saying that Artur never belonged to the LBI, neither did he belong to any CBCI current." As he said this, SLers displayed various correspondence between the LBI and the Fernandes faction which put the lie to this denial. And at the August 1997 CUT trade-union federation national conference (where the LBI's union supporters refused to challenge the bureaucracy's line of supporting cop strikes), Fernandes was a delegate of the Revolutionary Trade Union Tendency which the LBI, in its words, "promotes" as an "alternative to the CUT leadership."

To round out their pro-cop, anti-Spartacist rotten bloc, the PBCI found a suitable partner in the Communist Workers Group, whose original leaders—a pair of crass male chauvinists—were expelled from the SL as thieves and thugs. The PBCI's "fusion" with the CWG illustrates Trotsky's point that "in the choice of his international allies, the centrist is even less discriminating than in his own country." Bay Area CWG leader Gerald Smith is infamous for having been the spokesman in a public video for "CopWatch," a local group whose politics are unvarnished bourgeois liberalism. As expressed in *CopWatch Report* (February-March 1991), this group's avowed purpose is to "stop police crime, roll back the police state and begin to rebuild our communities on the basis of love and caring, *not* fear and violence."

In an attempt to distance himself from his bloc partners' flagrant liberalism, Romero touted a disavowal of Smith's video in the CWG's *Worker* (Spring 1994). The "disavowal" said, "There was nothing wrong with assisting CopWatch in making its video" but "we believe nonetheless that communists working with organizations such as CopWatch should not be the ones to make statements of the sort quoted above." As an SL speaker characterized this: "It is all right for the CWG to build and participate in an organization which seeks to prettify the armed fist of the bourgeois state. They just shouldn't openly admit this!"

The Fight Against Special Oppression

The "Declaration of the CBCI" asserts: "We recognize the existence of special or secondary oppression in capitalist society and struggle against all forms of racial, national, or sexual discrimination from a class point of view, recognizing that the causes of all oppression can only be eliminated with the destruction of capitalism, which can only be achieved under the physical and programmatic direction of the proletariat."

But once again there's quite a gap between the rhetoric and the actual practice of these centrists. SL comrades at the Bay Area debate noted that a 23-page CBCI polemical document on Afghanistan mentioned the woman question only in passing, and that the CBCI had supported both the Islamic fundamentalist Khomeini in Iran and pro-Vatican Solidarność in Poland. Nevertheless, Romero boasted about the PBCI's work among women in factories. We don't know much about the PBCI's purported trade-union work, but when an ICL delegation returned from a visit to Buenos Aires in 1992, our comrades reported being shocked at how the PBCI leadership was opposed to expelling wife-beaters and how Jew-baiting and gay-baiting were tolerated inside their organization.

It is totally cynical to masquerade as fighters against racial oppression while simultaneously embracing pro-cop elements like Artur Fernandes. Even by Latin American standards, the Brazilian police are notorious for their brutality to workers, peasants and black people. Death squads, intimately linked with the military police, kill as many as five street children *every day*. The CBCI gives new meaning to Trotsky's observation that centrists are "revolutionary in words, reformist in deeds."

No less cynical is the way the CBCI dismisses our fight to save Mumia Abu-Jamal, the former Black Panther Party spokesman who was falsely accused of killing a Philadelphia cop and railroaded to death row. The ICL and its fraternal defense organizations have been instrumental in bringing this urgent campaign to the attention of the labor movement internationally and in winning a stay of Mumia's threatened execution in August 1995. But to hear the CBCI tell it, this campaign is an example of "petty-bourgeois ghettoism" in which we "have not made the smallest attempt in order that the American workers resolve in their meetings to take this struggle in their hands and impose in their unions a plan to struggle against Jamal's execution."

This pathetic and contemptible lie is easily refuted. Mumia's defense has been taken up by literally dozens of American trade-union branches, including Chicago transit workers, New York City hospital workers and West Coast longshoremen—as well as by the South African COSATU and NACTU trade-union federations, the five-million-strong Italian CGIL, the Southern and Eastern regions of the British Trades Union Congress and the Brasília federal district of the CUT. And we continue to fight around the world to broaden and deepen support for concrete acts of labor-centered protest for Jamal's freedom.

SL spokesman Ramírez summed up the PBCI's, at best, economist approach to the proletariat: "Despairing of any possibility of changing the working class, you adapt to the existing consciousness of the workers. But as Lenin repeatedly pointed out in *What Is To Be Done?*, the existing spontaneous consciousness of the worker is at best trade-union consciousness, which is a form of bourgeois consciousness and incorporates the expression of the backward prejudices fostered by the rulers in the masses, while at another level, adaptation to bourgeois currents brings with it adaptation to the values of bourgeois nationalism.... Comrades, the group that appears before you is a fake. They aren't Bolsheviks but Stalinophobic Third World nationalists, or as somebody said, a garden variety of centrists."

Revolutionary Regroupment

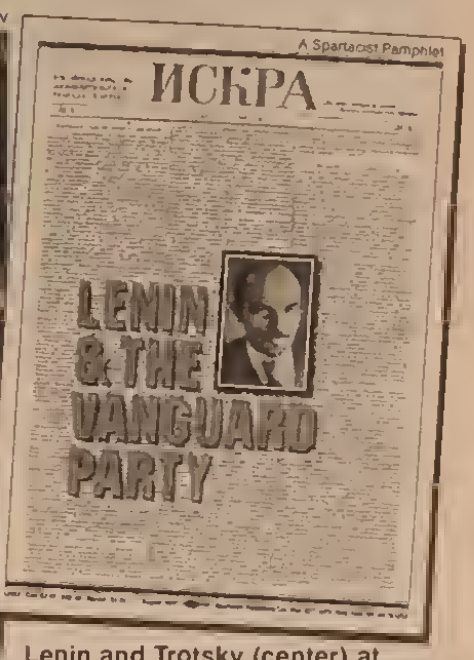
Unable to deny Fernandes' documented links to both the LBI and the police, Romero's last refuge was to claim that it was the ICL that was in bed with the cops, by virtue of the fact that former SFPMVR president Ribeiro was an ex-cop and supposedly a member of the ICL. (At the same time, the PBCI spokesman bragged that the LBI had written the election propaganda for the MEL slate, which included Ribeiro as well as Fernandes!) To our knowledge, Ribeiro did not join LM/LQB until after our break in relations. But what is certain is that neither LM/LQB nor Ribeiro were ever part of the ICL. What we had with LM were fraternal relations, a dynamic process of testing *apparent* programmatic agreement through common work and debate of differences. We recognized that the transformation of LM, consisting mainly of self-taught workers, into a Leninist propaganda group would not be easy.

Many of the early discussions with LM were conducted by Norden and Negrete, who were subsequently expelled from the ICL and now form the "Internationalist Group," which is currently allied with the LQB. These two sought to excuse political weaknesses on the part of LM by claiming they were only "cultural differences." That is repugnant liberal paternalism—in reality, a statement that comrades from economically less developed countries would be second-class members of our International. It turned out that Norden and Negrete had themselves written the 1994 "Declaration of Fraternal Relations" which LM signed, falsely claiming that it proved LM's deep and broad agreement with the ICL. This is the method of centrist international lash-ups like the CBCI, which concoct such documents as an orthodox "umbrella" beneath which each national affiliate can carry on its opportunist practices.

When it became clear to us that LM's ingrained trade-union opportunism was counterposed to building a Trotskyist party in Brazil and that its main leader, Cerezo, refused to resign from a post as unelected adviser to a union in which the group then had no members, we broke fraternal relations (see "A Break in Fraternal Relations with Luta Metalúrgica," *WV* No. 648, 5 July 1996). This action has been fully vindicated. Not long after the break, the LQB's Ribeiro brought suit against the union, inviting the capitalist state to intervene in the affairs of the workers movement. The LQB thus demonstrated that at bottom its methods were the same as those of the LBI and its pro-cop spokesman Fernandes, who also dragged the union into the bourgeois courts. They were all prepared to use unprincipled methods in order to maintain their union offices.

We are proud of our break with

L.Y. Leonidov



Lenin and Trotsky (center) at Second Congress of Communist International, 1920. Spartacist pamphlet details Lenin's struggle to forge Bolshevik Party. Order from Spartacist Publishing Co., $2.

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LM/LQB, which is vital in establishing the basis for building a revolutionary party in Brazil, because nothing would eclipse the future of Trotskyism there quicker than *false unity* with centrist opportunists. A Leninist party is not built simply through linear recruitment, but mainly through programmatically based splits and fusions. Particularly when fusions are undertaken on an international scale, there must be thorough testing to ensure that there is solid underlying political agreement.

A Spartacist floor speaker gave the example of our relations with veteran Ceylonese Trotskyist Edmund Samarakkody in the 1970s. In 1964, Samarakkody and a comrade of his in Sri Lanka's parliament had joined in voting for a motion that brought down the popular-front government of Mrs. Bandaranaike. The iSt assiduously pursued Samarakkody's group from a distance for years. Seeking to explore and resolve outstanding programmatic differenees over such issues as nationalism, interpenetrated peoples and the popular front, we eonducted a serious discussion in writing, produeing two internal bulletins containing doeuments by us and the Samarakkody group. What we did not know was that Samarakkody had come to regret his vote of no-eonfidence in Bandaranaike's Sinhala-chauvinist "lesser evil" popular front and now sought to disavow it. It took many years to figure out that there were two faces to what happened, because of the problems in English and Sinhala translation, among other things.

When Samarakkody came to our 1979 international conference, where the proposed fusion was to have been consummated, he realized that we were not interested in the sort of international nonaggression pact common among centrists, hut rather wanted a real fusion that didn't paper over political differences. Thus the conferenee featured discussions on the question of voting for workers parties in popular fronts and other areas of disagreement between our organization and his. The Samarakkody delegation found a pretext to abort the fusion. Shortly thereafter, his group split, and we ended up regrouping with the left wing. The SL comrade who raised this example noted that we were faced with a somewhat similar situation when we encountered Luta Metalúrgica. We had heard that LM opposed Lula's popular front in principle. But when we stationed a representative on the ground in Brazil, we uncovered the reality of LM. The ICL broke off the political testing process beeause it was clear that we did not have agreement with LM on a revolutionary Marxist perspective.

The ICL broke relations with LM because we didn't want to be in the same organization with trade-union opportunists. The LBI and its ilk have no such seruples. So they have to invent a fairy-tale explanation for our break in relations, imputing to us their own anti-Leninist methods of functioning, in which splits and fusions are undertaken solely in the interest of organizational maneuvers and bureaucratic power plays. Betraying the mereenary outlook typical of such centrists, in its 1996 article, "The Crisis in the ICL," the CBCI slanderously "explains" our split with LM as follows: "When the ICL tried to ask for a part of the money it had invested, the bomb exploded in its hands." According to the CBCI, we then supposedly decided to purge Norden as a "scapegoat" for the break with LM.

Aetually, the fight with Norden was initiated not over Brazil hut a year earlier, over his attempt to pursue an opportunist "regroupment" poliey with geriatric reformist remnants of the former East German Stalinist ruling party. Far from being "scapegoated," Norden systematieally refused to argue out his political differences in the open, although he was urged to do so many times; eventually he provoked his own expulsion. There is nothing "secret" about any of this, either. We have made the documentary record of these fights publicly available (see "Norden's 'Group': Shamefaeed Defectors from Trotskyism," *International Bulletin* No. 38, June 1996 and "The Fight for a Trotskyist Party in Brazil," *International Bulletin* No. 41, April 1997). The ICL is also uniqne in publishing what our opponents write about us in our *Hate Trotskyism, Hate the Spartacist League* pamphlet series, which includes the Norden group's own account of its departure from the ICL (*Hate Trotskyism* No. 9, August 1996).

For the ICL the revolutionary program is a guide to action, not "socialist" camouflage. That is what separates us from centrists of all stripes. As one SL speaker put it, "Our purposes in regroupment are very simple. We aim to bring together groups whose orientation is toward the achievement of new October Revolutions—nothing else, nothing other, nothing more or less."■

IG, LQB—Forever "Fraternal," Never to Wed?

Consummation or "Brides of Christ"

From the moment they engineered their expulsions from the International Communist League nearly a year and a half ago, the handful of defectors now calling themselves the Internationalist Group (IG) have howled about the ICL's supposedly "unprineipled" break in fraternal relations with the Brazilian Luta Metalúrgica/Liga Quarta-Internacionalista (LM/LQB) in June 1996. Last November, the IG and LQB trumpeted a "Joint Statement of Commitment to Fight to Reforge the Fourth International," promoted as "the road to an early Leninist fusion" (*Internationalist*, January-Fehruary 1997). "Early" has increasingly become rather late, but we have yet to hear word of marriage plans.

The first point of "unity" in the IG/LQB statement was to denounee the ICL's break with the LQB as a betrayal of a "sharp class battle over the central question of the state (on the removal of the police from the unions)." This fiction centers on the claim that the LQB, whose supporters held leading positions in the municipal workers union in the town of Volta Redonda, finally fought the good fight to expel cops from that union. We not only demonstrated this to be a complete fraud, but have also thoroughly documented how the IG's Brazilian eonfederates subsequently dragged the union into the bourgeois courts to advance their own opportunist ends. This shameless class treason underscored the utterly necessary and principled character of our earlier break with the LQB. As we wrote in "IG's Brazil Fraud Exposed" (*WV* No. 669, 30 May): "Following a sufficiently long testing period, including with ICL representatives on site, we broke relations because it became abundantly elear that for LM, opportunist maneuvers to maintain control of a union took precedence over the crucial task of forging a revolutionary party."

For Leninists, who fight to build a democratic-centralist revolutionary international, fraternal relations are a process of common work and political elarification aimed at testing whether fusion can be aehieved on a solid basis of programmatic agreement. Not so for the IG. Even when IG leaders Norden and Negrete were in our organization, they saw the LM/LQB as a showcase Latin Ameriean section whose union "influence" they could brag about in international propaganda. To that end, Norden and his protégé Negrete authored the September 1994 "Declaration of Fraternal Relations" between the ICL and LM, investing it with a comprehensive programmatic agreement that didn't exist. The IG still holds up that statement as the basis for its own relations with the LQB.

Meanwhile, the IG Web page fills cyberspace with increasingly shrill defenses of the LQB not only as class-war heroes but for making great strides in building the "nucleus of a genuine Trotskyist party" in Brazil. So why—a year after the IG/LQB statement and more than three years after Norden and Negrete authored the initial declaration—hasn't there been a fusion? Will the IG and LQB ever consummate their promised "early fusion"? Or are these "fraternal relations" more on the order of the mystical, never-to-be-consummated (at least in the secular sense) "bride of Christ" vows taken by Catholic nuns?

Ontario...

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As the Trotskyist League/Ligue Trotskyste, section of the International Communist League, warned in a November 5 leaflet distributed to teachers and other workers:

> "The working class is held back by a leadership that pushes the bankrupt idea of a 'partnership' between labor and capital. From the teachers' union tops to Ontario Federation of Labour chief Gord Wilson to supposed 'militants' like the CAW's Buzz Hargrove and CUPE's Sid Ryan, the bureaucrats atop the union movement accept the interests of capitalism as legitimate, and try to confine the class struggle within the parliamentarist limits imposed by the class enemy....
>
> "The Harris Tories are at the forefront of the capitalist offensive in this country, but they are far from alone. The federal Liberal government has slashed billions from social programs. And the NDP, which the union bureaucracy portrays as labor's 'political arm,' has hiked tuition, shut hospitals, cut welfare and axed public sector jobs from the provincial government benches in Saskatchewan and B.C., just as it did earlier in Ontario under Bob Rae."

The TL leaflet also stressed the need for a single unified teachers union instead of five different unions based on sex, language and religion and raised the call for fully funded, mandatory public education as opposed to state funding of religious education: "There should be a single, secular school system—bibles and prayers have no place in the classroom!"

While ravaging education, the bourgeoisie has also been ripping apart medicare, welfare and other vital social programs, which are deemed to be unnecessary or unsustainable "overhead expenses." To prevent effective resistance to this all-sided assault, the rulers seek to "divide and rule" by setting working people at each other's throats along national, racial, linguistic and other lines. Importantly, the strike won support from immigrant and minority workers, for example in Toronto's working-class east end, where immigrant parents were prominent on the picket lines. In its leaflet, the TL declared:

> "To rally all the oppressed in struggle, labor must demand *full citizenship rights for immigrants and refugees*. Chauvinism against Quebec has long been used to undermine class struggle by tying the workers of English Canada to their own capitalist rulers. The workers movement must support *independence for Quebec* in order to break the grip of chauvinism and lay a basis for joint struggle against the English Canadian and Québécois capitalists....
>
> "The fight for free, quality education as well as free universal health care and other basic social programs requires a fight to sweep away the entire profit-driven capitalist system and create a socialist society based on meeting human needs. For this, it is essential to forge a new, revolutionary leadership of the labor movement. The Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste fights to construct a revolutionary party which, in the course of class struggle, can make the working class conscious of its historic task of overthrowing the rule of capital." ■

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Southeast Asia...

(continued from page 1)

pumping capital into Asia. As long as the USSR existed, the imperialist powers to a certain degree subordinated their conflicting economic interests to further the U.S.-led anti-Soviet alliance. These constraints have been removed with the collapse of the Soviet Union. Thus, when the U.S. engineered an infusion of $30 billion by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) to bail out (U.S. banks in) Mexico in 1995, this was openly challenged by Germany and Japan. For its part, Washington refused to join in the $17 billion IMF bailout of Thailand recently pushed through by Japan—even while insisting on a role in drawing up the austerity measures imposed on the Thai people as part of the "rescue" package. But when the IMF put together another "emergency aid package" for Indonesia last week, the U.S. put its oar in with a $3 billion contribution.

The explosiveness of U.S.-Japan trade rivalry was underscored recently by the threatened American embargo of Japanese cargo ships (see *WV* No. 677, 31 October). Japan's current drive to establish an "Asian Fund" outside the control of the U.S.-dominated IMF initially drew howls of protest from Washington. This month's APEC (Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation) talks in Vancouver will no doubt feature more jockeying among the imperialists and between them and their Southeast Asian clients.

Even while losing its once hegemonic economic position, U.S. imperialism continues to project its overwhelming military might to subjugate the peoples of the semicolonial countries and to maintain an edge against its imperialist rivals. Japanese imperialism has also been moving to assert itself militarily. After amending the constitutional ban on deployment of military forces overseas, the Japanese government participated in a United Nations "peacekeeping" mission in Cambodia in 1992-93. This summer, as the currency crisis erupted, Prime Minister Hashimoto dispatched three military aircraft to Thailand, supposedly intended to "evacuate" civilians during fighting in Cambodia between Hun Sen's government and his royalist rivals.

Over 35,000 American troops are stationed in South Korea, forming a front line for U.S. imperialist interests in East and Southeast Asia. The collapse of the USSR has greatly increased imperialist pressures against the remaining deformed workers states. In Vietnam, the Hanoi bureaucracy's pursuit of capitalist "market reforms" threatens to undo the heroic victory against the U.S. and its South Vietnamese puppet regime in 1975. And today North Korea, withering under the grotesque caricature of socialism practiced by its bureaucratic rulers, is in the throes of famine. Trotskyists call for unconditional military defense of these deformed workers states against imperialism and internal counterrevolution while fighting for proletarian political revolution to oust the nationalist Stalinist bureaucracies. We call for revolutionary reunification of Korea, seeking to mobilize the powerful and combative South Korean proletariat to sweep away bourgeois class rule and smash imperialist depredation.

Reuters

Manila, November 1996: Protest against conference of imperialist-dominated APEC trade group.

The growing competition between the U.S. and Japan in the Pacific, and similar developments elsewhere, underscore the Marxist understanding of imperialism as laid out by Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin in his 1916 book, *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, written in the midst of World War I. Polemicizing against German Social Democrat Karl Kautsky's view of an "ultra-imperialism" in which conflicts among the capitalist powers could be peacefully resolved, Lenin insisted rather that the ruthless competition for markets, resources and investments would lead only to more and bloodier world wars unless the imperialist bourgeoisies were overthrown through workers revolution. Today, Kautsky's revisionist notion has been recycled by many leftists who join with various bourgeois ideologues in proclaiming the advent of a "global economy" dominated by "transnational" corporations. Thus, pointing in particular to the rapid industrialization of Southeast Asia, David North's Socialist Equality Party has asserted that "globalization" constitutes a "qualitative transformation" of the capitalist system.

In arguing against labor reformists and union-hating "socialists" like the Northites, we stressed: "The growth of internationally competitive manufacturers in East Asia and Latin America is reversible and cannot continue at anything close to the rate of increase of the past few decades. That is a political, economic and, indeed, mathematical certainty" ("The 'Global Economy' and Labor Reformism," Part Two, *WV* No. 661, 7 February). Now that the financial crisis roiling Southeast Asia has made this apparent to all, the Northites talk of "the shattering of the 'Asian miracle' and the collapse of the associated myth that this represented some new and viable path of capitalist development" (*Workers News*, 3 October). This cynical "discovery" only underscores our characterization of North's outfit as "political bandits" who blithely change their line to suit their immediate purposes.

More significantly, the pro-capitalist labor bureaucracies have used the spectre of "globalization" and the shift of production to "Third World" countries to line up workers in support of their "own" imperialist exploiters. The American AFL-CIO misleaders agitate for anti-Asian, anti-Mexican protectionism, blaming workers abroad for falling wages in the U.S. In Japan, where workers' living standards and jobs have come under growing attack as a result of corporate restructuring and "downsizing," the labor tops likewise push chauvinist class collaborationism. The Zenkowan dock workers union issued a leaflet in March condemning port workers in Southeast Asia for "stealing" jobs, while the Communist-led Zenroren union federation has demonstrated against "unclean" rice imported from Thailand. The union bureaucrats refuse to organize Korean and Chinese minority workers who have toiled in Japan for generations, while segregating immigrant workers recently arrived from Asia and Africa in unions separate from those of Japanese workers.

The political struggle against the chauvinist misleaders of the working class is critical to forging revolutionary vanguard parties of the proletariat from the U.S. to Japan. As the Spartacist Group Japan, section of the International Communist League, wrote in a recent article (Japanese *Spartacist* No. 18, May 1997):

> "We fight for active solidarity with the struggles of militant workers in South Korea, Indonesia, the Philippines and throughout Asia. We reach out in the spirit of internationalism also through fighting for full and equal citizenship rights and trade-union rights for all immigrant laborers in Japan, and through fighting every form of racist discrimination against the more than one million people of Korean and Chinese ancestry living here as second-class citizens. The exploited and oppressed 'foreign' workers in Japan are a human bridge to the toilers throughout Asia, toward whose liberation a socialist revolution in the industrial powerhouse of Japan would be a powerful blow."

Graphic adapted from Der Spiegel, 3 November 1997

Asian Tinderbox

The crisis in Southeast Asia has had an explosive effect on the proletariat in these countries. In Thailand, with currency devaluation amounting to a 40 percent cut in real wages and more than 100,000 layoffs looming by the end of this year alone, thousands of workers marched in Bangkok on September 14 under the slogan, "Poor people pay off the debt while the evil capitalists sell off the country." Subsequent protests were joined by rural peasants and broad layers of the middle class. Recalling the protests that led to the fall of the military regime in 1992, the government backed off from implementing some of the measures demanded by the IMF vultures, such as a new oil tax on consumers. Finally Prime Minister Chavalit, a former army general, resigned after threatening a state of emergency which military leaders refused to implement.

The Philippines, where union membership has nearly doubled since 1985, has been hit by a series of strikes in recent weeks, including a walkout by 5,000 postal workers, while thousands of students, teachers, office workers and others joined in a march on Manila for higher wages and against rises in the price of oil and other basic commodities. In Indonesia, thousands of workers at the state-owned IPTN aircraft manufacturer in Bandung went on strike on October 13 to demand extra pay to offset the fall in the rupiah's value and to protest corruption—a sensitive question in a

Tempo

Australasian Spartacist

Left: Women workers play a prominent role in Southeast Asian labor struggles, as in this strike in Indonesia. Right: Spartacist League/Australia contingent at Melbourne protest against Suharto dictatorship calls for release of imprisoned workers' leaders.

country where Suharto's family and cronies have made fabulous fortunes in state-sponsored business ventures.

Last month, Suharto appointed one Widjojo Nitisastro to be his special "troubleshooter" in enforcing the IMF's dictates. This is the same man to whom Suharto turned in 1966 to "restructure" the economy after the anti-Communist bloodbath the year before that claimed at least half a million lives. From the Indonesian military dictatorship and Mahathir Mohamad's Islamic regime in Malaysia to Thailand's "constitutional monarchy" and the Philippines with its veneer of "democratic" trappings, the imperialist-backed bourgeoisies are more than willing to unleash bloody repression to prop up the system of brutal exploitation.

The emergence of the proletariat in Southeast Asia bears resemblance to the development of the Russian working class under the tsarist autocracy around the turn of the century. Pointing to Russia's "combined and uneven development," where modern industry existed alongside a backward peasant economy, Leon Trotsky advanced the perspective of permanent revolution for countries of belated capitalist development, where the bourgeoisie was incapable of realizing the tasks associated with the bourgeois revolutions in West Europe. Only through the proletarian seizure of power, supported by the peasantry, can agrarian revolution, political democracy and liberation from the yoke of imperialism be achieved. This perspective was vindicated by the October Revolution of 1917, in which the numerically small but powerful proletariat, led by the Bolshevik Party, broke the chain of imperialism at its weakest link.

Lenin and Trotsky's Bolsheviks understood that genuine socialist development could only be achieved through the extension of proletarian rule internationally, particularly to the advanced capitalist countries. The nationalist dogma of "socialism in one country," pushed by Stalin and his heirs, sabotaged the struggle for socialist revolutions elsewhere and fatally undermined the Soviet workers state, leading ultimately to its counterrevolutionary destruction in 1991-92. Writing in *The Revolution Betrayed* (1936), Trotsky warned:

> "The question formulated by Lenin—*Who shall prevail?*—is a question of the correlation of forces between the Soviet Union and the world revolutionary proletariat on the one hand, and on the other international capital and the hostile forces within the Union.... Military intervention is a danger. The intervention of cheap goods in the baggage trains of a capitalist army would be an incomparably greater one."

This same danger is today fueling the drive toward capitalist restoration in China, whose Stalinist rulers preach the lie that only through integration into the world *capitalist* market can the country achieve modernization and social progress. A Trotskyist party in China would link the fight for political revolution to stop the counterrevolutionary drive with the struggle for socialist revolution throughout the region.

Throughout Southeast Asia, the despotic capitalist rulers promote religious obscurantism and racist xenophobia, at times under the cloak of "anti-imperialism," to deflect plebian anger over the current crisis. Typical of this are the recent anti-Semitic diatribes by Malaysia's Mahathir singling out Western "speculator" George Soros for causing the financial crisis. At the same time, Malaysia's Islamic regime persecutes Hindus and other minorities. The existence of a powerful Chinese bourgeoisie throughout Southeast Asia has time and again provided fuel for racist demagogues, particularly in Indonesia, where reactionary Islamic forces have fomented anti-Chinese riots whose victims are typically small merchants. And in the Catholic-dominated Philippines, both Chinese and Muslims are subjected to persecution.

The necessity for a proletarian axis to cut through the region's myriad ethnic, communal and national divisions is underscored by the multiethnic character of the working class in these countries. For example, migrant laborers regularly travel between Malaysia and Indonesia, while in Thailand, fully one million immigrants had been absorbed into the workforce until the recent crisis.

Closely linked to the fight to defend immigrants against chauvinist reaction is the need to mobilize the working class to champion the rights of women, particularly against religious fundamentalist forces. Women workers make up as much as half of the proletariat throughout Southeast Asia and predominate in many light industries, such as the Nike slave-labor plants. Young women workers have played a leading and combative role in the recent strikes in Indonesia and were prominent in the Bangkok anti-government protests.

The combative proletariat of Southeast Asia must learn the lessons of the Bolshevik Revolution if it is to throw off the pervasive oppression and poverty enforced by its capitalist rulers and their imperialist patrons. First and foremost is the need to build internationalist vanguard parties committed to the Trotskyist program of permanent revolution and serving as tribunes of all the oppressed. The International Communist League fights to reforge Trotsky's Fourth International to lead the struggle for new October Revolutions from Malaysia and Thailand to Japan and the U.S. ■

France...

(continued from page 12)

bourgeoisie, Jospin wasted no time in deploying his riot police to disperse the truckers' barricades at key locations, especially at border crossings. Encouraged by government strikebreaking, a gang of hooded thugs in Vitrolles, a stronghold of the fascist National Front, attacked picketers with iron bars and baseball bats in order to clear the way for a convoy of scab trucks. During an earlier truckers strike in 1992, former Socialist president François Mitterrand ordered police attacks on picket lines and army tanks were used to dismantle barricades.

Reuters

Riot cops deployed by "Socialist" prime minister Jospin to break up truckers strike barricade along Spanish border. Ligue Trotskyste calls for workers to break with capitalist popular-front government and fight for proletarian power.

However, given the widespread popular support for the strike, evidenced in the large numbers of workers who spontaneously came to the blockades to contribute food and money, Jospin felt constrained from unleashing brute repression against the strikers. As the editor of the conservative daily *Le Figaro* explained: "You can have a social explosion. So that is why the government is very cautious. You can intervene, you can send the tanks, when the people are fed up with the strike.... This is not the case here" (*ITN World News*, 6 November). Nor was it the case for Juppé in December 1995.

But unlike the openly right-wing Juppé, Jospin and his cohorts were able to use their influence within the workers movement, particularly through their lieutenants in the trade-union bureaucracy. Appearing at a truckers' barricade in Le Mans, PCF transport minister Jean-Claude Gayssot assured the strikers, "You can count on us." This was only hours after Gayssot's government had unleashed cops against the strike, which this so-called "Communist" justified by appealing to "respect" for "international agreements."

The strike remained firmly under the control of the reformist union bureaucracies from beginning to end. The bureaucrats ensured that strategic points were not blocked by pickets. When wildcat roadblocks were thrown up around Paris, the cops moved in immediately. When the CFDT trade-union federation, the dominant union among the truckers, announced a sellout deal, many workers were disgusted and some tore up their CFDT union cards, but they complied and removed the barricades. While leaders of the Communist-led CGT and the social-democratic FO union federations denounced the settlement, they are no less tied to the government than the Socialist-led CFDT. The sellout was brokered by Jospin's government, which promised legislation supposedly "guaranteeing" that the trucking bosses would honor the accord.

The strikers demanded a pay increase to $1,700 a month for a maximum of 200 hours of work. The agreement promised to implement this wage raise *three years* from now, and only for a tiny percentage of the workforce. For now, the truckers have been granted a pay hike of only 4 to 6 percent, while the key issue of a reduction in working hours—the average workweek is now 60 hours—was set aside for "further talks" to be completed in September 1998! After a twelve-day strike last year, the truckers won retirement at the age of 55 and a wage bonus (see "French Truckers Face Down Government, Bosses," *WV* No. 657, 6 December 1996). But the bosses simply ignored the agreement.

The predictable response of the reformist and centrist "far left" to the strike was to pressure the "Socialist"-led government to act on behalf of the workers. Lending credence to Jospin's vague promises to reduce the workweek to 35 hours by the year 2000, an article on the truckers in *Rouge*, newspaper of Alain Krivine's fake-Trotskyist Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR), featured a display with a large "35." But what the Socialists—and their capitalist masters—intend to impose with their "shorter workweek" scheme is speedup, "flexible" hours and precarious "temporary" jobs. Workers will be forced to do the same work in 35 hours that they currently do in 40 or 50 hours. A subsequent article in *Rouge* (6 November) totally whitewashed the role of the government in unleashing cops against the strikers, blaming it all on the European Union and Chirac, while beseeching Jospin's regime "to position itself in a broad conflict" on the side of the workers.

In a similar vein was a November 4 leaflet signed by a split from the workerist Lutte Ouvrière (Workers Struggle—LO) called Voix des Travailleurs (Voice of the Workers), the Gauche Révolutionnaire group connected to the British-based Militant tendency and the Rouen-based ART anarchoid group. This propaganda bloc, burying the political differences between these competing organizations in order to better promote pure-and-simple economism, was limited to demands like a $300 wage increase and a "massive reduction of working hours," spiced with talk about a "general strike." While the leaflet criticized the Jospin government for serving the bosses, in fact such economist "militancy" serves only to reinforce the authority of the existing union leaderships and the illusion that workers should expect a better deal with the PS and PCF in government.

The centrist Pouvoir Ouvrier, affiliated to Workers Power in Britain, openly called for a vote to the PS/PCF in last May's elections. While LO stood its own candidates in the first round, they offered support to Jospin's PS and Robert Hue's PCF in the second round where seats were contested by the National Front. And after the election, LO, in a July 15 factory leaflet, urged workers to "discuss how to exert pressure, or how to help the Communist ministers" as the best way to avoid "disappointment" in the new capitalist government.

In contrast, the LTF refused to call for a vote to any of the parties of Jospin's bourgeois coalition under any conditions. In a leaflet distributed before the elections, the LTF declared: "The alternative proposed by Jospin and Hue is a new class-collaborationist alliance uniting the PS and the PCF with bourgeois formations (Radicals, Greens and the ultra-chauvinist Jean-Pierre Chevènement). As good defenders of capitalism, they present nothing but a 'left' cover for austerity and racism and promise to uphold the capitalist system with a 'human' face" (reprinted in *WV* No. 669, 30 May). The reformists' loyalty to French imperialism is exemplified by the PCF's chauvinist call to "produce French" and by its support to the government's "Vigipirate" racist terror campaign, in which the army is used to terrorize North Africans and immigrants. The LTF fights for full citizenship rights for all immigrant workers, who constitute a key component of the French proletariat, especially in the strategic auto industry.

The French truckers strike demonstrated the enormous social power of the organized working class. The strike-breaking role of the PS/PCF should serve as a sharp warning to those militant workers and radical youth who bought the lie promoted by the reformists and their centrist publicity agents that this government would act in the workers' interests and stop the threat of the fascist National Front. It is the task of the LTF, which has opposed the popular front from the outset, to hammer home the point stressed by Leon Trotsky in the 1938 Transitional Program, that "the People's Front dooms the working class to impotence and clears the road for fascism." The LTF fights to forge an authentically Bolshevik, internationalist party to lead the proletariat to power. Such a party can only be built through relentless political struggle against the class-collaborationist, chauvinist misleaders and their centrist hangers-on. As we wrote in the current issue of *Le Bolchévik*: "The role of this party is to introduce in the working class the consciousness of its interests and historic tasks. We are fighting for new October Revolutions, led by a reforged Fourth International." ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Transport Paralyzed by Truckers' Blockades

France: Workers Confront "Socialist" Government Strikebreakers

PARIS, November 9—After tying up road transport throughout the country for nearly a week, French truckers began dismantling strike barricades on Friday after the Socialist-led CFDT trade-union bureaucracy agreed to a sellout deal with the trucking companies. This widely popular strike was the first working-class challenge to Socialist prime minister Lionel Jospin's bourgeois coalition government since its election last May. While cynically paying lip service to the strikers' "demand for dignity," Jospin amply demonstrated to the bourgeoisie that this capitalist government headed by reformist workers parties would do its utmost to derail and suppress the upsurge of workers' struggles which began nearly two years ago. Indeed, Gaullist president Jacques Chirac congratulated Jospin for his handling of the strike.

The strike, the second by truckers in less than a year, demonstrated both the power and combativity of the French proletariat and the abject treachery of the reformist misleaders. As almost two hundred truck barricades were thrown up on highways across the country, blocking off most fuel refineries and oil depots, the government was forced to begin requisitioning and rationing gasoline, while auto assembly plants and other factories began to shut down for lack of parts. The impact of the strike extended throughout West Europe, affecting road haulage to Britain, Germany and Spain. France's allies in the European Union screamed for the government to come down hard on the strike, with British Labour prime minister Tony Blair personally phoning Jospin to lecture him that the situation was "not acceptable."

With the collapse of the Soviet Union, the West European bourgeoisies have launched all-sided assaults aimed at slashing the living standards of the working class and scuttling social programs which were instituted to ward off the threat of social revolution following World War II. However, these attacks have encountered resistance from the workers. Today, in much of West Europe—notably France, Italy and Britain—it is the reformist workers parties, the social democrats and "Communists," that have been called in to spearhead the attacks on working people and minorities. Thus, when Jospin's right-wing Gaullist predecessor, Alain Juppé, tried to ram through cuts in pensions and other benefits two years ago, he provoked the massive December 1995 strike by public sector workers. That upsurge paved the way for the election of the popular front—a class-collaborationist coalition of the Socialist Party (PS), the Communist Party (PCF) and smaller bourgeois parties—raising expectations among the working class that things would be different. But Jospin & Co. are no less committed to anti-working-class austerity than their conservative predecessors.

Many strikers bought into illusions promoted by the trade-union misleaders and the "left" that the Jospin government is an ally in the struggle against the bosses and the right. But it is precisely the role of the popular front—whereby the workers parties formally commit themselves to uphold capitalist property and interests—to demoralize and politically disarm the proletariat and prepare the way for inflicting decisive defeats on the workers movement. A popular-front government is a capitalist government! This point was stressed by comrades of the Ligue Trotskyste de France (LTF), section of the International Communist League, in discussions with strikers on the picket lines. As the front page of the current *Le Bolchévik* (No. 144, Fall 1997) declares: "It Is Necessary to Break with Jospin's Capitalist Government! For a Workers Government!"

The strikebreaking character of this "left" capitalist government was clear from the outset. Despite his government's pretensions to acting as an "arbiter" between the workers and the

continued on page 11

AP

As truckers shut down highways throughout France, workers' misleaders engineered sellout in service of their bourgeois masters.

Union Tops Pull Plug on Ontario Teachers Strike

Back/Toronto Star

November 6: 25,000 turn out for Toronto rally to support teachers strike against education cutbacks.

TORONTO, November 10—The largest teachers strike ever staged in North America ended in a blatant capitulation by the union bureaucrats, as 126,000 Ontario teachers returned to work today. The teachers walked out on October 27 to protest plans by Ontario premier Michael Harris' Tory government to ax a billion dollars and ten thousand jobs from the school system in order to finance a 30 percent tax cut for the rich. The strike was immensely popular. Seeing the teachers' struggle against education cutbacks as their own, thousands of parents and students joined picket lines and strike rallies across Ontario. In the largest such rally, 25,000 strikers and supporters turned out in Toronto on November 6. Only five hours later, leaders of three of the five striking unions appeared at a televised press conference to announce an unconditional surrender.

These union officials were afraid to show their faces on the speaker's platform at another Toronto rally on November 8, which featured sizable contingents from the Canadian Auto Workers (CAW) and other unions. The day before this rally, a meeting of a thousand Toronto-area public school teacher union members had erupted in anger, with screams of "betrayal," demands for a membership vote and vows to stay out. The two other unions—representing secondary school and Catholic teachers—soon caved in and announced a return to work.

Calling the strike "illegal" because it was not over purely contractual issues, the provincial government moved to get a court injunction to force the teachers back to work. But faced with enormous support for the strike, including threats of solidarity action by the CAW and the Canadian Union of Public Employees (CUPE), the bourgeoisie instead relied on the workers' misleaders to end the walkout. Amid all the militant rhetoric emanating from rally platforms during the strike, the main emphasis of the various union tops was to "get rid of this government" by returning the social-democratic New Democratic Party (NDP)—or even the bourgeois Liberals—to office in the 1999 provincial elections.

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WORKERS VANGUARD

50¢

No. 679

28 November 1997

U.S. Out of the Persian Gulf!

U.S./UN Hands Off Iraq— Down With the Starvation Blockade!

AP

The U.S. government's latest display of brinkmanship in the Persian Gulf, directed against its favorite bogeyman, Saddam Hussein's Iraq, highlights the deadly arrogance and hypocrisy of the American capitalist class. Under the pretext of enforcing the United Nations' right to spy on Iraq—through monitoring Iraq's purported manufacture of "weapons of mass destruction"—U.S. imperialist chief Clinton dispatched an armada of over 300 fighter jets and 20 warships, many of these equipped with nuclear weapons. Yet again, the Iraqi people were threatened with attack by the U.S. military terror machine, which slaughtered tens of thousands during the 1990-91 Gulf War and continues to enforce a UN-sponsored blockade which has killed well over 600,000 children and more than a million people overall through starvation and disease in the past seven years.

The immediate threat of a U.S. military strike has subsided with the deal brokered by the Russian government allowing UN weapons inspectors, including Americans, back into Iraq. Unlike in 1990-91, this time the U.S. ran into significant opposition to its war moves against Iraq from its fellow imperialists and Arab client regimes. French, Russian and Italian oil companies have already signed agreements with Baghdad guaranteeing a huge share of production in Iraqi oil fields the minute UN sanctions are ended. The Russians also hope that if Iraq can increase its oil exports, Moscow might see some of the billions of dollars in loans to Iraq by the former Soviet government.

While screaming about Iraq's supposed "weapons of mass destruction," the U.S. continues to enforce the deadly sanctions which are themselves *weapons of mass terror*, consciously targeting civilian populations, particularly the more impoverished. Food has repeatedly been wielded by the imperialists as a weapon. For example, in 1982, when famine struck Ethiopia, the U.S. held up aid because Ethiopia was a Soviet ally.

Behind the U.S. military moves in the Persian Gulf is the intensified interimperialist rivalry over Near Eastern and Central Asian oil fields and pipeline routes. The Gulf War was an attempt by the U.S. to secure control of the region through projecting its military power, ultimately aimed against Japan, Germany and other U.S. rivals. Following the collapse of the USSR, conflicting interests between the imperialist "allies," which had been subordinated to the anti-Soviet Cold War consensus, have increasingly come into the open. This includes mounting opposition to U.S. embargoes against Iran, Iraq, Libya and Cuba—and the accompanying threats of sanctions against foreign capitalist concerns that deal with those countries. In turn, elements of the U.S. ruling class are also starting to bristle over the sanctions. Thus a column in *Business Week* (24 November) argued, "The only certain effect of this policy will be to minimize the presence of U.S. companies in global markets and to weaken them in their domestic markets."

Growing opposition to Washington among its normally pliant Arab client states, such as Mubarak's Egypt, also acted to muck up Clinton's designs against Iraq. The Arab capitalist regimes of the region, which overwhelmingly backed the U.S. in the 1990-91 "Desert Slaughter," feel like they have been left out in the cold by the U.S. Washington is currently not too happy that the Zionists are burning up the phony, U.S.-brokered "peace process," particularly with Prime Minister Netanyahu's encouragement of increased Jewish settlement on the West Bank. An exasperated President Clinton recently exclaimed that "Netanyahu has made all sorts of promises to me and hasn't lived up to them" (*New York Times*, 24 November). The U.S.-backed Zionist regime in Israel continues its bloody expansionist campaigns against the Palestinians, which have fueled the threat posed to Arab regimes like Mubarak's by Islamic fundamentalists. We say: Israel out of the Occupied Territories!

Clinton's displeasure with the Zionist regime has its limits. While U.S. propaganda mills churned out endless denunciations of Iraqi weapons programs, such as the *New York Times* (16 November) editorial castigating Saddam Hussein as "a nuclear renegade and a transporter of timeless plagues," nothing was said about the Israeli terrorist state, which unlike Iraq has been shown to possess upwards of 200 nuclear warheads and delivery systems

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Anti-Union Attacks, "Red Scares" in Wake of UPS Victory

Feds Out of the Teamsters!

NOVEMBER 24—In a vindictive payback for last August's successful and widely popular strike against the giant UPS shipping company, the capitalist government has taken direct aim at the International Brotherhood of Teamsters (IBT) and the rest of the labor movement. Hard on the heels of the UPS strike, a court order voided the 1996 Teamsters election, in which Ron Carey won a second term as union president, and dictated another government-supervised election. Now, the feds have effectively ripped up the union's leadership structure, barring Carey from running and threatening to also disqualify his rival, James Hoffa Jr., who had cravenly welcomed Carey's removal. In an ominous escalation, the government today exacted an agreement from IBT leaders to seize control of the union's finances. *This is a direct attack on the union's ability to wage any kind of struggle against the employers.*

Meanwhile, federal snoops have been hounding one union official after another on charges of "corruption." AFL-CIO secretary-treasurer Richard Trumka, former head of the United Mine Workers, is currently the subject of a federal grand jury investigation. The government is also threatening to oust Arthur Coia as president of the Laborers International Union, which has been active in organizing low-paid minority and immigrant workers.

As we wrote in "Government Hands Off the Teamsters!" (*WV* No. 673, 5 September) in the aftermath of the UPS strike:

> "The government's intervention has nothing to do with allegations of financial chicanery by Carey and everything to do with its decades-long vendetta against the Teamsters. The capitalist state, which represents the interests of the corporations, fears the potential power of the Teamsters to shut down the country, from in-city and national trucking to the major ports and airports. The government's only interest in intervening into the affairs of the Teamsters or any other union is to cripple their ability to fight for the interests of their members by directly subordinating the unions to the government and dictating how they are run."

The Spartacist League is unconditionally opposed to the bourgeois state's intervention into the labor movement, including court suits against union "corruption." Labor must clean its own house, through a political fight against the venal, pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy. *Feds out of the Teamsters! Government hands off*

continued on page 10

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PDC Partisan Defense Committee

CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES

Protest Repression of Basques by Spanish Government

The following letter was sent on October 28 by the Partisan Defence Committee in Britain to Prime Minister José María Aznar of Spain to protest the prosecution of supporters of the group Basque Homeland and Freedom (ETA).

The Partisan Defence Committee vehemently protests your show trial of 23 leading members of Herri Batasuna (HB) who, for having distributed a video promoting ETA's peace proposals for the Basque country, are ludicrously charged with "collaborating with an armed band." To the Castilian-chauvinist Spanish state, which promotes the Francoist mantra of "Spain, one and indivisible," even the advocacy of independence for the oppressed Basque people is tantamount to terrorism. We demand the immediate release of the leaders of Herri Batasuna and the dropping of all charges against them.

The trial of Herri Batasuna's national leadership recalls the infamous Burgos show trials of 1970 under the Franco dictatorship and takes place in the context of heightened state repression and intimidation of the Basque independence movement. Herri Batasuna, in particular, has been the target of a concerted witchhunt. Its offices have been firebombed, its members attacked by mobs. In several localities HB mayors have been ousted from town halls and its demonstrations have been prohibited. In addition, new "anti-terrorist" legislation aimed at bolstering the state's repressive arsenal targets not only young Basque militants but all the working people of Spain, especially immigrants.

In the continuing oppression of the Basque people, Spain's much-vaunted "transition to democracy" is once more exposed as a lie. The routine torture of "terrorist" suspects has been well documented by, among others, Amnesty International. In the five years from 1990 to 1995, almost 2,000 political events in the Basque country were repressed, over a thousand people were wounded in clashes with the police, including a number of people blinded by plastic bullets, and almost 800 were arrested under your draconian "anti-terrorist" legislation. As for the charges of "terrorism," we do not forget that your predecessors, the "Socialist" Party administration of Felipe González and former Falangist José Barrionuevo, conducted a dirty war against the Basque separatist movement, setting up the fascistic GAL death squads to assassinate ETA members and supporters.

Down with the show trial of the Mesa Nacional of Herri Batasuna! Stop the witchhunt! For the right of self-determination for the Basque people!

Kate Klein for the
Partisan Defence Committee

Illinois Death Row Speedup

On November 19, the state of Illinois carried out a double execution, a chilling demonstration of the massive buildup of the capitalist rulers' apparatus of bloody repression. We publish below a protest letter sent to Governor James Edgar by the Partisan Defense Committee the day before the executions.

The Partisan Defense Committee vehemently opposes the double execution of Walter Stewart and Durlynn Eddmonds scheduled to be carried out on November 19. Capital punishment, whether by electrocution, hanging, or the now-preferred method of lethal injection, is an act of barbarity and an outrage against justice and decency.

This planned double execution is a calculated effort to speed up death row in Illinois, even as opposition to the death penalty is mounting in this state in response to the exposed frame-ups and false prosecutions of Rolando Cruz, Alejandro Hernandez, Verneal Jimerson and others sentenced to death and then proved innocent. The impulse behind capital punishment is the impulse to genocide. In this deeply class- and race-based society, it is no "accident" or "aberration" that two-thirds of death row inmates in this state are black and Hispanic, and that innocent men are framed up and put to death to terrorize the exploited and oppressed. We remember that it was in Illinois that the Haymarket Martyrs, union organizers and anarchists, were framed up and hanged for the "crime" of fighting for the eight-hour day.

We demand the executions of Walter Stewart and Durlynn Eddmonds be stopped. Down with the racist death penalty!

Mark Kelly for the
Partisan Defense Committee

TROTSKY

LENIN

Capitalist Crisis and Socialist Revolution

The cascading financial collapse which began in Southeast Asia and is now engulfing South Korea underscores the Marxist understanding that capitalism is beset by recurring economic crises. However, as Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin stressed at the Second Congress of the Communist International in 1920, as massive dislocations in the imperialist world and widespread proletarian upheavals followed World War I, the capitalist system of exploitation will not simply collapse under the weight of its own contradictions. If the working-class struggles which will inevitably be provoked by a renewed wave of capitalist attacks are to end in victory, it is necessary to build an international revolutionary party, a reforged Fourth International, to lead the proletariat to power through new October Revolutions around the world.

The workers' mounting resentment, the growth of a revolutionary temper and ideas, and the increase in spontaneous mass strikes are obviously inevitable, since the position of the workers is becoming intolerable. The workers' own experience is convincing them that the capitalists have become prodigiously enriched by the war and are placing the burden of war costs and debts upon the workers' shoulders....

The capitalists can do nothing about the gap between prices and wages, and the workers cannot live on their previous wages. The old methods are useless against this calamity. Nothing can be achieved by isolated strikes, the parliamentary struggle, or the vote, because "private property is sacred," and the capitalists have accumulated such debts that the whole world is in bondage to a handful of men. Meanwhile the workers' living conditions are becoming more and more unbearable. There is no other way out but to abolish the exploiters' "private property."...

Comrades, we have now come to the question of the revolutionary crisis as the basis of our revolutionary action. And here we must first of all note two widespread errors. On the one hand, bourgeois economists depict this crisis simply as "unrest," to use the elegant expression of the British. On the other hand, revolutionaries sometimes try to prove that the crisis is absolutely insoluble.

This is a mistake. There is no such thing as an absolutely hopeless situation. The bourgeoisie are behaving like barefaced plunderers who have lost their heads; they are committing folly after folly, thus aggravating the situation and hastening their doom. All that is true. But nobody can "prove" that it is absolutely impossible for them to pacify a minority of the exploited with some petty concessions, and suppress some movement or uprising of some section of the oppressed and exploited. To try to "prove" in advance that there is "absolutely" no way out of the situation would be sheer pedantry, or playing with concepts and catchwords. Practice alone can serve as real "proof" in this and similar questions. All over the world, the bourgeois system is experiencing a tremendous revolutionary crisis. The revolutionary parties must now "prove" in practice that they have sufficient understanding and organisation, contact with the exploited masses, and determination and skill to utilise this crisis for a successful, a victorious revolution.

—V.I. Lenin, "Report on the International Situation and the Fundamental Tasks of the Communist International" (July 1920)

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EDITOR: Len Meyers

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The closing date for news in this issue is November 25.

No. 679 **28 November 1997**

Come to a Fundraising Party!

Holiday Appeal for Class-War Prisoners

Join us for the twelfth annual Holiday Appeal to raise funds for those imprisoned for championing the rights of labor and the oppressed. In sending monthly stipends to class-war prisoners and additional funds to them and their families during the holidays, the PDC continues a tradition dating back to the International Labor Defense of the 1920s. Hear an update on the fight to free death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal.

This is not charity—it's an act of solidarity with those behind bars! Their fight is our fight!

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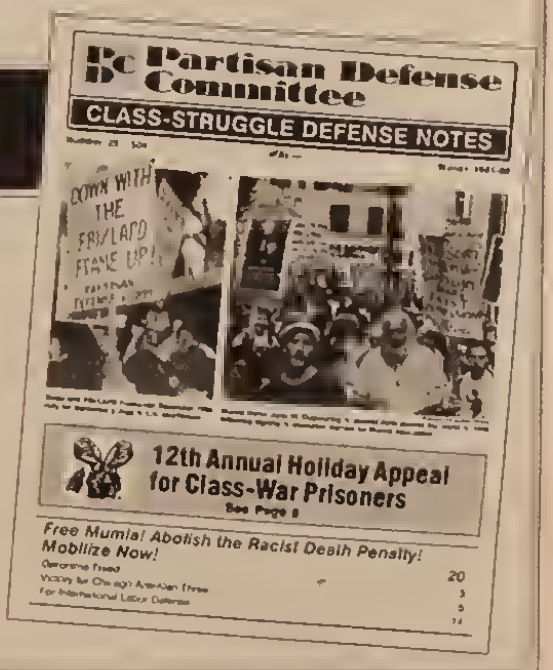

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Young Spartacus

L.A. Che Guevara Commemoration

SWP Welcomes Cuban Gusanos

On October 22, the Young Socialists, youth group of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), sponsored a meeting at the UCLA campus titled, "Ernesto (Che) Guevara and Cuba: Past, Present and Future." When the L.A. Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth Club learned that this commemoration had been threatened by Cuban counterrevolutionary *gusanos*, we immediately offered to assist in a united-front defense of the meeting. Our letter to the SWP noted that despite our fundamental disagreement with them, "There must be no *gusano* disruption of this meeting so that there can be a full debate of views in the workers movement regarding which way forward for Cuba. We will be there to be part of the defense guard in the tradition of united-front defense: 'March separately, strike together'!"

Our comrades participated in the defense, helping to ensure that there was no *gusano* disruption. Yet, amazingly, the SWP then not only welcomed some *gusanos* into the meeting but repeatedly gave them speaking time and politely translated their anti-communist diatribes. These people represent the scum who, in league with the CIA, routinely carry out campaigns of terror and violence to subvert the Cuban Revolution, from the failed 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion to numerous assassination attempts against Cuban leader Fidel Castro. Recently declassified CIA files include "Possible Actions to Provoke, Harass or Disrupt Cuba," among them plans to blow up Cuban refugee ships and other provocations aimed at justifying further imperialist attacks against Cuba. An article in the *Miami Herald* (16 November) documents how *gusanos* in Miami bankrolled a bombing campaign against Havana tourist hotels earlier this year. That the SWP can shamelessly provide a platform for such scum—at a "commemoration" of Che Guevara, no less!—speaks volumes about their pretensions to be the best defenders of the Cuban Revolution.

Kalusny/Stern

Training for bloody counterrevolution: *gusano* paramilitaries in Florida.

While welcoming the *gusanos*, the SWP tried to silence the revolutionary Trotskyism of the SL/SYC, only grudgingly calling on one of our comrades and then heckling her when she spoke. In fact, the SWP slavishly tails the Castroite bureaucracy, whose espousal of the nationalist Stalinist dogma of "socialism in one country" is paving the way for the restoration of capitalism. Replying to the revolutionary internationalist perspective put forward by our floor speaker, a Cuban diplomat speaking from the platform baldly admitted that the Havana bureaucracy does not even pay lip service to the struggle for world socialism, arguing instead for "strengthening the revolution" through such measures as the official "dollarization" of the economy a few years ago. These measures have increased inequality and pose a grave threat to the revolution (see "Eyewitness Report from Havana Youth Festival," *WV* No. 674, 19 September).

Youth interested in defending the Cuban Revolution should think twice about such "friends" of Cuba as the SWP. We print below, in slightly abridged form, the remarks at the Che commemoration by Michelle Oberman of the Los Angeles Spartacus Youth Club.

* * *

We stand for the unconditional defense of the Cuban Revolution against imperialist attacks, as well as the threat of internal counterrevolution. Today more than ever, in the wake of capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet Union, the existence of the Cuban workers state is threatened.

Cuba is a deformed workers state in which capitalist property forms have been overturned but the working class does not hold *political* power. The only way to defend the gains of the Cuban Revolution is through the construction of an internationalist Trotskyist party in Cuba to place political power in the hands of the workers by overthrowing the nationalist bureaucracy of Castro through political revolution. The working people must express their own voice and power through their own organs of class rule, through workers councils like those established in the Soviet Union before Stalin. This can only be won through political struggle by a Leninist-Trotskyist party that is proletarian, revolutionary and international.

The International Communist League seeks to forge such a party as part of our struggle for international socialism. We understand the future of the Cuban workers state hangs in the balance of class struggle outside the island. And especially for Cuba, that means here in the U.S., in the belly of the imperialist beast.

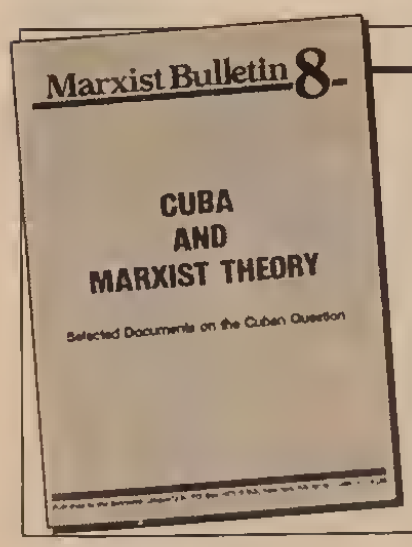
Since the withdrawal of Soviet economic support after the Yeltsin counterrevolution, the Castro bureaucracy has implemented so-called "economic reforms" imposing mass layoffs and privatization on the Cuban workers, [and] market mechanisms, like the legalization of the dollar. My question is: Tell me what you think of the internationalist Trotskyist perspective for workers political revolution in Cuba, for international proletarian revolution to *defend* Cuba?

It was the capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet Union which set the stage for this dire economic situation in Cuba. It was the Socialist Workers Party that actually supported the Yeltsin counterrevolution in the Soviet Union. So therefore it's the politics of the Socialist Workers Party that are absolutely opposed to genuine defense of the Cuban workers state.

We're for unconditional military defense of the Cuban Revolution, and the best way forward for that is to strengthen the Cuban workers state through a politial revolution to place the political power in the hands of the working people and to spread the revolution internationally, foremost here in the imperialist U.S., through building an international revolutionary workers party to lead the workers to power. ■

WV Photo

September 1991, New York: Spartacist League protests cutoff of Soviet aid to Cuba.



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Spartacus Youth Club Class Series

NEW YORK CITY

Alternate Wednesdays, 8 p.m. Next class, December 3: ***The Revolutionary Party and Its Program***; NYU, Loeb Student Center, Room 414

Information and readings: (212) 267-1025

OAKLAND

Alternate Tuesdays, 7 p.m. Next class, December 2: ***The Revolutionary Party and the Working Class***; UC Berkeley, 204 Wheeler

Information and readings: (510) 839-0851 or (415) 777-9367

SAN FRANCISCO

Tuesday, 7 p.m. Next class, December 2: ***Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution***; Meet at cafe at 878 Valencia Street (between19th and 20th)

Information and readings: (415) 777-9367 or (510) 839-0851

BOSTON

Alternate Wednesdays at two locations. Next class, December 3: ***The Revolutionary Party and Its Program***.

- 2:30 p.m.: UMass-Boston, McCormack Building, Room 1-212.
- 7:30 p.m.: Harvard Univ., Emerson Hall, Room 305, Harvard Yard.

Information and readings: (617) 666-9453

Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste Events

VANCOUVER

Thursday, 7 p.m. Next class, December 4: ***Imperialism and the Fight for World Socialist Revolution***; Langara College, Room A015

Information and readings: (604) 687-0353

Cliff's SWP "Rejoiced" for Yeltsin, "Over the Moon" for Labour Victory

What Kind of "Socialists" Support Counterrevolution?

We reprint below a leaflet distributed by the Spartacist League/Britain at a November 6 Socialist Workers Party meeting in London on "80 Years Since the Russian Revolution: The Fight for Workers' Power Today."

The spectacle of Tony Cliff's Socialist Workers Party (SWP) "commemorating" the 80th anniversary of the 1917 October Revolution and claiming the mantle of Bolshevism is a grotesque farce. When the Soviet Union still existed, Cliff's SWP abetted the imperialist rulers' red-hot Cold War aimed at destroying the remaining gains of the 1917 proletarian seizure of power. In a rare moment of candour, Tony Cliff fulminated, "And I say no, no, we have nothing to do with bloody Russia, because it is not a source of strength" (*Leveller*, September 1979). The final undoing of the Russian Revolution, signalled by Boris Yeltsin's imperialist-backed 1991 "countercoup," was met with gleeful approval by the SWP in banner headlines proclaiming, "The Russian Revolution of 1991" and articles crowing that "Communism has collapsed.... It is a fact that should have every socialist rejoicing" (*Socialist Worker*, 31 August 1991).

Today, Cliff boasts that the counterrevolution in the former Soviet Union demonstrates the correctness of his theory of "state capitalism," adding that "in a way you feel quite happy with it" (*International Socialist Review*, Summer 1997). But if the Soviet Union was already capitalist, how then does one explain the ravages of mass unemployment, starvation and bloody nationalist fratricide that came in the wake of the Yeltsin countercoup? And what kind of self-proclaimed revolutionary would be "happy" with this outcome? The destruction of the Soviet Union placed an epitaph on the sordid history of Stalinism *and* the false "theory" of state capitalism, behind which renegades from Trotskyism like Tony Cliff seek to mask their defection in the crucible of class struggle from the side of the international proletariat to the side of their own bourgeoisie.

The Russian Revolution of 1917 is the touchstone for revolutionaries. For the first time the working class took power under the leadership of a proletarian revolutionary party. It was a beacon to the working masses around the world, who saw in the victory of the Russian working class the possibility to prevail over their own capitalist oppressors. The Bolshevik Party under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky understood that the preservation of the fledgling Russian workers state depended upon the international extension of their revolution, particularly to the more advanced capitalist countries. The extreme backwardness and impoverishment of the country, combined with the failure of revolution in the West and the relentless onslaught of the world's imperialist powers, led to the consolidation of a bureaucratic caste in 1923-24 headed by J. V. Stalin. Repudiating the proletarian internationalism of the Bolsheviks, the Stalinist bureaucracy retreated under the anti-Marxist, nationalist dogma of building "socialism in one country."

Leon Trotsky formed the Left Opposition to fight to return to the Leninist programme of authentic Bolshevism, the revolutionary internationalist struggle for proletarian rule. Stalin's reactionary "socialism in one country" rejected the essence of Marxism (the *Communist Manifesto* concludes, "Workers of the World Unite!") and thus the fight of Trotsky's Left Opposition was essential to preserve and extend the gains of the Russian Revolution. As Trotsky wrote in his searing analysis, *The Revolution Betrayed* (1936), the gains of the Russian Revolution had been betrayed but not yet overthrown. Analysing the Soviet Union as a degenerated workers state, the Trotskyists fought for ***proletarian political revolution*** against the Stalinist bureaucracy and for ***unconditional military defence*** of the Soviet Union against imperialist attack and internal counterrevolution.

As the Cold War military alliance of imperialist powers against the Soviet Union turned into a genocidal shooting war, Cliff's bogus "theory" of state capitalism served as his exit visa from the camp of revolutionary Marxism, in abject capitulation to the anti-communist Labour Party leadership. In 1950, Tony Cliff was expelled from the Fourth International for publicly opposing defence of North Korea against U.S. and British imperialism. Tony Cliff's organisation was then nestled inside the ruling Labour Party, which swung in behind the U.S. and sent troops to massacre the Koreans and later also the Chinese. *Three million* Koreans were slaughtered in this war.

Cliff flunked the basic Marxist acid test of opposing his own bourgeoisie and defending the deformed and degenerated workers states. Cliff was a certified renegade from Marxism, but neither the first nor the brightest. Indeed, the first "state capitalist" was the German Social Democrat Karl Kautsky, whose 1918 polemic, *Terrorism and Communism*, was a sustained attack on the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution. Like the Social Democrat Kautsky, the Labour "Left" Tony Cliff and his "theory" reflected a thorough imbibing of the "democratic" credentials of the imperialist bourgeoisie as against "communist totalitarianism." SWP members could gain an understanding of the contradictions between Cliff's professed Marxist orthodoxy and his class treason against the interests of the proletariat by reading Lenin's delightfully savage 1918 polemic, *The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky*. SWPers interested in authentic Trotskyism would do well, too, to study Trotsky's *The Revolution Betrayed* and his battle against defectors like Cliff in the volume of Trotsky's work titled *In Defense of Marxism*.

Support for counterrevolution remained the hallmark of Cliff's SWP through every flashpoint of Cold War II. They hailed Polish Solidarność—a yellow company "union" which led capitalist counterrevolution in Poland with direct aid from Reagan, Thatcher, the Vatican and German bankers. In contrast, the Spartacist League proclaimed, "Stop Solidarność counterrevolution" and fought for the revolutionary unity of the Polish, German and Russian workers through political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracies and opposition to imperialist-inspired counterrevolution, whose main agency in Poland was CIA-backed Solidarność, abetted by pseudo-leftists like the SWP.

The SWP cheered the bloody Afghan *mujahedin* butchers—armed and equipped by the CIA—who fought against the Red Army in a "holy war" to murder unveiled women and schoolteachers for the "crime" of teaching girls to read. The withdrawal of the Red Army from Afghanistan was a direct prelude to counterrevolution in the Soviet Union itself, and this too Cliff's organisation foresaw *and criminally agitated far*. The SWP's American satellite, the International Socialist Organization (ISO) wrote, "Just as socialists welcomed the defeat of the U.S. in Vietnam, we welcome the defeat of the Russians in Afghanistan. It will give heart to all those inside the USSR and in Eastern Europe who want to break the rule of Stalin's heirs" (*Socialist Worker*, May 1988). Tell that to the women, national minorities and leftists living in the utter hell of the Taliban's rule in Afghanistan today! In opposition to the pro-imperialist Cliffites, the International Communist League [then the international Spartacist tendency] and Spartacist League/Britain proclaimed, "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!" and called to "Extend the gains of October to the Afghan peoples!" We also put our money where our mouth is and volunteered to form an international brigade to fight against the CIA (and SWP)-backed *mujahedin*. This offer was turned down by the Afghan government, so instead we raised thousands of dollars of badly needed material aid for the victims of imperialism's anti-Soviet crusade in Afghanistan.

In 1989-90, the International Communist League mobilised our largest international intervention to bring the Trotskyist programme to the working masses of Germany. Against German imperialism's *Anschluss* (annexation) of East Germany, we fought for revolutionary

continued on page 11

Der Spiegel photos

Cliffites joined imperialists in hailing Yeltsin counterrevolution which ushered in misery and hunger for working people. ICL fought to mobilize Soviet workers in defense of gains of October Revolution.

Planeta Publishers

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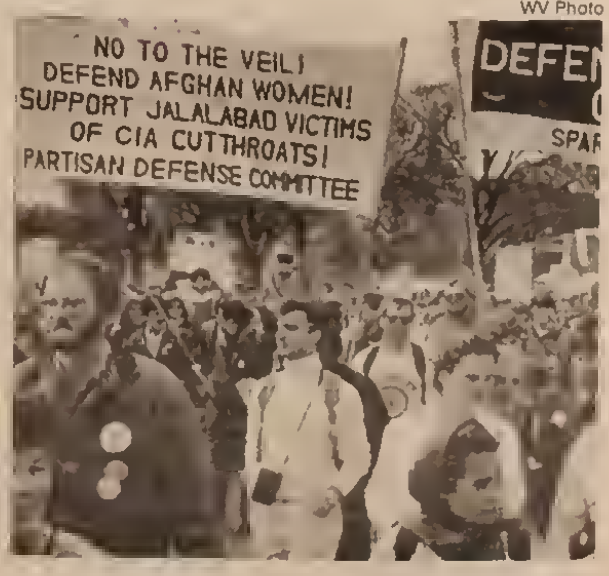

1979 Soviet military intervention opened road to emancipation of Afghan women (left). Following 1989 Soviet withdrawal, Spartacists launched international campaign to aid embattled city of Jalalabad against *mujahedin* cutthroats.

Polish Cliffites Whitewash Anti-Semitic Solidarność Priest

The Pope's Leftists

WARSAW—Historic Polish revolutionary leader Rosa Luxemburg called the Catholic clergy "police in black robes." As advocates of a dialectical and materialist view of history, Marxists are irreconcilably opposed to all manifestations of religious backwardness. We call for separation of church and state which was a legacy of the bourgeois revolutions of the 18th century. This is particularly key in Poland. In the wake of the capitalist counterrevolution led by Lech Walesa's Solidarność, the Catholic church has again come to the fore as the backbone of obscurantist nationalism, women's oppression, anti-communism and anti-Semitism.

The run-up to September's parliamentary elections, which brought in a coalition headed by the rabidly rightist Solidarność Election Action (AWS), was marked by virulent anti-Communist and anti-Semitic attacks on the former governing coalition led by the ex-Stalinist Democratic Left Alliance (SLD). While it toned down its rhetoric in the months before the election to appease imperialist hypocrisy, in February, scarcely a week after the only functioning synagogue in Warsaw was firebombed, Solidarność-organized mobs marched through the streets of the city screaming, "Down with Jew communism!" The anti-Semitic agitation resumed after the election, when the AWS accepted Bronislaw Geremek, a Jewish leader of the Solidarność-derived "free market" Union of Freedom, as foreign minister, in a bid for respectability among the "democratic" imperialists. The infamous priest Henryk Jankowski, "spiritual adviser" to Solidarność since its founding in 1980, railed in a sermon against "the Jewish minority in the government." A day later, a Jewish schoolboy was seriously injured by skinhead thugs. And when church authorities slapped Jankowski on the wrist—not for anti-Semitism, but for being "political"—a fascist mob in Gdansk, birthplace of Solidarność, rallied outside his church in his support.

Among those who came to the defense of the Catholic hierarchy was a self-styled leftist group perversely calling itself Solidarność Socjalistyczna—"Socialist" (!) Solidarność—Polish followers of Tony Cliff's reformist Socialist Workers Party in Britain (represented in the U.S. by the International Socialist Organization). While wagging a finger at "Father" Jankowski for being "unable to keep his racist remarks to himself, in spite of warnings from the church hierarchy," the Cliffites' chief complaint against this notorious anti-Semite is that he is a "big-time businessman" who is "far removed" from the working people and "even further from the ideal of a poor and humble proclaimer of the faith" (*Solidarność Socjalistyczna*, November 1997). The article approves as "notable" the one-year suspension of Jankowski that was meted out by the hierarchy, politely advising: "If the church really wants to show that it is opposed to anti-Semitism, it should take away Jankowski's clerical collar." Cliffites were later seen collecting signatures on a petition to this end!

The Cliffites' embrace of the Polish Catholic church flows logically from their fulsome support from the outset to Solidarność, the Vatican's favorite "union." To this day, they hail the Solidarność-led counterrevolution which led to the restoration of capitalist exploitation in the service of Wall Street, Frankfurt and the City of London as "one of the greatest workers' struggles on earth" (*Solidarność Socjalistyczna*, March 1997). Some of Cliff's younger followers now try to argue that their organization had sought to build a (nonexistent) "left wing" in Solidarność. Seeking to whitewash its reactionary history, the *Solidarność Socjalistyczna* article on Jankowski claims that "during the massive Solidarność strikes in the years '80-81, there were no anti-Semitic speeches to be heard either from Jankowski nor from any other persons connected with Solidarność." This is rubbish!

Polish Cliffites ("Socialist Solidarność") embrace reactionary tradition of CIA/Vatican-sponsored counterrevolution. Gdansk, 1980: Lech Walesa being blessed by Solidarność "spiritual adviser," anti-Semitic priest Henryk Jankowski.

Der Spiegel

Solidarność always paraded under the crowned eagle and cross of anti-Semitic Polish nationalism, and a key component at its founding was the fascistic Confederation for an Independent Poland. Marian Jurczyk, a leading Solidarność spokesman at the time, railed that Communist officials were Jews who had changed their names, "traitors to Polish society" for whom "a couple of gallows would come in handy." And Jurczyk was among the "various radical leaders" that British Cliffite theoretician Chris Harman hailed as the "left" in Walesa's outfit (*Socialist Review*, 15 November-13 December 1981).

When Solidarność consolidated around an open program for capitalist restoration in September 1981, the international Spartacist tendency (now the International Communist League) declared: "Stop Solidarność Counterrevolution!" Our record of uncompromising opposition to capitalist counterrevolution in Poland and then in East Germany in 1989-90 led to the 1990 fusion with the Polish Young Left Movement to form the Spartakusowska Grupa Polski as the Polish section of the ICL. This year, following on the wave of Solidarność street actions in Warsaw in March, we called for workers mobilizations to "sweep the anti-Semitic Solidarność mobs off the streets!" (*Platforma Spartakusowców* No. 6, Spring 1997). For their part, the Cliffites see Jankowski's reactionary constituency as their own, joining in and selling their press at these anti-Communist, anti-Semitic rallies.

Cliff's followers aren't alone in campaigning to clean up the image of the Polish bourgeoisie and the church. What with Poland's current bid for NATO and European Union membership, hypocritical denials of anti-Semitism have been flying so thick and fast here that the weekly *Polityka* (15 November) quipped: "Poland has long been known as a country of anti-Semitism without Jews, now Jankowski has proved it's a country of anti-Semitism without anti-Semites."

Getting right in on the act, *Solidarność Socjalistyczna* echoes bourgeois papers like *Gazeta Wyborcza*, which pretends that clerical anti-Semitism is a "marginal phenomenon" while laying the main responsibility on the previous deformed workers state. The venal Polish Stalinist bureaucracy certainly capitulated to nationalism and anti-Semitism—the inevitable fruit of the dogma of "socialism in one country"—most notoriously in the disgusting 1968 "anti-Zionist" purge which drove most of the remaining Jews out of the country. But the Stalinists didn't hold a candle to the Catholic clergy. On the eve of the Holocaust, in which Hitler's Nazis (abetted by the right-wing Polish "patriots" today idolized by Solidarność) murdered six million Jews, one cleric fulminated:

> "It is an actual fact that Jews fight against the Catholic Church, they are free-thinkers and constitute the vanguard of atheism, bolshevism and revolution. The Jewish influence on morals is fatal ... It is a fact that the Jews are embezzlers, usurers and engage in the white-slave traffic."

These words were uttered by Cardinal Hlond, archbishop of Poland under the fascistic Pilsudskiite dictatorship of the 1920s and '30s, whose traditions Jankowski, Solidarność and the Polish bourgeois state explicitly embrace. This is the dirty truth about Solidarność the Cliffite reformists cover up in the service of imperialism!

We communists, in contrast, uphold the heroic tradition of Rosa Luxemburg's revolutionary Social Democracy, the early Polish Communist Party and the Warsaw Ghetto fighters, many of them Communists and socialists, who resisted the Nazi executioners against all odds in 1943. Likewise, we honor the 600,000 Red Army soldiers who died liberating Poland from the Nazi scourge.

The victory of Solidarność and the collapse of the Polish deformed workers state in 1989 after decades of Stalinist betrayal ushered in mass unemployment, homelessness and a furious wave of anti-Roma (Gypsy) terror, anti-Semitism and clerical reaction. Widespread anger over the ravages of counterrevolution led to the electoral victory four years ago of the SLD class-collaborationist alliance led by the ex-Stalinist Social Democrats. In opposing any electoral support to the SLD enforcers of anti-worker IMF austerity—either in the 1993 and 1997 parliamentary elections or in the 1995 presidential contest—we warned that this "left" government of capitalist austerity would pave the way for a resurgence of clerical and nationalist reaction.

Solidarność has worked to channel workers' anger against austerity into racist chauvinism and anti-communism and away from the profit-gorged new Polish bourgeoisie and its imperialist godfathers. After four years of SLD-administered "free market" misery, the recent electoral victory of the Solidarność-led coalition in Poland has given the green light for a renewed outpouring of clerical bigotry, social reaction and intensified attacks on women aimed at denying any right to abortion. Jankowski's provocation came only days after Solidarność deputies hung a large cross in the Sejm (parliament) and banned sex education in the school system. The new government has already announced plans to speed up privatization and plant closures and impose more stringent "wage discipline." Against the anti-Semitic demagogues of Solidarność and their fake-left apologists, we fight to forge a genuine Trotskyist party to lead the Polish proletariat forward to a new October Revolution! ■

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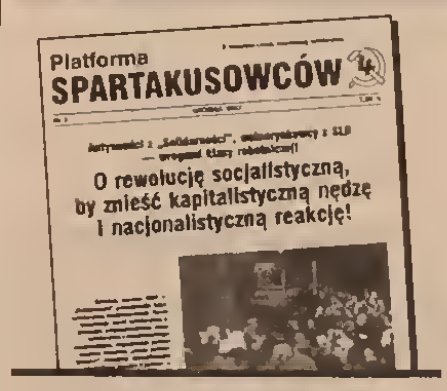

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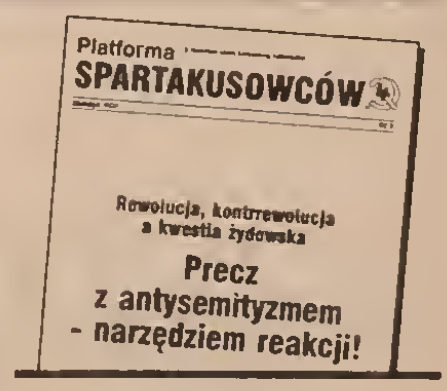

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Wall Street and the War Against Labor

Part 3: The 1930s New Deal and Labor Reformism

Wide World

United Steelworkers of America

Democratic president Roosevelt joined by CIO leader John L. Lewis during 1936 election rally. Union bureaucrats channeled upsurge of labor militancy into support for FDR's New Deal coalition.

Parts One and Two of this series appeared in WV *Nos. 676 and 677, 17 and 31 October.*

During the 1930s, the impact of the Great Depression, combined with the victory of fascism in Germany in 1933, led to a leftward radicalization of the American working class. In the two years following the October 1929 stock market crash—"Black Friday"—unemployment skyrocketed from under 500,000 to over nine million. In 1934, there were three citywide general strikes in this country—in San Francisco, Minneapolis and Toledo, Ohio—all led by "reds," respectively the Stalinists, the Trotskyists and A.J. Muste's American Workers Party, which soon thereafter fused with the Trotskyists.

The next few years saw the formation of the mass industrial unions of the CIO, again in many cases under the leadership of self-described communists or socialists. A key tactic in this unionization drive was the sit-down strike, with the workers occupying a factory or warehouse in open defiance of capitalist property rights. The founding document of the Trotskyist Fourth International, the 1938 Transitional Program, noted: "The unprecedented wave of sit-down strikes and the amazingly rapid growth of industrial unionism in the United States (the CIO) is the most indisputable expression of the instinctive striving of the American workers to raise themselves to the level of the tasks imposed on them by history."

While the American working class was challenging the bosses at the industrial level, there was no corresponding challenge at the political level. The leftward radicalization remained within the ideological and political confines of bourgeois liberalism represented by the Democratic Party of Franklin Delano Roosevelt. Elected president in 1932, FDR promised American working people a "New Deal"—a return to full employment and a future of permanent and general prosperity. Himself a millionaire scion of the moneyed aristocracy, Roosevelt demagogically denounced right-wing opponents within the capitalist class, like industrialist Henry Ford, as "economic royalists."

Roosevelt's liberal bourgeois politics were carried into the working class by the very leaders of the new industrial union movement. Among these was a section of the old-line AFL labor bureaucracy, headed by John L. Lewis, who never pretended to have any sympathy for socialism, much less "red revolution," and in fact thought that the labor movement should be the strongest bulwark of anti-communism. But they also included the Communist Party (CP), by far the strongest force on the American left. In the course of its Stalinist degeneration over the previous decade, the CP had passed through a "Third Period" phase of sectarian "ultraleftism" in the late 1920s and early '30s and gone on to espousing a "popular front" with "progressive" bourgeois politicians, peddling illusions in a reformed and benevolent capitalism.

Thus the development of the American working class in the 1930s was highly contradictory. On the one side, there emerged for the first time in U.S. history mass industrial unions (except in the South), cutting across racial-ethnic divisions, and in many cases led by avowed opponents of the capitalist system. At the same time, the political-ideological sway of bourgeois liberalism was strengthened rather than weakened.

Today, faced with the rise of racist yuppie Clinton's "new" Democratic Party, which is openly contemptuous of the labor movement, the AFL-CIO bureaucracy and its reformist hangers-on (including the now near-moribund CP) yearn for a new "New Deal coalition," portraying the Rooseveltian era as the heyday of "progressive" politics. In fact, this class-collaborationist coalition was fashioned as a response to the militant upsurge of workers' struggles in the 1930s. It represented a *betrayal* by the CIO union tops and the Stalinists, who beheaded the possibility of an independent workers party and corralled the working class behind the phony "friends of labor" Democrats.

The New Deal coalition put organized labor in an unholy alliance not only with its liberal class enemies in the North but also with the Southern Dixiecrats, to whom Roosevelt gave a free hand to wage naked racist terror against blacks and unions. From upholding the system of rigid Jim Crow segregation in the South to marshaling the working class behind the imperialist rulers with the onset of World War II, the labor bureaucracy's support to Roosevelt was counterposed to the proletariat's class interests across the board.

In 1942, James P. Cannon, the principal leader of American Trotskyism, explained why the economic militancy of the 1930s was not extended into the political sphere: "Roosevelt still appeared to the workers as their champion and his social reform program was taken as a substitute for an independent political movement of the workers" ("Campaign for a Labor Party," November 1942). The social program of the New Deal was not at all new but was rather a revised version of the liberal populism which had dominated the American working class since the emergence of an organized labor movement in the latter half of the 19th century.

The Notion of Progressive Managerialism

The defining features of the New Deal variant of liberal populism centered on the fiction that large corporations could be made to serve the interests of society as a whole and that the sort of governmental policies advocated by British economist John Maynard Keynes could lead to full employment and prosperity for working people. In a recent study of late 19th-century American populism, *Goldbugs and Greenbacks*, Gretchen Ritter describes the movement's underlying ideology as "producerism," a belief in the natural unity and harmony of all those engaged in the production of goods and services as against financial parasites: "Reformers argued that the producers—farmers, laborers, and small businessmen—were the 'real society.' They discounted the legitimacy of nonproducers such as bankers and bondholders." In the 1890s, populists could still envision an economy based on small proprietors, i.e., one without large industrial corporations, Wall Street bankers or stock exchanges.

But three decades later, such a program was clearly fantastic. The economy was dominated by large corporations, and the shrunken number of small manufacturers no longer made a significant contribution to the country's industrial output. By the 1920s, the college-educated sons of well-to-do small businessmen were typically pursuing their careers in the managerial bureaucracies of AT&T, Standard Oil, General Motors, U.S. Steel and International Harvester. In the 1930s, a new version of "producerism" was developed, with corporate managers replacing the small businessmen of the earlier version.

These ideas were expounded in a highly influential book, *The Modern Corporation and Private Property* (1932), by two young liberal intellectuals, Adolph A. Berle and Gardner C. Means. The former would soon become a leading member of FDR's "brain trust" of economic advisers. Berle and Means maintained that in a large, modern corporation control or management had become divorced from ownership, and that this was, at least potentially, a progressive development. Noting that the large majority of shares in big corporations were dispersed among thousands of individual investors and that bondholders and other creditors exerted little influence over corporate policy unless the firm couldn't meet its debt service, Berle and Means contended that corporate managers were a distinct social group whose income and status were not directly tied to the drive for ever-higher profits:

> "Those who control the destiny of the typical modern corporation own so insignificant a fraction of the company's stock that the returns from running the corporation profitably accrue to them in only a very minor degree. The stockholders, on

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the other hand, to whom the profits of the corporation go, cannot be motivated by those profits to a more efficient use of the property, since they have surrendered all disposition of it to those in control of the enterprise."

In this view, corporate managers had no compelling, personal motive to hold or drive down wages nor to raise prices to benefit stockholders at the expense of the firm's customers. Berle and Means did not maintain that the men then running America's large corporations were benevolent do-gooders with the best interests of society at heart, only that large, modern corporations, unlike capitalist enterprises in the past, were *not* governed by the drive to maximize profits. Corporate managers therefore could be constrained by law, government policies and public opinion to serve what Berle and Means termed "the paramount interests of community":

> "When a convincing system of community obligations is worked out and is generally accepted, in that moment the passive property right of today must yield before the larger interests of society. Should the corporate leaders, for example, set forth a program comprising fair wages, security to employees, reasonable service to their public, and stabilization of business, all of which would divert a portion of the profits from the owners of passive property, and should the community generally accept such a scheme as a logical and human solution of industrial difficulties, the interests of passive property owners would have to give way."

These words today appear to express the utmost liberal naiveté. The 1980s demonstrated for all to see, and in a most dramatic way, the power of stockholders to get rid of corporate managers seen to be disregarding their interests. In a critical introduction to a new 1991 edition of *The Modern Corporation and Private Property*, mainstream bourgeois economists Murray Weidenbaum and Mark Jensen simply stated the obvious: "The wave of hostile takeovers in the late 1980s was a response to managers who paid insufficient attention to the concerns of shareholders.... A business is an economic institution, designed to provide goods and services for consumers in order to benefit the stockholders."

Berle and Means' "classic" was originally published during the greatest economic crisis of modern times, when even many workers in the U.S., a contradictory society combining an advanced economy with social backwardness, were open to the prospect of "red revolution." The illusory notion that large corporations could be made to serve "the larger interests of society" was important in keeping the exploited and oppressed tied to the capitalist order, promoting the belief that capitalism's evils could be reformed away.

Minnesota Historical Society

1934 Minneapolis general strike, led by Trotskyists.

Keynes and Liberal Pseudo-Socialism

Even more important in contributing to the ideology of the New Deal than the notion of progressive managerialism were the theories of John Maynard Keynes. To understand why Keynes' ideas played such an important role in American politics at this time, it is useful to locate him in the context of British politics. He was a leading intellectual in the small Liberal Party, dwarfed on its right by the Conservative (Tory) Party and on its left by the Labour Party.

During the 19th century, however, the Liberals (or Whigs) and the Tories were Britain's major parties, representing not only different policies but different sections of the propertied classes. The Tories represented those elements derived from or closest to the "squirearchy," the old landed aristocracy. Its leading members were rentiers rather than entrepreneurs, living off rents from their estates or income from their financial assets. The Liberals represented above all industrial capitalists—in many cases the sons of small merchants, self-employed artisans or yeoman farmers—and had the support of the trade unions.

The workers' support for the party of industrial capitalists reflected, at least in part, how the superprofits derived by British imperialism from its colonies made it "*possible to bribe* the labour leaders and the upper stratum of the labour aristocracy," as Russian Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin later observed in a 1920 preface to his work, *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism* (1916). With the relative decline of British imperialism at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries, the political alliance between the "progressive" bourgeoisie and the trade unions broke apart. Originating as a committee within the Liberals to increase trade-union influence on party policy, the Labour Party was formed as a split from the Liberals in the early 1900s.

Seeking to deflect the radicalizing impact on the British working class of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution, in 1918 Labour amended its constitution to formally advocate socialization of the means of production, albeit by strictly parliamentary means. In practice, this "Clause IV" was simply a "left" fig leaf for reformism and class betrayal, as successive Labour governments loyally administered British capitalism, occasionally tinkering with the system but never seeking to replace it with socialism. More recently, Clause IV was scrapped entirely as part of "New" Labour leader Tony Blair's drive to remold the party into an explicitly capitalist one.

During the interwar period, Keynes was one of the very few prominent bourgeois intellectuals who remained active in the Liberal Party. His broad political strategy was later summarized by his official biographer, Roy Harrod, himself an eminent British economist:

> "During the 'twenties he hoped to see a working agreement between the Liberal Party and the Labour Party; in the 'thirties he may have nourished the hope that, when he had achieved the culminating expression of his own views, the cogency of his arguments would wean the Labour Party away from State Socialism and make its members his own disciples."
>
> —*The Life of John Maynard Keynes* (1951)

To this end, Keynes developed a doctrine which can be characterized as liberal pseudo-socialism, proposing that with a particular set of government policies a capitalist economy could achieve the goals traditionally associated with socialism: permanent full employment, steady expansion of production in line with technological advances and potential, even the gradual disappearance of that social class which lived—and lived very well—off its accumulated wealth.

Keynes' View of a Benevolent Capitalism

According to Keynes, the main problem with modern-day capitalism was that those who held savings, typically the heirs of great fortunes, were distinct from and had interests divergent from the industrial managers responsible for investing in additional productive capacity, who borrowed money for this purpose from banks or through the bond market. Keynes maintained that the difference between the interest on money capital and the profit gained from new investment was key to the overall level of economic activity. In this view, the managers of a large manufacturing corporation would build a new plant if the projected rate of profit on the project was, say, 6 percent while interest on the money needed to finance its construction was 3 percent—but not if a higher interest rate cut too deeply into the profit margin.

If rentiers demanded excessively high interest rates, investment and therefore production and employment would fall. This in a nutshell was Keynes' explanation at the time for the world depression which began in 1929:

> "There has now developed, somewhat suddenly, an unusually wide gap between the idea of borrowers and those of lenders, that is, between the natural-rate of interest and the market-rate....
>
> "I am bold enough to predict, therefore, that to the economic historians of the future the slump of 1930 may present itself as the death struggle of the war-rates of interest and the re-emergence of the pre-war [pre-1914] rates."
>
> —*A Treatise on Money* (1930)

Keynes' solution to this problem was an expansionary monetary policy. He strongly opposed the gold standard and advocated a "managed currency" aimed at achieving and maintaining a low interest rate.

However, the experience of the 1930s demonstrated, including to Keynes, that a "cheap money" policy was not in itself enough to pull a capitalist economy out of a deep depression. The base interest rate in the United States, the "discount rate" charged by the Federal Reserve System to its member banks, had fallen by the mid-1930s to a mere 1 percent from 4.5 percent in 1929. Yet production and employment remained far below levels in the 1920s. Even at rock-bottom interest rates, industrial capitalists were not going to spend for new plant and equipment when they were already faced with massive excess capacity, stagnant demand and uncertainty about future economic and political developments.

In response to these conditions, in the mid-1930s Keynes came out with a more "radical" economic program. If capitalist entrepreneurs would not borrow and invest on an adequate scale, the government should do so in their stead. He called for a massive program of public works—railroads, highways, electric power plants, office buildings, housing—to be financed by borrowing rather than increased taxation. Keynes advocated a Board of National Investment which "would in one way or another control by far the greater part of investment. Private enterprise (meaning industry) requires such a tiny fragment of total savings that it could probably look after itself. Building, transport and public utilities are almost the only outlets for new capital

continued on page 8

U.S. Department of Agriculture

Despite liberal myth, Great Depression was not ended by New Deal social programs, like Civilian Conservation Corps (above), but by military production for World War II.

King Features

Wall Street...

(continued from page 7)

on a large scale" (quoted in Doug Henwood, *Wall Street* [1997]).

Keynes believed that industrialists and financiers would have no choice but to accept this program if ordered to do so hy a democratic government—even if it harmed their interests. And such a program *would* harm their interests, because conditions of full employment tend to increase wages at the expense of profits. Without a "reserve army of the unemployed," as Marx called it, firms can expand their labor force only by offering higher wages and improved benefits to induce workers to leave their current employment, unions are more prone to strike and the bosses find it harder to recruit scabs.

Keynes was well aware that conditions of full employment favored labor as against capital in the determination of wages, but believed that a capitalist economy could function at maximum efficiency with a declining rate of return on private investment and, especially, of interest. Indeed, he projected a time—"the euthanasia of the rentier"—when the rate of return on money, on accumulated wealth, would be reduced to zero, seeing this as "the most sensible way of gradually getting rid of many of the objectionable features of capitalism" (*The General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money* [1936]).

Again, this now appears to be unworldly liberal naiveté, even utopianism. It must be understood that these words were written when Communists were leading "hunger marches" of coal miners and other unemployed workers across the English Midlands. This is not to say that Keynes was a hypocrite or a demagogue. He genuinely believed his program was a good and practical alternative to what he called "state socialism." But in this he was expressing the false consciousness of a bourgeois liberal who believes that capitalists are willing and can be directed to serve the greater interests of society.

Pathfinder Press

Eighteen leaders of SWP and Minneapolis Teamsters were sent to prison in 1943 for opposition to imperialist war.

New Deal Economics: Myths and Realities

Conventional wisdom, especially in liberal circles, has it that the economic policies of the Roosevelt government pulled the U.S. out of the Great Depression and that these policies were inspired by Keynes' theories. Both these propositions are entirely false.

When Roosevelt replaced Republican Herbert Hoover in the White House in early 1933, the Depression had just bottomed out. FDR's first term happened to coincide with a modest recovery, which nonetheless left output and employment far below the levels of the late '20s. In 1937-38, the U.S. economy was hit with another sharp downturn, as industrial production plunged by *one third* in the space of a year. A standard history of the Great Depression by American economist Charles Kindleberger points out: "The steepest economic descent in the history of the United States, which lost half the ground gained for many indexes since 1932, proved that the economic recovery in the United States had been built on illusion" (*The World in Depression, 1929-1939* [1986]).

It was the Second World War which finally pulled the U.S. out of the Depression. Industrial output did not return to its 1929 level until 1940, when American arms merchants began doing a booming business with Britain, then already at war with Germany. And it was not until 1943, with the war economy at full throttle, that the number of unemployed dropped below what it had been on the eve of the 1929 crash.

Sophisticated liberal economists like Kindleberger argue that depressed conditions were prolonged until the war because the Roosevelt administration did *not* carry out Keynes' prescription of massive public works through deficit spending. In fact, FDR pursued no coherent and consistent economic program whatsoever. In three of the eight years of Roosevelt's first two terms, the federal budget deficit was *smaller* than in the last year of the Hoover administration. In 1938, when over 10 million workers—one-fifth of the labor force—were jobless, the budget was actually balanced.

Keynes himself recognized that the economic policies of the New Deal were totally ineffectual. In 1940, as the U.S. was beginning a serious arms buildup in anticipation of its own entry into the war, he commented:

> "The wealth-producing capacity which is now going to waste in the United States is so far beyond our powers of measurement that it is useless to hazard a figure for it. The conclusion is that at all recent times investment expenditure has been on a scale which was hopelessly inadequate to the problem.... Even if a complete harmony between the [Roosevelt] administration and private enterprise had achieved, momentarily, a satisfactory economic recovery, it would not have endured more than a few months, with institutions and the distribution of spending power what they are today....
>
> "It is, it seems, politically impossible for a capitalistic democracy to organize expenditure on the scale necessary to make the grand experiment which would prove my case—*except in war conditions*." [our emphasis]
>
> —"The United States and the Keynes Plan," *New Republic* (29 July 1940)

Thus Keynes admitted that a capitalist "democracy" can use its full productive capacity only to produce weapons for the mass murder of other peoples. Only when the U.S. entered World War II did Roosevelt finally embrace Keynes' program of deficit spending for public works, the "public works" being battleships, bombers, tanks and, finally, A-bombs. During the first eight years of the Roosevelt administration, the cumulative federal budget deficit was $20 billion. In four years, Washington borrowed *eight times* that amount to pursue the war.

As noted above, conditions of full employment tend to increase wages at the expense of profits. However, during a major imperialist war the laws normally governing the labor market are in large part suspended—as the capitalist government outlaws strikes, imposes wage and price levels to ensure a generous profit margin and imprisons leftists and trade-union militants deemed to be a threat to the war effort. Under the so-called "Little Steel Formula," Roosevelt's War Labor Board froze wages at the prewar level still influenced by depression conditions. Additional pay for overtime was eliminated and the workers were subjected to ferocious speedup. The result was an enormous intensification of the rate of exploitation, with the profits of corporations engaged in manufacturing *tripling* between 1940 and 1943.

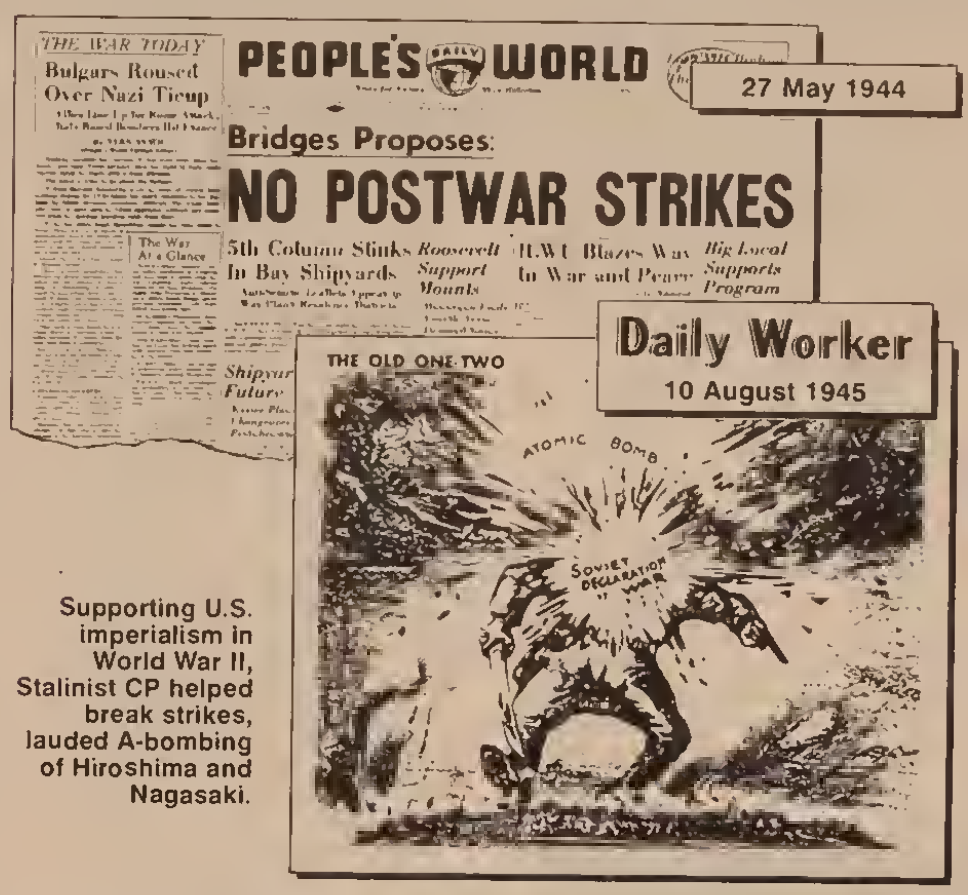
As was the case in the earlier interimperialist conflict, World War II sharply underlined the fundamental difference between the reformist and revolutionary wings of the workers movement, providing the ultimate evidence of the treachery of the New Deal coalition. While the Stalinist CP briefly opposed U.S. entry into the war during the two-year period of the Hitler-Stalin pact, it reversed course following the June 1941 Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union, falsely identifying defense of the Soviet degenerated workers state with support to Russia's imperialist allies. Having earlier proclaimed that "Communism Is Twentieth Century Americanism," the CP was at the forefront in enforcing the CIO bureaucracy's no-strike pledge and in rallying the workers to be cannon fodder for the imperialist war machine, while screaming for the capitalist government to imprison leftist "fifth columnists" who opposed the imperialist war.

Chief among these were the Trotskyists, who held fast to the Leninist position of revolutionary defeatism against all the imperialist powers, while calling for unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union. James P. Cannon, leader of the then-revolutionary Socialist Workers Party (SWP), and 17 other leaders of the SWP and of the Minneapolis Teamsters were imprisoned by Roosevelt, the first victims of the anti-communist Smith Act which was later to be used against the Stalinists themselves during the postwar witchhunt. In an article titled "The Workers and World War II" (October 1942), Cannon wrote:

> "The war was declared on the very same day that we were sentenced—December 8, 1941. That certainly was a symbolic coincidence. Nothing could better symbolize our irreconcilable opposition to the imperialist war, and to the capitalist state preparing and waging the war; and nothing, also, could better symbolize our enemies' recognition of our attitude than this unexpungeable fact: that they declared war and sentenced the party leaders to prison on the same day."

Throughout the war, the SWP fought against the no-strike pledge and opposed every effort by the Stalinists and liberals to suppress struggles for black equality in the interest of the "war effort." In this, the Trotskyists pursued the same "policy of the class struggle" which, as Cannon put it, guided them in leading the 1934 Minneapolis Teamsters strikes to victory. Diametrically counterposed to this policy of proletarian class independence was the Stalinists' abject class collaborationism. In 1939, on the eve of the war, CP head Earl Browder crowed: "We Communists helped to build the united progressive and democratic front everywhere, and collaborated with Republicans as well as Democrats and third party and labor groupings.... We are learning how to take our place within the traditional American two-party system" (quoted in Maurice Isserman, *Which Side Were You On? The American Communist Party During the Second World War* [1993]). During the war, the CP took its place as front-line defenders of U.S. imperialism.

Especially after it became clear that the U.S. and its allies were going to win the war, the bloated profits gained during



Supporting U.S. imperialism in World War II, Stalinist CP helped break strikes, lauded A-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

CORRECTIONS

In our supplement on the UPS strike, "Unchain Labor's Power!" (reprinted in *WV* No. 673, 5 September), we incorrectly referred to "Operation Dixie," the last major attempt at trade-union organizing in the South, as taking place in the 1950s; it actually began in 1946 and lasted only two years.

In "Fight to Free Mumia!" (*WV* No. 674, 19 September), we wrote that National Public Radio (NPR) canceled planned broadcasts by Mumia Abu-Jamal in May 1994, "just days" after then Senate leader Bob Dole threatened to cut off funding for NPR. In fact, NPR announced the cancellation on May 15 and Dole made his speech on the Senate floor, "applaud[ing] NPR's candor in admitting its mistake," on May 17. A picture caption in Part Two of "Enlightenment Rationalism and the Origins of Marxism" in that issue stated that Oliver Cromwell dispersed the Long Parliament in 1663, whereas this occurred in 1653.

In the article "Trotskyism vs. Nationalism in Latin America" (*WV* No. 678, 14 November), a photograph showing Lenin and Trotsky was wrongly identified as the Second Congress of the Communist International; in fact the picture depicted them at a 1919 celebration of the second anniversary of the October Revolution.

the war provoked seething unrest on the shop floor. In the last years of the war there were thousands of small strikes carried out in defiance not only of the Roosevelt-Truman government but also of the AFL and CIO bureaucracies. And in 1946, the greatest strike wave in American history saw well over a hundred million workdays lost to strikes, as more than four and a half million workers manned picket lines. Contributing to the unprecedented labor upsurge was widespread fear that another sharp depression would come with the end of war production, as it had in 1920-21.

In addition to these economic considerations, another factor entered into the class struggles of 1945-46. The victory of the Red Army over Nazi Germany evoked sympathy for Soviet Russia even among relatively backward American workers. And more left-wing workers understood that key to the Soviet defeat of the most powerful capitalist state in Europe was the USSR's planned, socialized economy. Confronted with all this, the liberal wing of the American ruling class *promised* working people a bright new economic future, even enshrining in law, in the Employment Act of 1946, a pledge "to promote maximum employment, production and purchasing power." This pledge was soon forgotten. At the same time, the bourgeoisie launched a vicious purge of newly "radical" CPers and other militants from the trade unions, beheading the labor movement, and extending into other layers of society.

The New Deal "Coalition": From Stalinists to Klansmen

In the mid-1950s, well-known liberal historian Richard Hofstadter wrote a popular study, *The Age of Reform: From Bryan to FDR*, which became a standard text in college courses on modern U.S. history. Here is Hofstadter's glowing characterization of the New Deal:

> "The demands of a large and powerful labor movement, coupled with the interests of the unemployed, gave the later New Deal a social-democratic tinge that had never before been present in American reform movements.... American political reformism was fated henceforth to take responsibility on a large scale for social security, unemployment insurance, wages and hours, and housing."

Not once in Hofstadter's account of the New Deal is there any mention of the oppression of black people. Here we have a prime example of the liberal falsification of American history by omission. Roosevelt and his successor Harry Truman supported and were supported by the racist police states in the South which stripped blacks of every democratic right. Roosevelt's vice president from 1933 to 1940 was John Nance Garner, a hardline white-supremacist from Texas, an "open shop" state where the union movement scarcely existed. The New Deal "coalition" literally embraced both black Communist Party union organizers in the Midwest and white Southern sheriffs who were members of the local Klan chapter!

The price paid by blacks, as well as white workers, for this class-collaborationist coalition of the labor bureaucracy, social democrats and Stalinists with Northern liberals and Dixiecrats was the continuation of racist terror in the South and the failure to unionize this important region. In 1946, the CIO announced a grandiose project grotesquely called "Operation Dixie," sending 400 union organizers to the South. But any attempt to confront the racial oppression dividing black and white workers in the heart of the Deep South would have aroused a vicious backlash from the Dixiecrats in the state houses and county seats and their fascist auxiliaries in the Ku Klux Klan, in the process dissolving the New Deal coalition. With a rapid escalation of the anti-Soviet Cold War and the spectre of black workers joining with communist organizers, the CIO leaders scuttled "Operation Dixie" after only two years.

Over the next decade the social basis for the New Deal coalition was eroded with the large-scale emigration of blacks from the rural South to Northern and also Southern cities, undermining the Jim Crow system of legally enforced racial segregation, which was based on intimidation of isolated and impoverished rural black sharecroppers. The mass struggles for black equality in the civil rights movement—first in the South, then in the North—exploded the Democratic Party coalition. Beginning in the late '60s, the Republican Party gained ascendancy as the party of the "white backlash," including in the formerly solid Dixiecrat South.

The course of recent American history demonstrates that there can be no significant and lasting gains for the working class unless the labor movement is in the forefront of the struggle against the oppression of blacks and other minorities. And the fight for black equality cannot be effective unless it is linked to the struggle of labor against capital, ultimately the struggle for a workers government and a planned, socialist economy.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

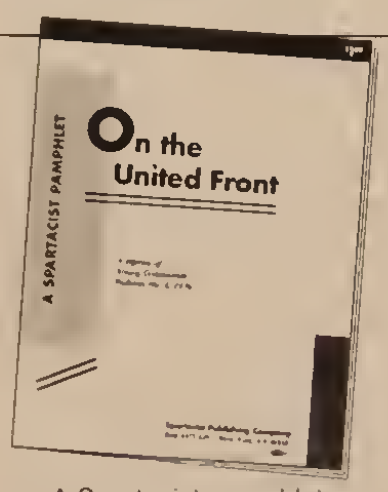
Mumia...

(continued from page 12)

united-front defense actions for Jamal and all class-war prisoners, we aim to suffuse the working class with the consciousness of its historic interests in fighting for all of labor and the oppressed against the *entire* capitalist system. We seek to forge a revolutionary workers party modeled on the one built by Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin, who wrote in his 1902 book *What Is To Be Done?* that for proletarian revolutionaries:

> "[The] ideal should not be the trade-union secretary, but *the tribune of the people*, who is able to react to every manifestation of tyranny and oppression, no matter where it appears...who is able to generalise all these manifestations and produce a single picture of police violence and capitalist exploitation; who is able to take advantage of every event, however small, in order to set forth *before all* his socialist convictions and his democratic demands, in order to clarify for *all* and everyone the world-historic significance of the struggle for the emancipation of the proletariat."

Our fight to free Mumia Abu-Jamal and abolish the death penalty is part of our perspective of winning workers to the understanding that the bourgeois state, with its cops and courts, is not some "neutral" agency which serves society as a whole but rather exists to defend the class rule and profits of the capitalists against those they exploit. It is crucially necessary to overcome, through integrated class struggle, the racial divisions fostered by the bourgeoisie to weaken the entire working class. Black oppression, the forcible segregation of the masses of black people at the bottom of this society, is intrinsic to American capitalism. As a strategic component of the proletariat, black workers will play a key role in the socialist revolution which is needed to root out racial oppression; and to win the proletariat to revolutionary consciousness, it is necessary to inculcate the understanding that the fight for black freedom is central to the struggle for the emancipation of labor itself.



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Class-Struggle Defense vs. Reformist Appeals

We welcome the diverse efforts that have been made by many organizations other than our own, particularly since 1995, on Jamal's behalf. But whether liberal opponents of the death penalty or reformist "socialists," their starting point is far removed from our Marxist perspective. Seeking to pressure the bourgeois courts to be "just," they steer their efforts toward calling for a "fair trial"—as if Mumia could ever get a fair trial under this rigged, racist "justice" system. In a similar vein, the "Campaign to End the Death Penalty" launched by the International Socialist Organization (ISO) echoes liberal criticisms of the death penalty. Both the ISO and its "Campaign" signed a leaflet last year which complained that "executing prisoners is significantly more expensive than keeping them in prison for the rest of their lives." Clinton and the Republicans likewise point to how expensive death sentences are as they seek to put a stop to "endless appeals" by death row inmates! The ISO "socialists" implicitly endorse the grotesque "alternative" of life sentences without parole—a living death for inmates—put forward by bourgeois reformers.

Most recently, the reformist Socialist Action (SA) group has initiated the "December 6 Mobilization to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal," kicked off by an August 16 rally in San Francisco which drew some 3,000 people and raised $20,000 for Jamal's legal costs. Demonstrations are being called for December 6 in San Francisco and other cities in North America and Europe in conjunction with a "People's International Tribunal for Justice for Mumia Abu-Jamal" in Philadelphia initiated by Concerned Family and Friends of Mumia Abu-Jamal. The rallies sponsored by Socialist Action—called around the demands "Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the death penalty! Stop police brutality!"—are not genuine united fronts but rather an extension of SA's reformist politics.

Even as we encouraged others to take up Jamal's cause, we realized that many of these groups would seek to silence and exclude the revolutionary Marxists in order to keep protests "safe" for Democratic Party politicians. Pointing to SA's repeated calls for a "massive, legal, peaceful demonstration" on December 6, a PDC spokesman at an August 23 planning meeting in San Francisco said:

> "Does Socialist Action believe that anyone is going to stand up and argue for an illegal, violent demonstration? Of course not. No one who wants Jamal's freedom would argue such a thing. It means that what Socialist Action is promising in advance is a mobilization subordinated to bourgeois liberalism—or to put it another way, your goal is a demonstration that is 'safe' for [San Francisco mayor] Willie Brown and his fellow Democratic Party buddies. We believe that the independence of the working class is crucial in the fight against all racist injustice, and that independence is gutted by reliance on the Democratic Party.
>
> "This doesn't mean we argue to exclude Democratic Party politicians. We favor the broadest participation possible in the fight to free Jamal. If they agree with the demands of the demonstration, fine. But Socialist Action's desire for their participation becomes political capitulation by assuring these forces of the demonstration's 'respectability.' At the same time, it means you are limiting the participation of those with a real stake in the fight to free Jamal—leftists, minority youth and others who do not subscribe to this class-collaborationist political vantage point. In fact, you imply the exclusion of those whom the *bourgeoisie* may deem neither 'peaceful' nor 'legal'."

Socialist Action's call for "peaceful, legal" protests is a code phrase for exclusion of groups to their left. During the Vietnam antiwar movement of the 1960s and early '70s, the reformist Socialist Workers Party—whose cadre then included the current SA leadership—used that call to cement a class-collaborationist alliance with Democratic Party politicians. This bloc was sealed through bloody physical attacks against radical leftists, including the Spartacist League, who fought for the *victory* of the Vietnamese workers and peasants against U.S. imperialism. These days, Socialist Action's chief role is as waterboys for the trade-union bureaucracy. In the 1983 Greyhound strike, prominent SA supporter Jeff Mackler helped to police a support rally in San Francisco in order to keep picketers away from the struck bus terminal.

Our comrade also addressed the reformist slogan "Stop police brutality," saying: "Only liberals and those who wish to foster illusions in the capitalist system of injustice believe *this* system will 'stop' unleashing their police on workers and the oppressed. We will take no part in lulling the working class and oppressed into believing that it can be any other way under capitalism." While we fight to mobilize powerful social protest against acts of police brutality, we know that the cops will necessarily resort to chokeholds, pepper spray, frame-ups and cold-blooded killings. Earlier this year, reformists sought to channel outrage over the killing of Aaron Williams in San Francisco into a call to fire one of the cops responsible. This was echoed by the mayor himself, who hoped that sacrificing one "bad apple" would make the *system* of repression more efficient and "credible."

Socialist Action exhibits a touching faith in the racist, strikebreaking cops as allies of the oppressed. In Canada, where the December 6 protests are being sponsored by the Socialist Action group there, SA leader Barry Weisleder last year wrote how Toronto cops "were friendly" to striking public employees and "in many instances acted as benign mediators" (*Socialist Action* [Canada], Spring-Summer 1996). Would SA also describe as "benign" the U.S. Fraternal Order of Police, which has organized nationally to push Jamal's execution and which torments his supporters?

As opposed to SA's liberal, exclusionist policies, our comrades at the August 23 planning meeting argued for a genuine united-front demonstration—based on "unity in action, freedom of criticism"—around the demands "Free Mumia! Abolish the racist death penalty!" There are many and sundry organizations offering their own ways of fighting on behalf of Mumia. Well and good. For our part, we will continue to focus on mobilizing the power of labor through class-struggle, non-sectarian defense, which is the best hope for saving Mumia Abu-Jamal from legal lynching and to free him to carry on his work as the "voice of the voiceless" from outside prison walls. The fight to free Mumia is part and parcel of the struggle to forge the revolutionary workers party that is the most essential tool for the emancipation of labor and the oppressed.

* * *

FUNDS FOR MUMIA'S LEGAL DEFENSE ARE URGENTLY NEEDED! If the Pennsylvania Supreme Court turns down his appeal, the next battleground on the legal front will be in the federal courts, involving massive new costs. Contributions for Mumia's legal defense should be made payable to the Bill of Rights Foundation (earmarked "Mumia Abu-Jamal Legal Defense") and mailed to: Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, 163 Amsterdam Ave., No. 115, New York, NY 10023-5001. Contact the PDC—New York: P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013-0099, phone (212) 406-4252; Chicago: P.O. Box 802867, Chicago, IL 60680-2867, phone (312) 454-4931; San Francisco Bay Area: P.O. Box 77462, San Francisco, CA 94107-0462, phone (510) 839-0852. ■

Teamsters...

(continued from page 1)

the labor movement!

The government's sinister intervention into the biggest union in the country, just months before the national truckers' contract expires, is but the latest chapter in an escalating offensive to cripple the power of the unions to challenge the bosses' profit margins. Immediately after the Teamsters walkout, Democratic president Clinton imposed a strikebreaking "cooling off" period against Amtrak railway workers and banned a threatened strike by UPS pilots. In the Senate, Utah Republican Orrin Hatch launched hearings into a proposed "Freedom from Union Violence Act" which would open up entire unions to federal prosecution for strikers' defense of picket lines. In Ohio, a federal appeals court outlawed "union shop" clauses in labor contracts, a move aimed at rolling the clock back to the "right to work" days when workers had no right to organize.

What is behind this frenzied response by America's rulers is not simply the relatively modest economic gains won by UPS workers in August. What stunned the bourgeoisie was not only the strike's widespread popularity but also that its main demand hit at one of the chief mechanisms for the fabulous mushrooming in corporate profits over recent years. Like the strike against Bay Area Rapid Transit later in August, which was scuttled by the union tops, the Teamsters took aim at the multi-tier wage system which, along with other measures, has been used to massively ratchet up the rate of exploitation by paying young, minority and women workers far less than their co-workers. An op-ed piece by a leading Wall Street economist in the *New York Times* (24 August) only days after the UPS strike warned of a "worker backlash" against "years of corporate cost cutting that has been directed primarily at the nation's labor force."

The industrial magnates and Wall Street financiers know that the enormous profits in which they have reveled come from squeezing working people and minorities to the breaking point. With an arrogance augmented by their own self-serving myth that "communism is dead," the capitalist rulers have ripped up one social program after another which provided some minimal lifeline for the poor and the ghetto and barrio masses. For some two decades now, the bourgeoisie has been riding roughshod over the unions, taking as a given the "labor peace" enforced by the compliant AFL-CIO misleaders.

Recently, with West Europe erupting in huge strikes against similar attacks, the U.S. capitalist class, which had convinced itself that it couldn't happen here, began to cast a nervous glance over its shoulder. Then came the UPS strike. Now the bosses are furiously striking back. A short article on the ruling against Carey in the Business section of the *New York Times* (23 November) noted that the "nation's labor movement, on the ropes since the Reagan Administration delivered a knockout punch to striking air traffic controllers, seemed on the verge of a comeback" with the UPS strike. The article went on to crow: "Now a court-appointed union monitor has delivered his own punch."

To defeat the growing barrage of anti-union attacks requires a leadership committed to a program of class struggle, not class collaboration. The union bureaucracy sees "allies" in the agencies of the class enemy—the government, the cops, the courts—and chains the working class to the Democratic and Republican parties of capital. While Hoffa (braintrusted by a follower of fascistic crackpot Lyndon LaRouche) screams for even stronger government intervention, Carey was catapulted to the union presidency in elections run lock, stock and barrel by the feds. He who lives by the sword dies by the sword: having let the anti-union enemy in the front door in the first place, Carey has now himself been bitten by the feds. Marxists stand for the complete and unconditional independence of the labor movement from the bosses' state.

UPS picket line in Rhode Island attacked by cops. Successful Teamsters strike infuriated bosses, spurred renewed attacks on labor movement.

Red-Baiters Run Riot

The government assault on labor has been accompanied by a hysterical union-hating campaign in the bourgeois press, including a surreal attempt to revive the postwar McCarthyite "red scare." Boosting Hatch's proposed anti-union legislation, the *Wall Street Journal* has featured a series of articles vituperating against "union coercion," even denouncing Carey for a miserly $100 contribution to the legal defense of Southern California Latino Teamster Jesse Acuna, who was thrown behind bars for defending his picket line during the 1994 national truckers strike. This was followed by a red-baiting broadside against Carey, AFL-CIO president John Sweeney and other union officials for supposedly allying with 1960s radicals and "East German secret police" spies, denouncing the ardently pro-Democratic Party Sweeney in particular for purportedly forming "alliances with a range of left-wing groups" and for being a member of the tame, reformist and stoutly anti-communist Democratic Socialists of America (*Wall Street Journal*, 17 October).

Rupert Murdoch's rabidly right-wing *New York Post* (13 November) chimed in with its own gutter-press fulminations against the AFL-CIO's "Hard Left Turn" away from "Joe Six-Pack" to "Politically-Correct Causes." The author of this diatribe, one Eric Breindel, has in the past denounced the *Times* Obituary page for concealing the Communist connections of the deceased! Breindel's evidence for a "hard left turn" by the union tops is the cosmetic change made to the AFL-CIO constitution at its latest convention, replacing its explicit ban on Communists with more "generic" language against those who promote "authoritarianism, totalitarianism, terrorism"—i.e., post-Soviet era code words for militants and "reds."

The *Post* also lifted a page from the viciously racist Willie Horton campaign pushed by George Bush in his 1988 presidential bid, running a photo of Sweeney next to one of death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal above a scurrilous caption reading "Cop-killer and labor hero?" The cause of this heroic black journalist, who was falsely convicted because of his outspoken advocacy of the oppressed, has resonated among unionists and garnered significant paper support. Labor's power must be *actively mobilized* to free Jamal. But the pro-capitalist union tops refuse to do so. Sweeney makes this clear in a letter to the *Post* (20 November), insisting that he has "not been involved in any way" in Jamal's cause.

In our *WV* supplement (27 August) on the UPS strike, we stressed: "If the labor movement is to be revitalized, it must actively take up the fight against racist terror and champion all those victimized by the capitalist rulers." This requires a sharp political struggle within the unions against the Sweeneys, Careys and Hoffas—the bourgeoisie's labor lieutenants—who shackle the unions to their class enemy, embracing and promoting the interests of racist U.S. imperialism. The fight to emancipate labor and all the oppressed can only go forward in the struggle to forge a multiracial, class-struggle workers party which acts as a tribune of the people, in counterposition to the partner parties of capital.

ISO: Justice Department Socialists

In an article following last December's Teamsters elections, we noted: "Lacking any confidence in the revolutionary capacity of the proletariat, the reformist left joins with the liberals in looking to the capitalist state to 'clean up' the unions" (*WV* No. 661, 7 February). A quintessential example of such "Justice Department socialists" is the International Socialist Organization (ISO), which has promoted Carey through every government takeover move and court suit. Hailing Carey's re-election as a "welcome victory over old-guard forces who represent the Teamsters' corrupt, mob-dominated past," the ISO's *Socialist Worker* (3 January) breathed not a word about the fact that this "victory" came at the behest of the federal government, which supervised every aspect of the election.

Now, *Socialist Worker* (7 November) carries an article headlined "Why Government Intervention Hurts Unions," in which leading ISO spokesman Lee Sustar opines that "'non-political' interventions to oust corruption—like the federal judge's oversight of the Teamsters—are ultimately designed to limit workers' ability to build fighting, democratic unions." We can only recall the adage often cited by Oscar Wilde: Hypocrisy is the homage that vice pays to virtue. So craven is the social-democratic ISO in accepting the dictates of capitalist "justice" that it was prepared to throw even its idol Carey to the wolves when the feds started breathing down his neck last summer. Only two months ago, *Socialist Worker* (26 September) was still bleating, "Anyone guilty of wrongdoing—including Carey—should be held accountable."

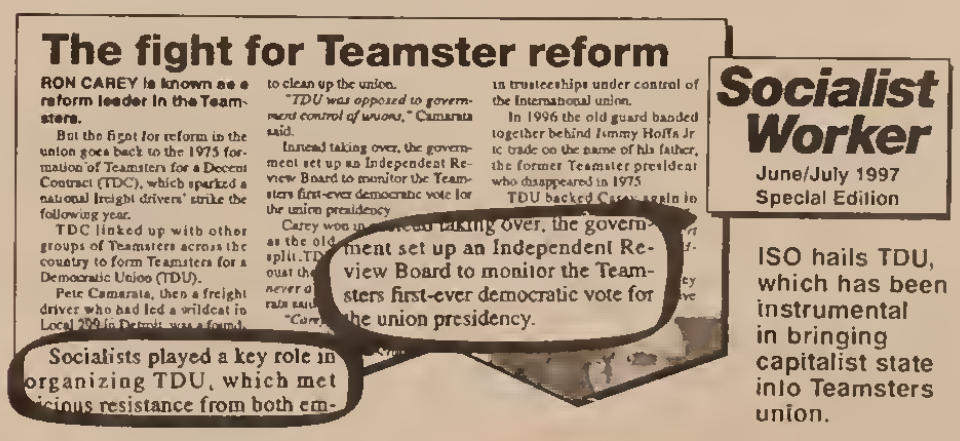
Moreover, the ISO has long boosted the "rank-and-file" Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU), which is the organizational mainstay of the Carey wing of the IBT bureaucracy and an architect of government intervention in the union. In a June-July special edition of its paper directed at UPS workers, the ISO boasted, "Socialists played a key role in organizing TDU." Indeed, TDU leader Pete Camarata is a prominent ISO supporter. And after the strike, *Socialist Worker* (29 August) urged "Teamsters activists" to join this "reform group" in order "to build a fighting union."

But from its inception, the TDU has done the bulk of its fighting not on strike picket lines but in courtrooms and Justice Department offices. Faced with a purge threat by the "old guard" bureaucracy of the Detroit local in 1977, the TDU ran to the federal courts for a writ against the union. Ten years later, the TDU literally wrote the blueprint for the government plan to "reorganize" the Teamsters, helping to make the draconian Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations Act (RICO) the weapon of choice for government intervention in the unions. TDU spokesman Ken Paff wrote at the time: "The RICO statute provides for 'reorganization' of any enterprise found racketeer-controlled. Two months ago TDU sent the Justice Department a detailed plan for such a reorganization" (*Washington Post*, 21 June 1987). This led directly to the 1989 consent decree which placed the IBT under the thumb of the capitalist government. Today Paff screams for the feds to carry out "as full an investigation of Hoffa as they did of Carey" (*New York Times*, 19 November).

While sometimes distancing itself from the TDU, the ISO has been utterly politically complicit in this class treason which has aided and abetted the bourgeoisie's decades-long vendetta against the Teamsters. Shortly after the government consent decree, *Socialist Worker* (January 1991) blithely reported: "In concert with the government—forced to curb the openly corrupt aspects of the union—the reform movement under TDU's leadership has gone a long way toward leveling the playing field for those seeking union offices." And only this year, in its UPS special edition, the ISO hailed the consent decree as a "breakthrough," favorably describing how "the government set up an Independent Review Board to monitor the Teamsters first-ever democratic vote for the union presidency." Among the members of this "independent" review board was former FBI and CIA head William Webster, a member of the board of directors of the union-busting Pinkerton private cops!

The ISO occasionally talks out of the left side of its mouth. But in practice, these reformists *deny* the fundamental Marxist understanding that the capitalist state is an enemy of the working class and oppressed and that this apparatus of repression cannot be pressured to serve the interests of the workers but must be swept away through socialist revolution. As part of our fight to forge a revolutionary workers party to lead the proletariat to power, we seek to build a class-struggle leadership of the unions imbued with this understanding of the capitalist state. As Leon Trotsky wrote in his 1940 article, "Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay":

> "It is necessary to adapt ourselves to the concrete conditions existing in the trade unions of every given country in order to mobilize the masses, not only against the bourgeoisie, but also against the totalitarian regime within the trade unions themselves and against the leaders enforcing this regime. The primary slogan for this struggle is: *complete and unconditional independence of the trade unions in relation to the capitalist state*. This means a struggle to turn the trade unions into the organs of the broad exploited masses and not the organs of a labor aristocracy." ■



ISO hails TDU, which has been instrumental in bringing capitalist state into Teamsters union.

Cliff's SWP...

(continued from page 4)

reunification of Germany—a red Germany of workers councils as part of a Socialist United States of Europe. While we took a side, an active part in the fight to defend and extend the gains of the international proletariat, Cliff's "third campists" backed imperialism, refusing to oppose counterrevolution in the East.

This class treason internationally is reflected domestically in the SWP's record of *scabbing* and *union-busting*. Cliff called the great British miners strike of 1984-85 prime evidence of his theory of the "downturn" in working-class struggle, alibiing the Labour Party and TUC who were knifing the strike. We fought to spread the strike to other key industries; Cliff bragged about SWPers crossing miners' picket lines: "We have steelworkers in Redcar who cross picket lines. We have three steelworkers in Scunthorpe, they cross picket lines..." (Tony Cliff, speech at Conway Hall in London, 23 August 1984). Apparently this holds appeal for Pete Camarata, leading light of the American Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU) which is a darling of the American ISO. This "opposition" in the Teamsters supported the election of Ron Carey, the "reformer" who gained office by bringing the capitalist government directly into the internal affairs of the union, *the better to bust the union*. In fact, in 1987 the TDU literally wrote—and sent to the Justice Department—the blueprint for the government plan to "reorganise" the union. We say: Government hands off the Teamsters! And we oppose all state intervention in the unions. In contrast, the Cliffites have made themselves the cheerleaders for, and in some cases the direct agents of, capitalist state intervention in the union movement. The Cliffites' touching faith in the "neutrality" of the bourgeois state to regulate "democracy" in the labour movement is of a piece with their appeal to cops and prison guards. Rejecting Lenin's clear description of the capitalist state's "armed bodies of men," the SWP whines, "Are All Coppers Really Bastards?" (*Socialist Worker*, 8 February).

Today, Blair's Labour Party also rejoices in the destruction of the USSR and pushes the imperialist myth that this means the "death of communism." This is the Labour government whose election the SWP proclaimed itself to be "over the moon" about. Meanwhile back

Vitali S. Latov

North Korean capital of Pyongyang devastated by U.S. bombing during 1950-53 Korean War. Tony Cliff was expelled from Trotskyist movement for publicly opposing defense of North Korea, China against imperialism.

on earth, the Labour government the SWP campaigned for is carrying out its vicious and promised attacks on workers, minorities and immigrants for the benefit of City bankers. Blair's government drew first blood in Ireland, playing the Orange card against the oppressed Catholic minority in the North. The military provocations by Blair took place in the midst of the SWP's Marxism '97. But while the Spartacist League immediately issued a statement protesting this provocation, demanding the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of British troops, the SWP did nothing to mobilise against their new Labour rulers. Indeed, the SWP's capitulation to Labour has a long, dirty history on the Irish question. When in 1969 a Labour government sent imperialist British troops to Northern Ireland, the Cliffites *supported* it with the grotesque justification that it would provide a "breathing space" for the oppressed Catholics! The SWP as a self-proclaimed "socialist alternative" to Labour is nothing but a pink fig leaf for British imperialism! As opposed to crawling for Labour, the Spartacist League follows Lenin's approach—to split the base from the top of this bourgeois workers party and build an authentic Bolshevik Party—which in Britain requires irreconcilable opposition to all forms of Labourism.

Today, the threat of capitalist counterrevolution looms over the Chinese deformed workers state. Decades of Stalinist misrule have severely undermined what remains of the planned, collectivised economy and have brought China to the brink of counterrevolution, which would mean bloody chaos and immiseration for a quarter of the world's population. Capitalist counterrevolution in China would heighten the imperialist scramble for the spoils and redivision of the vast markets and resources already being plundered by imperialism. These inter-imperialist rivalries have the very real possibility of leading to shooting wars, and this in the epoch of nuclear weapons. "Whither China?" is literally a question whose answer holds the fate of humanity in the balance.

There have been massive strikes against the impoverishment and immiseration of "market reforms," but time is short for the Chinese proletariat. The disaster of capitalist restoration can only be averted through the acquisition of *revolutionary political consciousness* and the mobilisation of the Chinese workers behind the Trotskyist programme of *proletarian political revolution*, to oust the pro-imperialist Stalinist bureaucracy and fight for socialist revolutions throughout Asia and beyond.

But for the SWP, China is just another "state capitalist" society, and once again they scab on the struggle to defend the workers' gains from rapacious imperialism. After all, if you believe Cliff's fiction that the capitalists are already in power, then there's simply nothing there for the working class to defend. Scandalously, last year the SWP sided with the political heirs of Chiang Kai-shek who today run the brutal capitalist regime in Taiwan. As U.S. warships plied the Taiwan Strait in a provocation against Beijing, the Cliffites claimed that "China's claim to Taiwan is a colonialist one. We would oppose any Chinese invasion of Taiwan as an act of imperialist aggression" (*Socialist Review*, April 1996). The SWP's support to their own bourgeoisie's bloody troops in Ireland and screaming opposition to China's self-defence against imperialist aggression exposes their hypocrisy and pseudo-socialist pretensions!

The origins of the Cliff tendency as renegades from Trotskyism come back to haunt the SWP today in the struggle against the South Korean dictatorship and the terminal crisis of Stalinist rule in North Korea. Against the SWP's support to "democratic imperialism," we Spartacists fight for the revolutionary reunification of Korea through a proletarian political revolution in the North against the grotesquely deformed Stalinist regime, uniting with the powerful proletariat in the South to wage a social revolution to rip the wealth out of the hands of the South Korean capitalists and bring down the dictatorship through the rule of democratically elected workers *soviets*. We fight for the withdrawal of the 35,000 U.S. troops there, whose military power props up the bloody Seoul regime and is a mortal threat to the deformed workers state in North Korea and to working people throughout East Asia.

To understand what kind of party the SWP is, it is necessary to recognise that there is a yawning gulf between the SWP's claim to be inheritors of Bolshevism and their actual programme and practice, which are social-democratic to the core. Hence they fear criticism from within their own ranks, and use lies, bureaucratic exclusionism, and violence against the Spartacist League in an attempt to censor the authentic politics of Trotskyism. Ironically, in this political cowardice and recourse to violence the Stalinophobic SWP apes Stalin's suppression of left opposition. We believe in the clash of opinion in open political debate. Those who joined the SWP looking for a revolutionary party, who don't want to spend the rest of their days voting for, pressurising and petitioning Labour, ought to examine the programme and actions of Trotskyism as embodied in the International Communist League today.

We stand with James Cannon, founder of American Trotskyism, who said, "We are the party of the Russian Revolution," and struggle to reforge Trotsky's Fourth International, necessary to fight for new October Revolutions.■

Iraq...

(continued from page 1)

which can reach any capital in the region, and beyond. Furthermore, the U.S. was only too happy to supply Saddam's Iraq with high-grade weapons in the squalid, 1980-88 border war with Iran, which was also fed with weapons by the U.S.

The obscene, lying hypocrisy of the U.S. crusade against Saddam Hussein was highlighted during the Gulf War when CNN correspondent Peter Arnett reported on a bombing attack that destroyed an infant formula and powdered milk plant on the outskirts of Baghdad. For truthfully describing this atrocity, Arnett was condemned by the White House, which manufactured the tale that the factory was really a "biological weapons plant." U.S. terror bombing raids continued under Democrat Clinton, killing yet more Iraqi men, women and children.

Besides demonizing the targets of U.S. imperialist aggrandizement, the government and media lies are meant to obscure the fact that *it is the American capitalist ruling class that is the biggest purveyor of death on this planet*. The U.S. has enormous stores of chemical and biological weapons at its disposal, not to mention the largest nuclear arsenal on the face of the earth. And U.S. imperialism, under the Democratic Truman administration, has been the only state power to unleash nuclear horror on the world, incinerating over 200,000 Japanese civilians in the atom-bomb attacks on Hiroshima and Nagasaki at the close of World War II.

During the Gulf War, as liberals and reformist "socialists" looked to the United Nations or other imperialist agencies to pressure the U.S. to "bring the boys home," the Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth Clubs called to "Defeat U.S. imperialism! Defend Iraq!" While unconditionally opposing imperialist war moves, we gave absolutely no political support to the Iraqi capitalist regime, which has secured its rule through anti-Communist massacres, anti-labor repression and bloody subjugation of the Kurdish people. It is the task of the Iraqi proletariat, leading behind it the oppressed women and ethnic, national and religious minorities, to sweep away the bloody regime of Saddam Hussein through socialist revolution.

Some who supported UN sanctions against Iraq in 1991 as an "alternative" to outright military attack today bemoan the fact that America's erstwhile "allies" are no longer bending before U.S. interests. A recent editorial in the left-liberal *Nation* (1 December) joined in the imperialist propaganda blitz against the "bloodthirsty dictator" in Iraq and yearned for the days of the Gulf War, when U.S. leaders "got whatever they wanted at the U.N." Churning out the kind of jingoist rhetoric usually associated with the Pat Buchanan crowd, the *Nation* liberals complained: "Although the United States is still the world's only superpower, to others it looks like Gulliver tied down by Lilliputian lobbyists and Congressional Yahoos." With a Democrat in the White House, these liberals want a *more aggressive* imperialist policy, like starving a few hundred thousand more Iraqi children, perhaps?

The race by the major capitalist powers to recarve the Near East and Central Asia into zones of imperialist exploitation, which greatly exacerbates national/ethnic conflicts, is just one example of the sharpened rivalries that ultimately threaten military conflagration. As we wrote last month in "U.S. Gunboat Diplomacy in the Persian Gulf" (*WV* No. 677, 31 October): "One thing is certain: continued imperialist domination can only mean further national oppression of the peoples of the region, intensified exploitation of the proletariat and sharpened interimperialist rivalries." The International Communist League is committed to reforging Trotsky's Fourth International as the world party of socialist revolution, linking the struggle for the emancipation of the toilers of the Near East to the fight for socialist revolutions around the world, especially against the main enemy of humanity—U.S. imperialism.■

SPARTACIST LEAGUE/U.S. LOCAL DIRECTORY

National Office: Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116 • (212) 732-7860

Boston
Box 390840, Central Sta.
Cambridge, MA 02139
(617) 666-9453

Los Angeles
Box 29574, Los Feliz Sta.
Los Angeles, CA 90029
(213) 380-8239

Oakland
Box 29497
Oakland, CA 94604
(510) 839-0851

Chicago
Box 6441, Main PO
Chicago, IL 60680
(312) 454-4930

New York
Box 3381, Church St. Sta.
New York, NY 10008
(212) 267-1025

San Francisco
Box 77494
San Francisco, CA 94107
(415) 777-9367

TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA/LIGUE TROTSKYSTE DU CANADA

Toronto
Box 7198, Station A
Toronto, ON M5W 1X8
(416) 593-4138

Vancouver
Box 2717, Main P.O.
Vancouver, BC V6B 3X2
(604) 687-0353

WORKERS VANGUARD

Free Mumia—Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!

For Non-Sectarian, Class-Struggle Defense!

Jennifer Beach

Mumia Abu-Jamal

A new stage is approaching in the struggle for freedom for black journalist and death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal. The Pennsylvania Supreme Court currently has before it Mumia's appeal of a 1995 ruling by "hanging judge" Albert Sabo, who turned down Jamal's Post-Conviction Relief petition to overturn his 1982 frame-up conviction and death sentence for the killing of a Philadelphia cop. New evidence of Mumia's innocence keeps coming to light, but this carries no weight on the rigged scales of capitalist "justice." Even to win a new trial for Jamal, much less to secure his freedom, would require breaking through the racist wall of cops, prosecutors and judges who have made entire careers through suppressing evidence, intimidating witnesses and otherwise conspiring to railroad Jamal to the death chamber. There is every reason to expect the Court to uphold Sabo. In that event, Pennsylvania governor Tom Ridge has already vowed to sign a new death warrant.

Mumia's fight for life and freedom has reverberated among opponents of racist oppression and injustice everywhere. A former Black Panther Party spokesman and later a supporter of the Philadelphia MOVE group, Jamal was targeted for death because he dared to speak out against police brutality and for the impoverished and dispossessed of this society. Like Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt), who finally won the overturn of his frame-up murder conviction after 27 years in prison, Mumia was targeted by the FBI's deadly COINTELPRO operation, directed against the Black Panthers and others who fought against this racist capitalist government (see the 1995 Partisan Defense Committee pamphlet, *The Frame-Up of Mumia Abu-Jamal*).

Jamal's case throws a spotlight on the barbaric, racist death penalty, a form of institutionalized state terror directly descended in the U.S. from the system of black chattel slavery. The death penalty is the ultimate sanction employed by this repressive system as it seeks to contain the explosive pressures generated by the growing gap between a handful of filthy rich and those on the bottom. The parties of capital, Democrats and Republicans, join in pushing racist "law and order" campaigns aimed at intensifying capitalist repression, including through the grotesque speedup on death rows across the country. As Marxists, we are unequivocal opponents of the death penalty as punishment—we do not accord the state the right to determine who lives or dies.

From the time the Spartacist League and Partisan Defense Committee first took up the fight to save Mumia's life more than ten years ago, we have sought to assist him in pursuing every possible legal avenue while putting no confidence in a judicial system which is part and parcel of the capitalist state apparatus. We have publicized Jamal's cause, raised critically important funds for his legal battles and fought to mobilize the broadest range of social forces in his defense. And we have succeeded in this, making Mumia's struggle known to trade unionists, death penalty abolitionists and many others, not only in the U.S. but internationally. The PDC has organized united-front actions where all organizations agreeing with the demands to save Mumia from execution and to abolish the racist death penalty can speak in their own name, carry their own signs and banners and distribute their literature. These protests were infused with the understanding that the social power of the multiracial working class must be mobilized in Jamal's defense and in defense of all the oppressed.

WV Photos

August 1995: PDC initiated labor-centered, united-front protests in New York City (above) and Bay Area, part of international outcry which averted scheduled execution of Mumia Abu-Jamal.

Our non-sectarian, class-struggle defense work stands in the tradition of the early International Labor Defense (ILD), the American arm of the "International Red Aid" established by the Communist International in the early 1920s. As pioneer American Trotskyist James P. Cannon, an early leader of the ILD, wrote during the worldwide campaign of labor protest on behalf of anarchist workers Sacco and Vanzetti, the ILD followed "the policy of the class struggle," which

> "puts the center of gravity in the protest movement of the workers of America and the world. It puts all faith in the power of the masses and no faith whatever in the justice of the courts. While favoring all possible legal proceedings, it calls for agitation, publicity, demonstrations—organized protest on a national and international scale. It calls for unity and solidarity of all workers on this burning issue, regardless of conflicting views on other questions."

International Protest Stayed the Executioner's Hand

Jamal's powerful voice became known to millions around the world through his 1995 book, *Live from Death Row*, and the scathing indictments of racist oppression and degradation he continues to write from behind bars. When Governor Ridge signed a death warrant against Jamal in June 1995, it touched off an explosion of protest and publicity. Hundreds of thousands of students, workers and others—including Jamal's fellow writers—fought for his life. Trade unions from throughout the U.S. to Brazil and Japan spoke out on his behalf. A number of heads of state, including French president Jacques Chirac and South Africa's Nelson Mandela, also demanded that Jamal not be put to death.

As the scheduled date of execution neared, the PDC initiated emergency united-front protests, centered on bringing to bear the power of organized labor, in New York City, Chicago and Oakland as well as in Canada and Australia. The protests drew hundreds of trade unionists and were endorsed by dozens of unions and labor officials, as well as a wide range of other organizations. Under the watchword of the united front, "march separately, strike together," the protests were based on unity in action while allowing for the free debate of contending strategies and programs which is vital to advancing the consciousness of the working class, anti-racist youth and others.

The outpouring of protests was the crucial factor in winning a stay of execution for Mumia in August 1995. At the time, Mumia issued a message to all those who had participated in the protests, urging: "Let us utilize this precious time to build a stronger and broader movement, to not 'stay' one execution, but to halt them all!" To put a final halt to the grisly workings of capitalism's machinery of death—be they the guardians of death row or the cops who operate as "judge, jury and executioner" in gunning down minority youth on the streets—requires sweeping away this entire system based on exploitation and oppression. The social power to do that lies in the hands of the multiracial working class, with its numbers, organization and discipline—and most importantly, its capacity to bring the wheels of the profit system to a grinding halt.

Integrated unions representing millions of workers have gone on record in support of Jamal. But these millions have not been mobilized *in action* to combat this racist frame-up. The responsibility for that lies with the pro-capitalist trade-union misleaders, who fear calling their members into action to defend their economic interests, much less in defense of blacks, immigrants and others who are cast off to starve in the streets or locked away in prison hellholes. The labor bureaucracy seeks to tie the working class to the interests of their exploiters through the agency of the capitalist political parties, especially Clinton's Democrats. During the last presidential elections, the AFL-CIO poured tens of millions into the Democratic Party's coffers while working overtime to prevent even the smallest strike.

In fighting to mobilize the unions in

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 680

12 December 1997

Military Terror, Islamic Reaction, IMF Austerity

Civil War Bleeds Algeria

For a Bolshevik Workers Party— For Permanent Revolution!

As one grisly massacre follows another in Algeria, the area south of the capital, Algiers, has become known as the "Triangle of Death." Hundreds of defenseless villagers have been killed and mutilated and scores of women kidnapped in recent weeks, bringing to more than 100,000 the death toll in the five-year civil war between the military-backed nationalist regime and Islamic fundamentalists.

The fundamentalist insurgency began after the army, fearing an electoral victory by the Islamic Salvation Front (FIS) in early 1992, canceled a second round of balloting and outlawed the FIS. The regime responded to the revolt with a murderous state of siege. Commando units, known as "ninjas," terrorize the plebeian quarters of the cities while villages have been subjected to napalm bombing, helicopter gunship attacks and artillery barrages. For their part, the Islamic fundamentalists have particularly targeted unveiled women, trade unionists, teachers and journalists.

Algeria is today an unlivable hell for the mass of the population. Amid the maelstrom of cruel atrocities on both sides, urban workers and poor peasants chafe under austerity measures dictated by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and enforced by the military-backed regime. Wages have plummeted by more than a third in the past three years, while necessities which were previously subsidized by the state have become virtually inaccessible. Masses of youth with no hope of a job line the streets of the cities, providing a ready audience for the fundamentalists' demagogic appeals. Even official unemployment figures range to 30 percent, and 150,000 more workers face layoffs as the government moves to privatize hundreds of public enterprises next year. Intent on achieving a stable "business climate" for exploitation of Algeria's vast oil and natural gas resources, the imperialist powers are pressuring President Liamine Zeroual and the military to form a coalition government with the FIS.

On September 24, the Army of Islamic Salvation (AIS), the military arm of the FIS, called on its followers to "stop combat operations" for the first time in the civil war. The unilateral truce was declared two months after Zeroual ordered the release of imprisoned FIS leader Abassi Madani and is reportedly part of a deal to integrate AIS *mujahedin* (holy warriors) into Zeroual's armed forces. Yet the bloodletting has only accelerated.

Both the rival fundamentalists of the Armed Islamic Group (GIA) and hardline "*éradicateurs*" in the army and police are intent on scuttling any deal between Zeroual and the FIS. The latest wave of massacres, mainly targeting villages in the FIS stronghold south of Algiers, was launched by the GIA following Madani's release. Vowing "no truce and no reconciliation," the GIA declared that it was "tracking down the tyrants' supporters in the villages," "eradicating them" and "capturing their women" (*Le Monde*, 28 September).

There have been widespread reports of army complicity in the GIA massacres. Police and soldiers refused to intervene in a number of attacks, even though their barracks were within earshot of the screams of the victims. When rockets were fired at Blida, a provincial capital and FIS bastion, the army stood by for several hours even though the source of the assault was plainly visible on the surrounding hillsides. And in at least one massacre, in Raïs, villagers accused the military of direct complicity. Survivors told reporters that tanks ringed the village while 300 people were butchered over the course of several hours and that uniformed soldiers fired on villagers who tried to flee.

AFP

Survivors of September massacre which left 85 dead in Bentalha, near Algiers. Death toll has topped 100,000 in five-year civil war between army and Islamic fundamentalists.

Zaoura/AFP

"Ninjas," government commando units, terrorize poor quarters of Algerian cities.

In the past couple of months, there have been numerous accounts in the Western press charging that the army is itself behind many of the massacres. On November 10, thousands demonstrated in Paris behind the call for a "commission of inquiry" to investigate these charges. Endorsed by the French government, this "Day for Algeria" was in effect aimed at pressuring for an imperialist-imposed "peace" in line with France's current policy of seeking to bring the FIS into the Algiers government.

Under conditions of pervasive terror and repression, with reporters and other observers barred from massacre sites except under army escort, there is little way of knowing the truth behind these heinous atrocities. Whoever the perpetrators, it is notable that they have steered clear of any attacks on the vulnerable oil and gas pipelines which are deemed sacrosanct by imperialist concerns. One thing is absolutely clear: Marxists have no side in this bloodletting between reactionary forces, which are all deadly enemies of the Algerian proletariat, women, ethnic minorities like the Berbers and all the oppressed.

Yet the parties of the Algerian left, historically characterized by servile tailing of the bourgeois-nationalist National Liberation Front (FLN), have hitched their wagons to one or the other side in the bloody civil war. The remnants of Algerian Stalinism—Ettahaddi (Challenge) and the PADS (Algerian Party for Democracy and Socialism)—march in lockstep behind the hardline *éradicateurs*. The Parti Socialiste des Travailleurs (PST—Socialist Workers Party), linked to the fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat (USec) of Alain Krivine and the late Ernest Mandel, likewise looks to the nationalist regime, while the Parti des Travailleurs (PT—Workers Party), followers of French reformist Pierre Lambert, has gone so far as to embrace the FIS. At bottom, these political tendencies place their faith in the good offices of the French bourgeoisie and particularly its current Socialist-led government, which enforces neocolonial exploitation in Algeria while presiding over vicious racist terror against North African and African minorities in France.

The International Communist League fights to build Trotskyist parties on both sides of the Mediterranean to sweep away French imperialism and its despotic lackeys in Algiers. Key to this is irreconcilable opposition to the racist, class-collaborationist popular front headed by Socialist prime minister Lionel Jospin.

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"Sex Offender" Dragnet Spawns Police-State Measures

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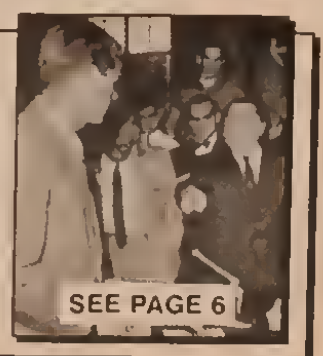
Liberal Union-Busting in the "American Century"

Wall Street and the War Against Labor



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Zionism, Islamic Fundamentalism and the Arab Bourgeois Regimes

Los Angeles
1 December 1997

Dear Comrades:

In "U.S. Out of the Persian Gulf!" (*WV* No. 679, 28 November), we wrote: "The U.S.-backed Zionist regime in Israel continues its bloody expansionist campaigns against the Palestinians, which have fueled the threat posed to Arab regimes like Mubarak's by Islamic fundamentalists." The sentence, in and of itself, is correct. The problem I find with it, however, is that it lets the Arab bourgeoisies far too easily off the hook.

While Zionist expansionism (as well as the PLO's acceptance of the "peace accords") has increased the credibility of murderous, fundamentalist outfits like Hamas among the Palestinians, what Mubarak and the Egyptian bourgeois nationalists face in their land is, for the most part, their own doing. The massacre of tourists and Egyptians this November, as well as the terror experienced by the Christian Coptic minority in Egypt (especially in the rural areas) on a regular basis is, in the immediate sense, the responsibility of the fundamentalists who pull the trigger. In the historical sense, however, it is a reaction to the miserable failure of Arab bourgeois nationalism, identified in Egypt with the late nationalist leader Gamal Abdel Nasser. Outside the Occupied Territories, the rise of reactionary Muslim fundamentalism is fueled as much, if not more, by the Arab bourgeoisies as it is by bloody Zionism.

Upon taking power in the early 1950s, Nasser immediately set out as a bonaparte, repressing leaders of the left and right. The strikes that erupted in Egypt following his coup were savagely suppressed, with several leaders of the Egyptian Communist Party (ECP)—which led many of the strikes—hanged. Henri Curiel, the founder and leader of the Communist Party, was deported to France in 1956. Also, the Muslim Brotherhood, the primary fundamentalist organization of the time, was banned, and several of its leaders imprisoned. The logic of the Egyptian nationalists was to fear first of all the proletariat and the threat it could pose at such a tumultuous time. This was despite the fact that the Stalinist ECP was class-collaborationist to the core, having fully supported Nasser, and having earlier formed unprincipled blocs with the fundamentalists against the occupying British forces (different variations on the "anti-imperialist united front").

On the other hand, the nationalists also realized the threat from the right, in the form of the Muslim Brotherhood, against the coherence of Egyptian nationalism. Initially, Nasser wanted to court U.S. imperialism. When he was rebuffed by the United States, he turned to the Soviet Union. While Egypt was producing stamps with pictures of Lenin, the Egyptian ruling class was also persecuting, imprisoning and hanging trade-union and Communist leaders in the country.

The banning of the Muslim Brotherhood was immediately met mostly by apathy or indifference on the part of the population, which at that time was driven more by nationalism than by any form of fundamentalism. As time progressed and unemployment, the economy and poverty worsened, the fundamentalists came to be viewed by a growing minority of the population with sympathy. This was also conditioned by the lack of any proletarian alternative to the economic woes ravaging the country. When Anwar Sadat took power following Nasser's death in 1970, he lifted the ban on the fundamentalists and put the patriarch of the Coptic Orthodox church under house arrest. This basically gave the green light for the fundamentalists to organize and grow.

A considerable right-wing shift has since taken place in Egypt, as well as in all the Arab states, in regard to ideology, religion, culture and social issues. Most horribly oppressed in these parts of the world are women. While the veil and headscarf are not legally forced on Muslim women in Egypt, there is a sort of economic draft into the garb. Women who don't wear the veil or at least the headscarf are often considered "whores"; "whores" don't get married, at least not to "respectable" men. Without marriage and a family, a woman's position in society leaves much to be desired. While this may be less acute in urban areas like Cairo and Alexandria, much of Egypt is still rural. Also, female genital mutilation, in the form of removing the clitoris, has been on the rise, especially in the impoverished south.

It should also be kept in mind that the so-called "secular" Arab nationalists were never really that secular to begin with. The idea of separation of church and state was never seriously proposed, nor could it be *by the bourgeois nationalists*, given the extreme backwardness of the country economically and culturally and the fact that the local bourgeoisies were tied and subordinated in one form or another to foreign imperialism. This powerfully underlines the importance of Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution. The masses in this part of the world still yearn for the democratic gains won in the

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AP

Plebeian support for Islamic fundamentalism, as in this Cairo district, fueled by government repression, austerity.

Red Purges and the U.S. Labor Bureaucracy

TROTSKY

LENIN

The expulsion of "reds" and other militants from the trade unions during the anti-Communist witchhunt of the late 1940s and '50s laid the basis for the consolidation of the staunchly pro-imperialist Cold War labor bureaucracy in the U.S. In a 1951 article denouncing the purges in the CIO, written at the height of the McCarthy era, Trotskyist leader James P. Cannon noted that the Stalinist Communist Party had prepared its own isolation through its earlier betrayals, from helping to channel working-class militancy into the Democratic Party in the 1930s to strikebreaking on behalf of the imperialist rulers in World War II. The fight against capitalist state intervention in the unions must be part of a political struggle against the pro-capitalist union misleaders and for a revolutionary workers party.

The patriotic labor skates have all the advantages in an unequal struggle. They enjoy the solid backing of the government, and are also supported by all the monopolized agencies for the manufacture of public opinion. The general atmosphere of reaction favors them. And they have been aided in no small degree by the witch-hunt and the brutal persecution of the Communist Party leaders, which the CIO Convention formally—but only formally—decried. For the moment, at least, the right-wing, pro-government faction of Murray and Reuther are the victors. Moreover, they continue to gain, directly or indirectly, from new betrayals and defections which afflict the Stalinists, even in their "independent" unions, like active hemophilia.

If one can contemplate the trade-union troubles of the Stalinist fakers with equanimity it is not because of indifference to the present trend of events. The over-all result is the consolidation of a conservative, pro-government bureaucracy which smothers the militancy of the unions created in struggle and harnesses them to the imperialist war machine. Revolutionary militants are bound to struggle against this course....

Losses and defeats can't be avoided in times of reaction, when the relationship of forces is unfavorable. This is true in all stages and phases of the class struggle, from trade-union activity to revolution. But there are defeats and defeats. Those which come in battle under honest leadership leave a tradition upon which the movement lives and later rises to victory. Other defeats which derive from cowardice and treachery bring demoralization and yield no moral capital for the future. Such is the defeat engineered by the Stalinists in the present internal struggle in the trade unions....

American labor radicalism has a great future, and its next upsurge very probably will not be long delayed. We should make no mistake as to where the troops are coming from. The next drive will be spearheaded by the young militants of the new generation who are soon to enter the arena with all the courage and ardor of the generation of the Thirties; and very likely in even more imposing numbers. They will avoid the fate of the preceding generation if those who have learned from the tragic experiences do their duty.

—James P. Cannon, *Notebook of an Agitator* (1958)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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PRODUCTION MANAGER: Susan Fuller

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The closing date for news in this issue is December 9.

No. 680 **12 December 1997**

SWP Che Forum and the Gusanos

Los Angeles
2 December 1997

Dear Workers Vanguard:

The article "SWP Welcomes Cuban Gusanos" in *WV* No. 679 (28 November) polemicizes effectively against the politics of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) on Cuba. But there was a misstatement of fact in reporting that the SWP, after welcoming the *gusanos* into their Che commemoration forum on October 22 in Los Angeles, "politely translated their anti-communist diatribes." What the SWP actually did was politely stand by while the *gusano* speaker translated for herself, while they unsuccessfully tried to silence a speaker from the Spartacus Youth Club when she presented our internationalist program for defense of the Cuban deformed workers state against imperialism and domestic counterrevolution and for proletarian political revolution.

The SYC comrade correctly pointed to the dire results of the cutoff of Soviet aid to Cuba after the counterrevolutionary Boris Yeltsin came to power in 1991, criminally supported by the SWP. But the "perestroika" (market "reforms") policies of the Stalinist bureaucracy under Mikhail Gorbachev, which fueled the forces of internal capitalist restoration, had also cut the ground out from under the Cuban economy. In 1990 Gorbachev cut back the amount of oil that the USSR sold to Cuba and drastically raised the price to world market levels while slashing the price that Moscow paid for Cuban sugar. This betrayal undercut many decades of development, leaving Cuba even more endangered by the U.S. imperialists' starvation blockade.

Comradely,
Jon Wood

From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal

Bureaucracy of Death

"As a general rule, a man is undone by waiting for capital punishment well before he dies. Two deaths are inflicted on him, the first being worse than the second, whereas he killed but once. Compared to such torture, the penalty of retaliation seems like a civilized law. It never claimed that a man who gouged out one of his brother's eyes should be totally blinded."

—Albert Camus, *Resistance, Rebellion and Death* (1969)

Death row, for most Americans, is more than a reality most do not know. It is a reality that most don't *want* to know.

It is thus an abstraction, a phrase that is used in speech, but one generally ignored in real life. It is a place seldom seen, its inhabitants seen as subhuman at best, and perhaps monsters at worst, whose duty it is to die, preferably quietly.

To be more precise, their job is not to simply "die," but to ***be killed*** by state officials who are trained and paid well to do the killing.

American University scholar Robert Johnson writes in his newest book, *Death Work: A Study of the Modern Execution Process* (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth [1998]), that the American way of death is intentional and premeditated torture, the purpose of which is to drive those on death row to a dubious relief in death. This drive to death, Johnson argues, is the objective of every facet of the prison system, which seeks to maximize isolation of the condemned, from family, from community, from the prison population, from other death row prisoners, and finally from his very self.

Citing the length and nature of death row incarcerations, the isolation regimes, and the ever-present specter of death, Prof. Johnson finds it is torture, and as such, "inherently wrong":

"The goal of torture is never justice; torture seeks the destruction of the person, not his punishment.... Condemned criminals are not tortured because this is what they deserve. They are tortured because the destruction of their person is useful to their [state] torturers. It is the goal of destruction of the person that distinguishes torture from punishment and renders it gratuitous and hence immoral." (p. 219)

Turning to the area of international law, Professor Johnson found the U.S. in current and constant violation of U.N. accords and treaties.

More enlightened human rights law is emerging from places like Jamaica, Zimbabwe and Britain's Privy Council.

As long ago as 1989, in the *Soering* case, the European Court of Human Rights outlawed extradition of a person to the U.S. to face a capital prosecution, as conditions on U.S. death rows, and the wait for death, constituted "inhuman and degrading punishment" in violation of Art. 3 of the European Convention on Human Rights.

In the 1993 *Pratt* (Jamaica) case, and in a May 1993 decision of the Zimbabwe Supreme Court similar rulings were rendered, finding five years on death row violative of similar "cruel" articles of international law.

Prof. Johnson does not (surprisingly) address the June 1996 report of the International Commission of Jurists, which demonstrates how the U.S. signed but routinely violates Article 7 of the *International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights*, which states, in part:

"No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment."

It is good enough for the European Community, for Jamaica, and Zimbabwe, it seems; but in the United States of America, it means nothing. Nothing at all.

31 July 1997

© 1997 by Mumia Abu-Jamal

To join the fight to free Mumia and for the latest updates on his case, contact the Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013-0099; phone (212) 406-4252. E-mail: 75057.3201@compuserve.com. Urgently needed contributions for Mumia's defense, which are tax-deductible, should be made payable to the Bill of Rights Foundation, earmarked "Mumia Abu-Jamal Legal Defense," and sent to the Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, 163 Amsterdam Avenue, No. 115, New York, NY 10023-5001. If you wish to correspond with Jamal, you can write to: Mumia Abu-Jamal, AM8335, SCI Greene, 1040 E. Roy Furman Hwy., Waynesburg, PA 15370.

Brutal Cop Attack on American Indian Protest

Plymouth Rock

For 28 years, Native American Indians and their supporters have demonstrated on Thanksgiving Day at a site near Plymouth Rock in Massachusetts. In the past, these "National Day of Mourning" actions, protesting the genocide suffered by this country's indigenous peoples, have occurred largely without incident. But this year, the November 27 demonstration was met by a vicious cop rampage in which police beat and pepper-gassed protesters and arrested 25 on bogus charges of disorderly conduct and assault and battery on a police officer.

Several hundred demonstrators had been taking part in the protest march. Some carried a banner in defense of Leonard Peltier, an American Indian Movement activist who was framed up and sent to prison in 1977 as part of the FBI's bloody COINTELPRO (Counterintelligence Program) campaign against radical leftists and fighters against racism, particularly targeting the Black Panther Party. But as the march progressed, the cops suddenly declared the streets off-limits to protesters and waded in with pepper gas and flailing batons, injuring at least a dozen people.

"We marched out onto the streets of Plymouth and a police riot happened," said one protester. The brutality of the cop assault was confirmed by several area residents who offered to testify on behalf of the demonstrators. Many residents rushed to help marchers who had been pepper-gassed. In a December 7 protest letter to Plymouth district attorney Michael Sullivan, the Partisan Defense Committee in Boston wrote:

"The Thanksgiving Day police rampage at the site of the Pilgrims' landing is a brutal reminder that this country was founded on the theft of land and genocide. After fulfilling its 'manifest destiny' over the bones of the native peoples, America's capitalist rulers have condemned what remains of the Indian population to grinding poverty, discrimination and all-sided abuse....

"We join with the many bystanders, residents of Plymouth and decent people across the state who have condemned this savage assault. We demand that all charges against the protesters be dropped."

Cops beat, pepper-gassed and arrested dozens of protesters at Plymouth Rock on Thanksgiving Day.

Adaskaveg/Boston Herald

The police rampage in Plymouth came against the backdrop of a bipartisan effort to reinstate the death penalty in Massachusetts. In late October, both the Massachusetts House of Representatives and Senate voted to restore capital punishment for the first time since the state Supreme Court struck down the last death penalty law in 1984. Among the supporters of the bill were eight House members (seven of them Democrats) who had formerly opposed the death penalty. After the initial House vote, both leading Democratic contenders for next year's gubernatorial election, Attorney General Scott Harshbarger and Patricia McGovern—a member of Massachusetts Citizens Against the Death Penalty—promised to enforce the death penalty despite their avowed personal opposition to it.

The attempt to revive executions in this bastion of "liberalism" was defeated only when Representative John Slattery changed his vote on November 6. Slattery explained that the murder conviction in Boston of British au pair Louise Woodward, a prim young white woman whose cause was widely popular among local residents, made him realize that those wrongfully convicted could also be executed. Following his turnaround, Slattery received numerous death threats, while the right-wing *Boston Herald* ran a slew of articles vilifying him.

Stoking the effort to restore the death penalty was the case of ten-year-old Jeffrey Curley, who was found brutally murdered in October. According to police, Curley had been abducted from his street in Cambridge by two men who killed and sexually attacked him. The horrific crime touched off a tidal wave of calls for broader police powers to "fight crime," while petition and lobbying campaigns were organized to pressure legislators for the death penalty vote. A particular focus of the furor was the North American Man/Boy Love Association (NAMBLA), whose literature was supposedly found in the car of one of the alleged killers. NAMBLA supporters have repeatedly faced victimization for defending the right of consensual sexual relations with minors. We say: Hands off NAMBLA!

The capitalist rulers are steadily reinforcing their apparatus of repression—from the speedup on death rows across the country to the unleashing of racist cop terror—as they grind down working people, minorities and the poor. In Massachusetts, brutal austerity measures, including the virtual destruction of state welfare programs, have been accompanied by legal moves to drastically restrict bail and parole, widen guidelines for trying juvenile defendants as adults and establish a "sex-offender registry," echoing similar efforts by state governments elsewhere in the country (see "'Sex Offender' Dragnet Spawns Police-State Measures," page 4).

At the summit of this state terror apparatus is the death penalty. In Massachusetts 70 years ago, the execution of militant anarchist workers Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti was a stark demonstration of the death penalty as part of the machinery of repression aimed at suppressing the struggles of the working class and oppressed. In the U.S., with its legacy of black chattel slavery, this system of *legal lynching* is racist to the core. As Marxists, we are opposed on principle to the death penalty as punishment. We fight for a socialist revolution to sweep away the whole murderous, racist apparatus of cops, courts and prisons that constitutes the capitalist state. ***Drop all charges against the Plymouth Rock protesters!***■

NOTICE

***Workers Vanguard* skips a week in December.**

Our next issue will be dated January 2.

"Sex Offender" Dragnet Spawns Police-State Measures

In an ominous escalation of state repression, federal and state governments have enacted a barrage of barbaric measures targeting supposed "sex offenders" in the last few years, ranging from incitements to vigilante terror to mandatory castration to "preventive detention." Several months ago, California began publicly circulating the names of thousands of people who had ever been convicted of "sex crimes." In May 1996, President Clinton signed a federal version of the "Megan's laws" which have now been enacted in all 50 states. Modeled on a 1994 New Jersey law named after seven-year-old murder victim Megan Kanka, these draconian bills require ongoing "registration" of "sex offenders" and, in most states, allow for notifying the communities where they settle after release from prison. The federal legislation dictates that such measures be enforced by all states as a condition for full federal "anti-crime" funding.

Seizing on the "family values" morality which has become the stock in trade of right-wing bigots and liberal Democrats alike, the capitalist state is setting the stage for a frightening array of new attacks on individual privacy and democratic rights. Measures aimed at the "mentally aberrant" (defined by the "morality" code of this racist, anti-woman, anti-gay bourgeois society) can easily be used to bolster attacks against the left, militant workers, immigrants, minorities—anyone deemed "deviant" by the capitalist rulers.

The anti-sex witchhunt has taken aim at everything from homosexual teachers to abortion rights, from "obscene" rock lyrics to adolescent sex, from *Playboy* and Internet pornography to art exhibits showing nudity and sexual situations. Under the new measures, someone convicted of "soliciting" in a men's room, for example, can be sentenced to lifetime surveillance and harassment and set up for hounding and attacks by bigoted mobs. Robert Campos, a former "sex crimes" prosecutor in Arizona and now a defense lawyer, notes that these laws make "no distinctions...between someone accused of molesting young girls or someone skinny-dipping in his own swimming pool who was accidentally seen by two 12-year-olds." The CD-ROM database issued in California this summer lists some 64,000 "sex offenders" and is available for public perusal at police stations and even such events as the L.A. County Fair! Alameda County has been widely distributing maps with triangles marking the street location of the homes of "sex offenders."

While the U.S. has been at the forefront of fomenting such social reaction, the anti-sex crusade is not unique to this country. Lately, panics over "pedophilia" have swept through Europe. Late last year, Belgium was swept by huge demonstrations amid a climate of hysteria over the "Dutroux affair," in which young girls were kidnapped, raped and murdered, allegedly by a porn ring. In Britain, Labour Party prime minister Tony Blair has announced a new "Crime and Disorder Bill" which bans 110,000 former "sex offenders" from ever going anywhere near schools and playgrounds. In Socialist prime minister Lionel Jospin's France, at least six people committed suicide last June after being arrested and humiliated along with some 800 others suspected of being customers of a pornographic publisher. Raising the call "Down With the Witchhunt by the Jospin Government!" (*Le Bolchévik* No. 143, Summer 1997), the Ligue Trotskyste de France wrote:

> "Using the fear and anxiety created by the campaign to 'save our children,' the bourgeoisie criminalizes sex in general. It also tries to equate those who watch 'pedophile' videos with serial child killers like Dutroux. This is like the feminist campaign several years ago which said that watching pornographic films led to rape and other forms of women's oppression. But watching a pornographic or a pedophile film is only watching a film."

Assault on Civil Liberties

In the post-Soviet world, "child abuser" has taken its place alongside "terrorist" as a code phrase to justify all-sided attacks on civil liberties. Commenting in particular on how sex is used in American political life, writer Gore Vidal recently observed, "When Communism went away, sex came into its lurid own as the diversionary smear of choice" (*New Yorker*, 1 December). The murder of Megan Kanka was a savage crime, but what's being debated in legislatures throughout the country has nothing to do with protecting children. The sweeping measures being rushed through by politicians—along with ballooning budgets to fund proposals for arbitrary imprisonment and detention, police surveillance and increased government intrusion into private life—aim much wider than alleged "sex offenders."

Several bills currently before Congress threaten a mammoth increase in state surveillance. A measure designed to clamp down on "illegal" immigrants, dubbed "1-800-Big-Brother" by its opponents, would require that all job applicants have their Social Security numbers checked through a national database. Another vast new database set up to track "deadbeat parents," the National Directory of New Hires, was mandated by the same law which axed federal welfare programs last year.

In Massachusetts, one of the few remaining states without the death penalty, the media and politicians manipulated the hideous murder of ten-year-old Jeffrey Curley this fall to whip up a furor which nearly led to the reinstatement of capital punishment. When the cops claimed to have found literature of the North American Man/Boy Love Association (NAMBLA) in a car belonging to one of the alleged killers, this provoked a renewed witchhunt against the persecuted organization, which defends consensual sex between men and boys. The Gay and Lesbian Alliance Against Defamation joined in the rush to denounce NAMBLA.

And in California, there are billboards everywhere threatening "statutory rape" charges against anyone having sex with an underage teenager. We oppose reactionary "age of consent" laws and advocate that the guiding principle in sexual relations should be effective consent—nothing more, or less. Unlike liberals and reformists, who systematically bow to bourgeois "respectability," the Spartacist League has consistently said: "Defend NAMBLA! Government out of the bedrooms!"

The refusal by mainstream gay groups and other defenders of gay rights to stand by vulnerable groups like NAMBLA is both craven and suicidal. It was not so long ago that all homosexual behavior was deemed to be pathological, and a large number of states still have "anti-sodomy" statutes on the books. In 1952, at the height of the McCarthyite witchhunt, homosexuality was labeled a "sociopathic personality disturbance" by the American Psychiatric Association. While today it is fashionable for Democratic Party politicians (and even some Republicans) to give lip service to gay rights, brutal attacks on gays continue to increase, people with AIDS are still stigmatized and persecuted and you can still be drummed out of the armed forces for being gay.

Again in California, one 76-year-old man found himself on the CD-ROM list for having had consensual sex with a sailor 40 years ago. While the state government now says it will delete the names of those convicted under laws which have since been abolished—after they have already been publicly branded—this underlines how the "sex offender" laws particularly target gays. In fact, some of the convictions went back as far as 1944—when all homosexual acts were criminal offenses—and as many as 60 to 65 percent of names and addresses on the list were inaccurate. Less than two weeks after the CD-ROM was released, a man was attacked by enraged neighbors in a case of mistaken identity. Near Los Angeles, a van owned by a convicted "child molester" was firebombed only days after his name was publicized.

The preachings of religious fundamentalists and sex-hating feminists aside, sexual relationships are complex—not least because one person's greatest joy may be somebody else's "perversion." The power to define who is "mentally abnormal" and what is a "personality disorder" is in the hands of cops and judges—and, often, social workers—who seek to apply a reactionary, conformist, anti-sex morality code. In Texas, an infant was recently removed from his foster mother simply because she is a lesbian. In Washington state, a woman teacher was sentenced to six months in prison for having a love affair with a teenage student; their newborn child has been ripped away from her and she has been barred from any contact with her lover.

Behind the Anti-Sex Witchhunt

Following a brief hiatus conditioned by the mass struggles of the 1960s for black rights and against the Vietnam War, the bourgeoisie again revved up its

WV Photo

March for abortion rights, San Francisco, 1992. Marxists oppose government attempts to regulate consensual sexual acts and state persecution of groups like NAMBLA.

Meyer/SF Chronicle

Bigelow/Washington Post

New laws impose lifetime surveillance, "preventive detention" and public listing of convicted "sex offenders," inviting vigilante terror. L.A. County Fair featured CD-ROM registry identifying 64,000 people, some convicted over 40 years ago for consensual gay sex.

drive to regiment all aspects of social life. Behind this is an agenda of racist reaction and anti-working-class attacks at home and a reassertion of U.S. imperialist domination abroad. The anti-sex witchhunt in particular is aimed at reinforcing the institution of the family, the main source of the oppression of women in capitalist society.

One of the first offensives in this reactionary drive was the manufactured panic over "satanic ritual abuse" in day-care centers. Hundreds of people were railroaded to prison on the basis of bizarre charges when, in fact, no crime of any kind had even been committed. The full force of the capitalist state's apparatus of repression was employed in the service of literally demonizing day-care workers and working mothers with the aim of reinforcing the sanctity of hearth and home.

Soon after the infamous McMartin Preschool case in California, which started in 1984 and dragged on for six years, a similar witchhunt ensnared the Amirault family of Massachusetts. In 1987, Violet Amirault, her son Gerald and daughter Cheryl were given sentences ranging from 20 to 40 years on absurd charges of sexual abuse of children at a day-care center owned and run by the mother. Gerald Amirault remains in prison to this day. The convictions of Violet Amirault and Cheryl were overturned in 1995 but were vindictively reinstated this year, shortly before the death of Violet Amirault. While the "satanic ritual abuse" scare has ebbed in recent years, dozens of its victims remain in jail. And some of the very same "child-abuse experts" whose testimony led to the convictions of the Amiraults are still regularly used as "expert witnesses" by state prosecutors, most recently in the Boston "nanny case." As one medical specialist noted in a recent article in the *Wall Street Journal* (11 November):

> "When one designates oneself a 'child-abuse specialist' rather than, for example, a pediatric neurosurgeon or an expert in the biomechanics of head trauma, that very designation suggests a predisposition to find abuse even where none exists. It is rather like the experts in witchcraft of bygone eras, who reliably found signs and symptoms of demonic goings-on in even the most natural of phenomena."

The legal grounds for the anti-sex witchhunt were set out in the 1974 Child Abuse Prevention and Treatment Act. This Democratic-sponsored legislation, also known as the Mondale Act, had the ardent support of bourgeois feminists. Yet it was specifically designed to appeal to conservatives wanting to reinforce the authority of the patriarchal family and the influence of religion, a key ideological mainstay for the oppression of women and youth. It set up a national network of programs aimed at drawing in teachers, social workers and mental health professionals as snoops for the capitalist state. While a vast number of critically needed social programs have been gutted or entirely eliminated, funding and resources for the programs set up by the Mondale Act and laws modeled on it have been repeatedly and massively increased.

As a result, today there is a bloated bureaucracy in place to pursue "sex criminals." As we wrote in "Satan, the State and Anti-Sex Hysteria" (*Women and Revolution* No. 45, Winter-Spring 1996):

> "The witchhunt's nationwide apparatus of sex cops, prying social workers and quacks, bolstered with millions of dollars, prestige and power, remains firmly in place.... Strengthened by increased resources and an atmosphere of mass panic, the state apparatus has tightened its grip on society and thus reinforced its ability to quash any challenge to its exploitative and oppressive rule."

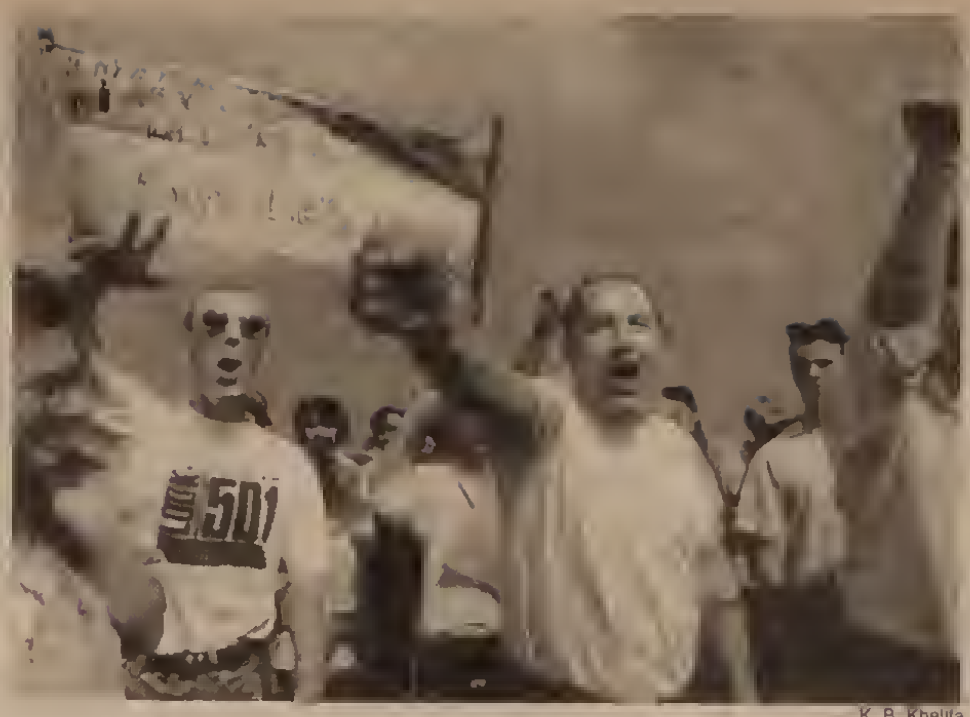
Preventive Detention and Racist Repression

Last year, by a vote of 51 to 8, California became the first state to enact a law mandating castration for twice-convicted "sex offenders," either through chemical or surgical means. The same reactionary Women's Coalition that lobbied for the barbaric castration law is now pushing legislation to have "sex crime" parolees permanently handcuffed. The California version of "Megan's Law"—and those in a number of other states—gives state officials the power to continue confining "sex offenders" who have already served their sentences. The only condition specified for this ongoing and arbitrary incarceration in state mental hospitals is that the former inmates are deemed "mentally ill," with no evidence of recent violent acts necessary. Such ghastly measures are a throwback to the barbarous times when criminals were literally branded so that they could be punished for life.

The Arizona law is explicitly based on the premise that "sex offenders" cannot be "rehabilitated," specifying lifetime probation after release from prison. This means constant surveillance, court-ordered "therapy" sessions, and lie-detector, drug and alcohol tests. Among the tortures imposed by this law is a "test" by plethysmograph—attaching probes to the man's penis to measure his erection while tapes describing illicit sex acts are played. One has to seriously question who is mentally disordered here: the parolees or the program administrators.

Such blatant trampling on civil rights recalls the complete disenfranchisement of black people under the Jim Crow laws of the South, when the lynch rope was the only "justice" blacks were deemed to deserve. In fact, a significant proportion of black men *are* disenfranchised today because they have served time for felony convictions. By whatever name, "indefinite involuntary confinement" or "preventive detention" is in stark violation of the U.S. Constitution, in particular the provisions of the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments regarding due process and double jeopardy.

It is a measure of the ferocity of this bigoted crusade that it is employing means normally used by capitalist governments in times of war or "counterinsurgency" operations. The most notorious instance of preventive detention in the United States was the racist incarceration of Japanese Americans in remote concentration camps during World War II. Under Executive Order 9066 signed by Democrat Franklin D. Roosevelt, over 120,000 people—mostly women and children and two-thirds of whom were U.S. citizens—were torn from their homes, which were stolen from them, and imprisoned without trial as "potential" spies and saboteurs, solely on the "evidence" of their Japanese ancestry. Despite hypocritical apologies by politicians today, this disgusting episode was no "aberration"—plans for similar detention camps, for other groups of "undesirables," have been mooted many times since.



K. B. Khelifa

After heinous murders of young girls in Belgium, "law and order" hysteria fueled huge marches demanding return of barbaric death penalty in 1996.

The intensified repressive measures being pushed through today will do nothing to stop the sort of heinous murders which are used to justify their implementation. The capitalist rulers cynically seize on individual crimes which are a reflection of the social pathology of this decaying system of exploitation and oppression in order to strengthen the state powers which defend that system. The massive extension of police powers, the rise in cop terror, the growth of prison construction, the speedup on death row—all these are aimed at protecting this truly criminal system by intimidating the mass of the population, particularly working people and minorities, as the bourgeoisie drives up the rate of exploitation while slashing social benefits. In a court system constructed from top to bottom to serve the interests of the capitalist class, "justice" is a myth.

Further, the state has no business legislating people's personal lives, however messy they may be. As we wrote in "The 'Date Rape' Issue: Feminist Hysteria, Anti-Sex Witchhunt":

AP

Washington teacher Mary Kay LeTourneau, sentenced to six months in prison for love affair with a teenage student.

> "While Marxists cannot decree either a just or a pleasurable solution to the ambiguities that arise out of the intersection of sex, race and class in this capitalist society, we can and do oppose all attempts to fit human sexuality into legislated and decreed 'norms.'...
>
> "To create genuinely free and equal relations between people in all spheres, including sex, requires nothing less than the destruction of this class system and the creation of a communist world. In a classless society social and economic constraints over sexual relations will be nonexistent, and in the words of Frederick Engels, 'there is no other motive left except mutual inclination'."
>
> —*Women and Revolution* No. 43, Winter 1993-Spring 1994

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- Join the Labor Black League for Social Defense!
- The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State
- Abolish the Racist Death Penalty! Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!
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SPARTACIST LEAGUE/U.S. LOCAL DIRECTORY

National Office: Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116 • (212) 732-7860

Boston
Box 390840, Central Sta.
Cambridge, MA 02139
(617) 666-9453

Chicago
Box 6441, Main PO
Chicago, IL 60680
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Wall Street and the War Against Labor

Labor Press Associates

AFL

Left: 84-day strike in 1947 by over 130,000 East Coast shipyard workers during largest strike wave in U.S. history. Right: 1947 labor rally in New York's Madison Square Garden against strikebreaking Taft-Hartley Act passed under Democrat Harry Truman.

Part 4: Liberal Union-Busting in the "American Century"

Parts One, Two and Three were published in WV *Nos. 676, 677 and 679, 17 and 31 October, and 28 November.*

During the 1960s, a middle-aged white industrial worker typically believed in the "American Dream." His economic circumstances were much better and the prospects for his children far greater than when he grew up during the Great Depression of the 1930s. He drove a late-model car and lived in a suburban home with an affordable, government-subsidized mortgage. His children attended a state university or city college with low tuition and easily available, government-guaranteed student loans. He was likely a veteran of the Second World War "for democracy," in which the U.S. was victorious, and had perhaps himself benefited from the educational grants that the "GI Bill" extended to returning soldiers.

Today, the picture is very different and much bleaker. Real wages for blue-collar workers peaked in the early 1970s and have since fallen about 20 percent. Male high-school graduates just entering the job market are being paid almost 30 percent less and female high-school graduates almost 20 percent less than a generation ago. *The State of Working America 1996-97*, a detailed statistical study by the Economic Policy Institute—a left-liberal think tank partly funded by the trade unions— summed it up:

> "American families are beset by a long-term erosion in wages, deteriorating job quality, and greater economic insecurity....
> "Our review of indicators suggests that the changes in the economy have been 'all pain, no gain,' that the factors causing the pain of greater dislocation, economic vulnerability, and falling wages do not seem to be making a better economy or generating a 'payoff' that could potentially be redistributed to help the losers. Rather, there seems to be a large-scale redistribution of power, wealth, and income that has failed to lead to or be associated with improved economic efficiency, capital accumulation or competitiveness."

The authors of this study, mirroring the views of the AFL-CIO bureaucracy, blame this deterioration on "general deregulatory, laissez-faire shifts in the economy and forces that have weakened the bargaining power of workers." However, many of the key factors behind the current immiseration of the working class and the gutting of the labor movement were present even during the very period—the decade following World War II—when the "American Dream" looked most real.

The anti-communist witchhunt of the late 1940s and early '50s drove "reds" and other militants out of the trade unions and consolidated a labor bureaucracy that was openly pro-capitalist and identified with the aims of U.S. imperialism in the international arena. The AFL and CIO leaderships acquiesced to Taft-Hartley and other anti-union laws which crippled the labor movement, especially in organizing campaigns. The militant tactics which built the CIO industrial unions in the 1930s—plant occupations (sitdowns), mass picketing, secondary strikes—could now be used only by *defying* the country's harsh anti-labor laws and challenging the union tops' ties to the Democratic Party.

One of the chief victims of the bureaucracy's fealty to the New Deal coalition, which tied the unions to Northern liberals and Southern Dixiecrats, was a drive to organize workers in the South in the late 1940s. Grotesquely named "Operation Dixie," it was abandoned after two years during which the anti-Communist CIO tops did more to destroy what interracial union organizations already existed, by by driving out leftist militants, than to build anything new. The toll of this defeat is felt to this day by the labor movement, as many manufacturers began shifting their operations from the industrial Midwest in the 1970s to take advantage of non-union, low-wage labor in the South.

In general, blacks were excluded from the prosperity of the first two postwar decades. A large proportion still lived in the racist police states of the South. But even in the North, black workers were proverbially "the last hired and the first fired." In the mid-1960s, the average income of a black family was 60 percent that of a white family. Even a unionized black industrial worker in the Midwest or Northeast was more likely to live in an inner-city ghetto than in a tree-lined suburb. And he was far more likely to have a son in prison or a daughter on welfare than on a college campus.

The civil rights movement, the mass struggles for black democratic rights and social equality, peaked at a time when American capitalism could no longer afford significant improvements in the economic condition of its working class. The industrial economies of Germany and Japan had recovered from the devastation of World War II and were making deep inroads in world markets, including the American market. The competitive position and overall strength of the U.S. economy were further eroded by the long, losing colonial war in Vietnam. By the late 1960s, wages were stagnating and good jobs were soon to become scarce, especially for young workers. The "American Dream"—which was never intended to include blacks—was beginning to fade even for white workers.

With these changing conditions, racist demagogues like former Alabama governor George "Segregation Forever" Wallace appealed to the insecurities of white workers, blaming social welfare programs which supposedly benefited only the black poor for the country's increasing economic ills. The pro-capitalist AFL-CIO bureaucracy made common cause with right-wing politicians like Wallace and Richard Nixon in attacking black radicalism, for example, supporting the bloody suppression of the Black Panther Party by the FBI and local police forces. At the same time, radical black nationalists and most white leftist students wrote off the mass of the white workers as "bought off" by U.S. imperialism and incorrigibly racist.

The net result was the crushing of all militant struggle for black rights and the weakening of the trade-union movement, setting the political preconditions for the past two decades of union-busting, give-back contracts, two-tier wage systems, mass homelessness and the axing of almost every social program for the poor. There can and will be no effective resistance to the immiseration of American working people without the unity in struggle between the trade unions and the black and Hispanic poor. This requires a revolutionary workers party forged in counterposition to the capitalist Democrats and committed to the struggle for a workers government, which alone can bring about racial equality by providing a decent life for all through a planned, socialist economy.

Labor and the Cold War

The prelude to the postwar assault on the unions was the deal worked out at the beginning of World War II between the Roosevelt White House and the AFL and CIO leaderships. The federal government accepted the unionization of the boom-

UPI

Liberal Democrat Robert F. Kennedy (left) spearheaded Senate attacks on Teamsters leader Jimmy Hoffa, 1957.

ing war industries; in turn, the labor tops —foremost among them supporters of the Stalinist Communist Party (CP)— vowed to enforce a ban on strikes and abide by government wage controls.

By the time the war ended in 1945, fully one-third of the country's nonagricultural labor force was unionized. At the same time, the labor bureaucracy's pact with the Democratic administration was coming undone. As the greatest strike wave in U.S. history swept the country, the ruling class responded with a carrot-and-stick approach. The carrot was a substantial improvement in the material conditions of the working class, made possible by the international dominance of American capitalism achieved through the devastation of its main imperialist rivals, Germany and Japan. The stick was political repression and the legal shackling of union power.

The 1947 Taft-Hartley Act barred anyone professing to be a communist from holding union office and outlawed a host of militant strike tactics, such as the secondary strikes which were key to organizing efforts. Although the AFL and CIO tops ritually denounced Taft-Hartley as a "slave labor" act, they nonetheless adhered to it. In 1949, the CIO bureaucracy expelled eleven "Communist" unions, almost 20 percent of its membership. Communist-led unions such as the United Electrical Workers (UE) were subjected to membership raids and reduced to a marginal existence, while a number of CP-linked officials in other unions, like Mike Quill of the Transport Workers Union and Joe Curran of the National Maritime Union, became rabid anti-Communists to secure their positions. Personified by Wisconsin Republican Senator Joseph McCarthy, the anti-Communist witchhunt was expanded to strike at all layers of American society, notably including the universities and the Hollywood film industry.

Margaret Bourke-White

AP

Depression-era bread line and Jim Crow segregation. The "American Dream" has always been a cruel hoax for black people.

CP

William Z. Foster (far left), Henry Winston (third from right) and other Communist Party leaders indicted under Smith Act in 1948.

The rapid destruction of the CP's industrial base cannot be explained simply in terms of government repression or the embrace of Cold War hostility to the Soviet Union by the mass of American workers (which played on widespread repugnance toward Stalin's bloody despotism), particularly with the outbreak of the 1950-53 U.S.-led imperialist war in Korea. The American Stalinists' staunch support for government strikebreaking during World War II had discredited them with a significant layer of militant unionists. The red purge extended to all leftists, including the Trotskyists, many of whom had played leading roles in the wartime wildcat strikes and earlier militant labor struggles, like the campaigns which built the Teamsters into a powerful industrial union representing all over-the-road truckers.

Though this was obviously not the intent of the workers who were drawn in behind it, the red purge strengthened the hand of the capitalists against the unions. Shortsightedly, these workers only saw their wages, benefits and overall living conditions improving, while the unions appeared stronger than ever before. Behind this view was the fact that the U.S. had emerged from the war with by far the largest and most technologically advanced industrial capacity in the world. A recent history of America's premier financial dynasty describes the 1950s as the "high noon of industrial power, before the European economies rebounded or the Pacific rim threatened," when "the United States dominated automobiles, steel, oil, aluminum, and other heavy industries" (Ron Chernow, *The House of Morgan* [1990]). The men who ran Wall Street and the Fortune 500 corporations could thus buy class peace on terms inconceivable to their predecessors or successors.

The pattern of labor-capital relations in the early Cold War period was exemplified by the 1950 agreement between the United Auto Workers (UAW) and General Motors, which provided for an annual 3 percent "productivity" increase in wages and a cost-of-living adjustment to offset inflation. As leftist labor historian Mike Davis commented in *Prisoners of the American Dream* (1986): "In tandem with the seniority system and internal promotion within the plant, the wage system thus established for the core economy, and for the core only, became relatively immune to cyclical layoffs and the tides of the labor reserve army." The division between older unionized workers in the large manufacturing corporations and the "reserve army" of the unemployed took on an increasingly racial complexion with the massive emigration of Southern blacks to Northern cities during and after World War II.

Beginning in the late 1940s, the social and racial geography of the United States underwent a significant shift. A key factor was the substantial increase in home ownership among better-off working-class families, which was deliberately encouraged by government policy. Agencies like the Federal Housing Administration and Veterans Administration insured or guaranteed home mortgages against default and foreclosure, while interest payments on residential mortgages, unlike rent, were made a tax-deductible expense. The proportion of white families who owned their own homes increased by half between 1940 and 1970. As whites moved out to the suburbs, the inner cities became increasingly black and in some cases Hispanic.

This development would have major effects on the future course of American politics. Racist opposition to residential integration was reinforced by fearmongering over declining "property values." The civil rights movement was defeated when it moved North in the mid-1960s and sought to overcome not simply the formal legal restrictions on black rights imposed by Southern Jim Crow but also the entrenched social segregation of the black masses. A mob of racist bigots stopped Martin Luther King Jr. from marching in 1967 against segregation in the lily-white Chicago suburb of Cicero. A decade later, the "tax revolt"—a reactionary movement centered on white suburban homeowners—helped to catapult right-wing Republican Ronald Reagan into the White House a few years later. What conditioned the political ascendancy of the right over the past two decades was *the bankruptcy of liberalism* when confronted by the decay of American capitalism.

Kennedy, Galbraith and Anti-Labor Liberalism

In the early postwar period, the AFL and CIO provided the organized mass base for the Northern liberal wing of the Democratic Party and was key to Harry Truman's upset victory over Republican Thomas Dewey in 1948. This did not, of course, prevent Truman, like Roosevelt before him, from calling out the National Guard and army to break strikes "in the national interest." Nonetheless, in the late 1940s and early '50s, liberal politicians usually posed as "friends of labor" and voiced opposition to Taft-Hartley.

However, in the late 1950s an important current emerged in the Northern liberal wing of the Democratic Party which maintained that trade unions had become too powerful and were using that power in ways harmful to the majority of the American people. That current was represented at the political level by John F. Kennedy and at the ideological level by John Kenneth Galbraith, who would later become a key economic adviser to the Kennedy White House.

As a Senator from Massachusetts, Kennedy along with his brother Robert first gained national prominence as leaders of a new government offensive against organized labor. The immediate target was the Teamsters union and its colorful president, Jimmy Hoffa. This union was singled out because it was simultaneously economically powerful and politically vulnerable. Outside of and hostile to the AFL-CIO federation, Hoffa's Teamsters, with their well-known connections to "the Mob," were popularly viewed as the "bad boys" of the labor movement. At the same time, benefiting from the shift in transport economics from rail to over-the-road trucking, the Teamsters had become the largest and fastest-growing union in the country. Furthermore, Hoffa was pushing for a single master contract for all over-the-road drivers in the U.S. In his 1960 anti-Teamsters tract, *The Enemy Within*, Robert F. Kennedy railed:

> "The Teamster Union is the most powerful institution in this country—aside from the United States Government itself....
>
> "Quite literally your life—the life of every person in the United States—is in the hands of Hoffa and his Teamsters.
>
> "But, though the great majority of Teamster officers and Teamster members are honest, the Teamster union under Hoffa is not run as a bona fide union. As Mr. Hoffa operates it, this is a conspiracy of evil."

The attack on the Teamsters was spearheaded by 1957 Senate committee hearings chaired by Arkansas Democrat John McClellan. John Kennedy served as McClellan's right-hand man and his brother as the committee's chief counsel. The AFL-CIO tops tried to dissociate themselves from the Teamsters, with liberal UAW chief Walter Reuther even testifying as a friendly witness. Nonetheless, the Senate hearings had their intended effect of discrediting organized labor in general. Opinion polls showed public approval of trade unions dropping from 75 percent before the hearings to 68 percent afterward, remaining at about that level through the 1960s. The public vilification of the Teamsters was key to the passage of the 1959 Landrum-Griffin Act, which gave the federal government vastly enhanced powers over internal union affairs while strengthening the Taft-Hartley ban on secondary strikes and "hot-cargoing" (refusing to handle scab goods).

While attacking the labor movement by criminalizing the Teamsters, the Kennedys continued to seek electoral backing from the mainstream AFL-CIO unions. For his part, Galbraith, as an academic, was free to launch a theoretical broadside against organized labor at a more general level. Whereas the right-wing Republican enemies of union power called for

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Algeria...

(continued from page 1)

The multiethnic proletariat of France must be mobilized in defense of the rights of minority workers, whose strategic position in auto and other industries can serve as a bridgehead for socialist revolution between France and North Africa. Warning of the possibility of a deal between the Algiers regime and the Islamic fundamentalists, the Ligue Trotskyste de France (LTF), section of the ICL, wrote early on in the face-off between the FIS and the military:

> "The army, or a section of it, could very well apply all or part of the FIS's reactionary program. The forces of repression could very well not limit themselves to imprisoning leaders and activists of the FIS and, in particular, turn on the working class itself....
>
> "The Algerian working class must enter into struggle under its own banner and—drawing behind it women, landless peasants, agricultural workers, the mass of unemployed youth—must overthrow the army/FLN regime and sweep away the reactionary FIS."
>
> —*Le Bolchévik* No. 112, July-August 1991

Algerian Workers and Permanent Revolution

Comparing the brutality of the current conflict in Algeria with that seen in the 1954-62 War of Independence, ideologues for French imperialism seek to equate the squalid civil war between military despots and Islamic reactionaries with the heroic struggle of the Algerian people against French colonialism. This reeks of the arrogance of an imperialist power still stinging from a humiliating defeat at the hands of its former colonial slaves. From the first FLN military operation in November 1954, it took more than seven years, at a cost of over one million dead, for the Algerian masses to drive the colonial rulers out of their country. Yet when independence was finally achieved in 1962, it placed in power the bourgeois-nationalist FLN, which was committed to maintaining capitalism and aspired to be a new ruling class lording it over their "own" people.

Once in power, the FLN acted as servants of imperialist interests, preaching "Third World socialism" while imposing iron-fisted military rule over Algeria's workers and peasants. By the end of the 1980s, the FLN had lost the authority it had accrued from leading the struggle against French imperialism. In the fall of 1988, a strike by industrial workers outside Algiers triggered youth revolts in the capital and other cities. Army troops gunned down hundreds of protesters. The fundamentalists seized on the desperation of the plebeian masses to put themselves forward as a "radical" alternative to the brutal and corrupt "*Doula*" (Power). When the FIS swept the first round of legislative elections in December 1991, the army moved in to establish open military rule, sweeping aside the FLN, which is today a shadow of its former self. In response to imperialist pressure to "legitimize" the regime, the military has reconstituted a "civilian" government over the past few years through a series of sham elections and plebiscites.

The one social force with the power to lead the impoverished peasants, unemployed youth, women and all oppressed in a revolutionary assault on the capitalist order is the proletariat. In the wake of independence, the country built up a rather sizable modern industrial sector, using oil revenues to import entire factories. This has created an industrial proletariat in light and heavy manufacturing and transportation, which—along with oil and gas workers—has social power well beyond its numerical size. The organized working class has been a prime target of fundamentalist assassins. While the bourgeois press has highlighted the murders of scores of journalists and other prominent figures, nearly 400 trade unionists have been assassinated, as have dozens of leftist militants.

Since independence, Algerian workers have been shackled by the corporatist leadership of the UGTA trade-union federation, which is directly tied to the regime and was the main force in organizing Zeroual's National Democratic Rally party early this year. The UGTA was formed by pro-FLN trade-union leaders in Algeria in a February 1956 split from the Stalinist-dominated CGT federation, whose leadership rejected the fight for national independence. Together with the FLN, the UGTA called a number of powerful strikes, including a massive general strike in July 1956. Crushed during the savage repression of the 1957 Battle of Algiers, the union federation was not reconstituted until the end of the war. When the FLN came to power in 1962, it purged the UGTA leadership, banned strikes by public sector workers and imposed an iron grip over the organized working class.

The Algerian Stalinists directly contributed to this, serving in the FLN machine after independence as propagandists, administrators and UGTA bureaucrats, even though their own organization, the PAGS (Party of the Socialist Vanguard), was semi-clandestine. The PAGS succeeded the Algerian Communist Party which, having liquidated into the FLN in 1956, was outlawed as soon as the FLN came to power. The PAGS dissolved in January 1993, following the collapse of the Soviet Union, leaving as remnants Ettahaddi and the PADS, both of which support the *éradicateurs*. These groups justify their despicable bloc with the army torturers by appealing to the Stalinist/Menshevik myth of "revolution by stages," labeling the hardline anti-FIS elements in the regime as the "progressive" wing of the Algerian bourgeoisie.

Zohra

Bodies of among the 300 killed in Raïs, August 29, one of many massacres attributed to Armed Islamic Group. Survivors accused government of complicity.

Economist

La Repubblica

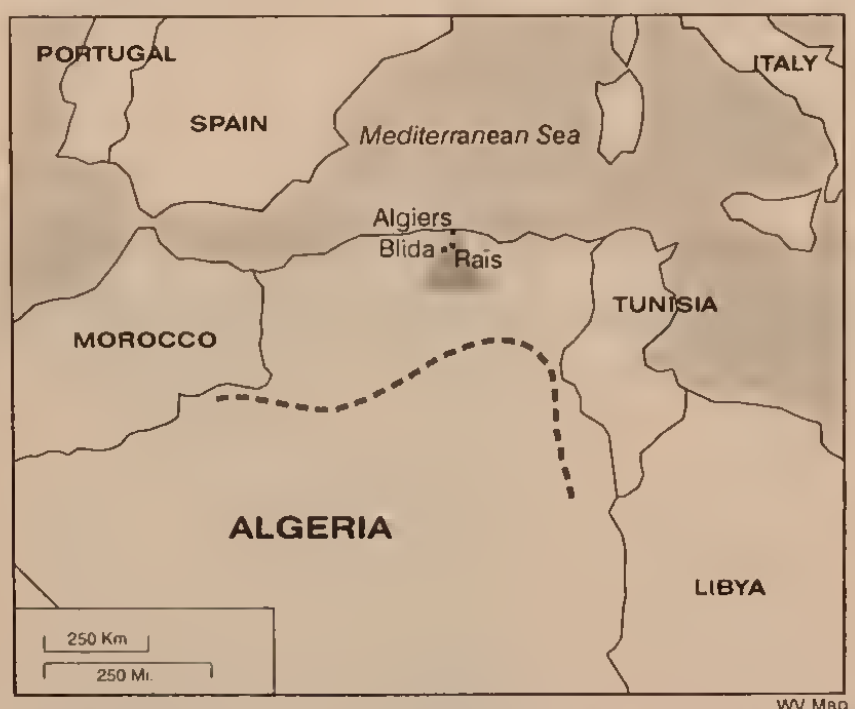
President Liamine Zeroual (near right), FIS leader Abassi Madani. Release of imprisoned Islamic fundamentalist in July was part of attempt to negotiate deal.

Despite their corporatist leadership, Algerian workers have repeatedly demonstrated their combativity, even under the conditions of the current civil war. In February 1996, public sector workers completely shut down the country for two days in opposition to what they termed *Plan Juppé Bis* (Juppé Plan No. 2). This reference to the French conservative government's proposed austerity measures, which had provoked a massive upsurge by public sector workers there only two months earlier, underscored the links between class struggle on both shores of the Mediterranean. Algerian public sector workers have since continued to wage a series of strikes against threatened privatizations and layoffs. This past May, 30,000 workers at the Skikda oil tanker port struck for three days. This was followed by a two-day strike in July at the SNVI truck factory, which touched off a series of other strikes in the massive Rouiba industrial zone just outside the capital.

The attacks by the Zeroual regime and its imperialist backers cannot be decisively defeated by economist trade-union struggle, no matter how militant. Algeria is a capitalist semicolony, formally independent but crushed under the boot of the imperialist powers, which usurp its resources and squeeze the lifeblood out of its working population. To do away with exploitation by the imperialists and the domestic comprador bourgeoisie, the Algerian working class must sweep away the system of capitalist oppression by taking power through socialist revolution. The fact that workers of North African origin occupy a strategic position in French heavy industry underscores that this fight must be *international*.

The French Communist Party (PCF) has been active of late in organizing demonstrations of "solidarity with the Algerian people" and enrolling undocumented immigrant workers in the Communist-led CGT trade-union federation. However, the PCF's rallies are actually in "solidarity" with French imperialism's support for the bloody Zeroual regime, just as it lined up behind its "own" bourgeoisie in the 1950s in refusing to fight for Algerian independence (see "Papon, Vichy and Algeria," page 10). And its concern for immigrant workers is belied by its participation—alongside the ultra-chauvinist Jean-Pierre Chevènement—in the Jospin government. As throughout West Europe, France—both under the former right-wing Juppé government and now under the "Socialist" Jospin—has tightened racist barriers to immigration and deported immigrants and asylum-seekers, making North African workers the scapegoats for growing unemployment.

The PCF reformists do not oppose the scapegoating and repression of immigrants, but simply want it carried out more "humanely." While mouthing socialist rhetoric, the PCF waves the tricolor of French imperialism, issuing protectionist calls to "produce French" and demanding the borders be closed to immigration. During the December 1995 strike wave, the PCF and CGT tops helped ensure that the strikes did not spread to the private sector, with its heavily North African workforce, but remained limited to public sector workers who, by law, must be French citizens. In the name of "secularism," the PCF—joined by the fake Trotskyists of Lutte Ouvrière—has supported the government's racist exclusion of Muslim girls from high schools for wearing the *hijab*, the Islamic headscarf. Far from "fighting fundamentalism," such measures buttress the fascists' diatribes against "foreign influence" and drive North Africans



Recent massacres have been concentrated in "Triangle of Death" south of Algiers. Oil- and gas-rich area below dashed line has become virtual imperialist protectorate.

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deeper into the fundamentalists' ghetto.

The struggle against Islamic fundamentalism and capitalist oppression in Algeria is intimately linked with the fight against racist terror in Europe. The rise of Islamic fundamentalism in Algeria is being used as a pretext to intensify racist repression against the huge North African minority in France. As part of the fight to forge a multiethnic vanguard party to expropriate the racist French bourgeoisie, the LTF demands: "Stop the deportations! Full citizenship rights for all immigrants!" The LTF has called on rail and airline workers in particular to use their power to stop the expulsions of immigrants from France.

Algeria is a classic demonstration—in the negative—of the correctness of Leon Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution, which was vindicated by the experience of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution. Trotsky explained that in economically backward countries the weak national bourgeoisie—tied by a thousand strings to imperialism and fearful of its "own" working class—is incapable of realizing the goals of classic bourgeois revolutions like the French Revolution of 1789. He wrote that "the complete and genuine solution of their tasks of achieving *democracy and national emancipation* is conceivable only through the dictatorship of the proletariat as the leader of the subjugated nation, above all of its peasant masses" (*The Permanent Revolution* [1930]). The genuine liberation of colonial and semicolonial countries can only be achieved through the overthrow of capitalism by socialist revolution. If it is not to be strangled by

Pix

FLN leaders Ahmed Ben Bella (left) and Houari Boumediene. After gaining power, bourgeois nationalists moved to suppress workers, peasants, women and ethnic minorities.

backwardness, poverty and imperialist intervention, this struggle must necessarily be linked to the fight for proletarian revolution in the imperialist heartlands.

Imperialism, Nationalism and Islamic Fundamentalism

With the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union, semicolonial countries like Algeria, which before were often able to maneuver for breathing space between Washington and Moscow, are now mercilessly squeezed in the vise of imperialist exploitation. In the last few years, southern Algeria has been transformed into a virtual protectorate of international oil and gas conglomerates—especially American and British—which have poured billions of dollars into the Algerian Sahara, a region previously dominated by French companies. The entire area has been decreed an "exclusion zone" barred to Algerian citizens without special passes. Military patrols, roadblocks and helicopters are everywhere, while an international airport and compounds surrounded by barbed wire are reserved for foreign oilmen. The creation of this zone harks back to the attempt by French president Charles de Gaulle to split off the oil-rich *pays utile* (useful country) during the Algerian War to avoid conceding full sovereignty to the Algerian people. After being thwarted by the heroic struggle for independence, that colonialist scheme is now becoming a reality.

As the bourgeois nationalism of the ruling elite is revealed as patently bankrupt, the FIS reactionaries feed off despair and frustration fueled by the profound economic crisis ravaging the country, a phenomenon evident throughout much of North Africa and the Near East. As we have noted elsewhere ("ISO and the Veil: 'Third Camp' Social Democrats Pander to Islamic Fundamentalism," *WV* No. 613, 30 December 1994):

> "Though looking to the past, the Islamic fundamentalist wave is a response to the oppressive conditions of the late 20th century. Its present rise as a mass movement is the reactionary reflection of both the absence of a communist alternative and the manifest dead end of nationalism."

While the American bourgeoisie hypocritically screams about Islamic "terrorists" to justify foreign intervention and domestic repression, it sponsored numerous fundamentalist movements in its crusade to destroy the Soviet Union. At the height of the 1950s Cold War, then secretary of state John Foster Dulles proclaimed: "The religions of the East are deeply rooted and have many precious values. Their spiritual beliefs cannot be reconciled with Communist atheism and materialism. That creates a common bond between us, and our task is to find it and develop it" (quoted in Paul Baran, *The Political Economy of Growth* [1957]). After encouraging an anti-Communist bloodbath in Indonesia in 1965 in which Islamic fundamentalists played a prominent role, the U.S. subsequently developed that "bond" most closely in its drive to kill Soviet soldiers in Afghanistan following the USSR's military intervention in late 1979. The Algerian GIA, like a host of fundamentalist organizations in other countries, was formed by veterans of the CIA's "holy war" in Afghanistan, where *mujahedin* cutthroats butchered teachers for the "crime" of teaching young girls to read.

The U.S. has also maintained close contacts with the Algerian fundamentalists themselves. In 1994, the FIS gave the CIA written assurances that oil and gas contracts would be respected if it came to power. Last year, a Rand Corporation report commissioned by the U.S. Army—entitled "Algeria: The Next Fundamentalist State"—assured America's rulers that if the FIS came to power it was "likely to welcome US private-sector investments in Algeria and to undertake close commercial relations with the United States" (*CounterPunch*, 1 November). More recently, the well-connected *Middle East Economic Digest* (19 September) ran a cover story headlined "Hope: Amid the Misery, Investors Return to Algeria," reporting on the many investment projects mooted by imperialist firms—pending a "resolution" of the civil war.

Echoing the imperialists in pushing for a deal with the FIS are the abject social democrats of the Lambertist PT, whose cadre in France are today an integral component of the pro-Socialist trade-union bureaucracy. The Algerian PT has angled for a bloc with the Islamic fundamentalists since 1991, when it criminally supported a "general strike" call by the FIS, its first major confrontation with the regime. In January 1995, the PT signed a common platform with the FIS and a number of bourgeois and "moderate" fundamentalist parties, calling for "reconciliation" and "free and pluralistic elections." These pro-Islamic "socialists" were rewarded for their services in last June's electoral farce, as PT leader Louisa Hanoune and three of her followers won parliamentary seats with backhanded support from the FIS, which called for a vote "for candidates who are in favor of peace and who are not accomplices of the putschists" (*Le Monde*, 11 May).

Mobilize the Proletariat to Defend Women, Berbers!

Chief among the victims of a fundamentalist victory would be Algeria's women. Many schoolgirls who refuse to wear the veil have already been shot down in the streets or dragged out of school and had their throats slashed.

Henissart

Huge pro-independence protest in Algiers, December 1960. Protesters waved outlawed FLN flags in defiance of French colonialism.

Algerian women have repeatedly taken to the streets in opposition to the fundamentalist threat. Fully two-thirds of the 100,000 people who participated in anti-FIS protests in March 1994 were women. Unfortunately, the banners they marched behind were those of bourgeois feminists, ex-Stalinists and other political forces which support the military regime. The fight for women's rights requires an uncompromising struggle not only against the theocratic reactionaries but against the bourgeois-nationalist regime.

Once in power, the FLN immediately demobilized the thousands of women who had courageously fought against French colonialism, sneering: "Our socialism rests on the pillars of Islam and not on the emancipation of women with their make-up, hairdressers and cosmetics, from which arise unchained passions harmful to humanity." For years, the FLN included within its ranks current FIS leader Abassi Madani, even when he was a leader in the late 1960s of the fundamentalist El Quyam (Values) group, whose members threw lye in the faces of women wearing short skirts. In 1984, the FLN regime imposed a "Family Code" enshrining the anti-woman dictates of *sharia* (Islamic law), prohibiting marriage to non-Muslim men, sanctioning polygamy, making divorce almost impossible for women and relegating them to the status of permanent minors who owe "obedience" to their husbands.

In fact, the nationalist regime helped the fundamentalists to establish a base in Algerian universities in the 1970s by importing scores of Muslim Brotherhood members from Egypt and elsewhere to replace French-speaking teachers with Arabic speakers. This was part of a "forced Arabization" drive directed particularly against the country's Berber minority, concentrated mainly in the Kabylia region east of Algiers and derived from indigenous peoples who predated the Arab occupation of the area. Berbers played an exceptionally prominent role in the Algerian independence movement, constituting a major portion of the FLN's leading cadres until the late 1950s. But the potential for Berber-Arab unity was undermined by the FLN's nationalist program, which necessarily promoted the dominant Arab people. In 1963, the regime crushed a regional revolt in Kabylia, killing hundreds. In 1980, the regime again came down on Kabylia after the region exploded in a virtual insurrection—the "Berber springtime"—following a police assault on university students who were protesting a government ban on teaching Berber language and culture.

More recently, Kabylia witnessed the largest of the anti-FIS demonstrations that swept Algeria several years ago, including a series of one-day strikes and mass protests in 1994 against Islamic terror and for official recognition of Tamazight, the Berber language. However, the main Kabyle-based parties, the bourgeois Socialist Forces Front (FFS) and the Rally for Culture and Democracy (RCD), play the role of "loyal opposition" to the

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Algeria...

(continued from page 9)

regime. The RCD is closely tied to the *éradicateurs* at the head of the army, while the FFS favors "conciliation" with the FIS.

Tailing right behind these bourgeois forces is the United Secretariat's Algerian supporters, the PST. Like the RCD and FFS, the PST limits itself to pressuring the regime to make Berber an official language. Trotskyists call for the full equality of all languages used in Algeria—Arabic, Berber and French—but we also uncompromisingly defend the Berbers' right to regional autonomy. At this point, the various Berber-speaking regions have not consolidated a nation, although this could happen in the crucible of fierce repression should the virulently Arab-chauvinist fundamentalists come to power. That national/ethnic antagonisms have not dissipated but have rather deepened in some ways under FLN rule, despite the nationalists' pretensions of building a modern industrial society, underlines the necessity for overthrowing capitalism as the precondition for national equality and economic development.

The Pabloite PST/USec have been loyal followers of the Algerian nationalists for decades. This tendency's founder and then-leader, Michel Pablo, actually accepted a post in the first FLN government under Ahmed Ben Bella. Pablo helped draft the 1963 "self-management" decrees that brought to heel the mass occupations of factories and landed estates which swept post-independence Algeria, by integrating the workers committees into the state apparatus. In recent years, the PST has focused on pressuring the blood-drenched military to accord parliamentary "democracy," centering its program on the call for "elections with proportional representation." The utter

Benito/Sygma

Women were at the forefront of massive anti-fundamentalist protests in Algiers and other cities in March 1994.

vacuousness of such parliamentary cretinism in war-ravaged Algeria can be seen in the fact that such elections could well lead to a fundamentalist victory.

The PST's line is a repudiation in practice of the Trotskyist program of permanent revolution. Not surprisingly, these tailists oppose any perspective for mobilizing the proletariat in struggle for the defense of the rights of Berbers and women, instead liquidating into various pro-government feminist formations. Rejecting the PST's anti-revolutionary politics, in 1992 a group of PST cadre formed the Tendance Plateforme Trotskyste (TPT) to fight for the perspective of permanent revolution against the Pabloites' class collaboration. After further study and programmatic debate, the TPT declared its solidarity with the International Communist League. Placing the question of women's oppression front and center, the TPT declared in its March 1992 founding document:

> "The fight for the liberation of women, which will be accomplished by the revolution, will have as its basis the fight against all forms of sexual discrimination! Against the veil! Equal pay for equal work! Free and accessible abortion for all women, including minors! For 24-hour childcare centers!"

The woman question in Algeria is strategic and explosive. Yet much of the Algerian left—wedded to nationalism—does not even raise the elementary demand for repeal of the reactionary Family Code. The ex-Stalinist Ettahaddi and PADS call only for "reforming" this law, as does the group around *El Massira* (*The March*), a recent split from the PST. Meanwhile, the Lambertist PT, which grotesquely tails the FIS, did not utter a word about abrogation of the Family Code in its platform for the June elections. The fight for sexual and ethnic/national equality poses the necessity of an attack against the very basis of the capitalist order. Under the leadership of a Bolshevik party which acts as a tribune of the people, the revolutionary proletariat must inscribe on its banner the fight against all forms of sexual discrimination, for the abolition of the Family Code, and for the separation of mosque and state. For women's liberation through socialist revolution!

For the Independent Mobilization of the Proletariat

Evincing the Pabloites' suicidal faith in the military-backed regime, PST leader Salhi Chawki dismisses any idea of a "machiavelian [sic] plan" involving army complicity in the recent massacres and gives the Zeroual government a clean bill of health: "It does seem that the army was not responsible for these latest massacres, as many people suspected" (*International Viewpoint*, October 1997). Meanwhile in France, the PST's co-thinkers, Alain Krivine's Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire, tail behind the *French* bourgeoisie, joining in the call for a "commission of inquiry" as "the beginning of the end for the killers" (*Rouge*, 13 November).

As a left fig leaf for its support to the military, the PST promotes the various "self-defense groups" which are tolerated—or directly set up—by the regime and serve as a vehicle for pro-government political groups to rally to the side of the generals. Thus Chawki claims that "the growing structures of popular self-defense are the only act of civil dignity which can respond adequately to the horror facing Algeria." Rendering the PST's line more explicit, *El Massira* (January 1997) openly calls on "officers and policemen to place themselves at the service of the people, not to oppress them."

While expressing the felt needs of rural villagers to defend themselves against

French Stalinists Betrayed Algerian Independence Struggle

Papon, Vichy and Algeria

In covering the current trial of former French official Maurice Papon for organizing the deportation of Jews to Auschwitz under the pro-Nazi Vichy regime in World War II, the bourgeois press has brought into the open one of the dirtiest episodes in France's dirty colonial war against the Algerian people. Although he faces no charges for it, in October 1961 Papon, as Paris police commissioner, organized the massacre of over 300 Algerian protesters in the streets of Paris. For more than three decades, that massacre was covered in a shroud of official secrecy; only in the past several years has the bourgeois media begun to refer to it. "The French bourgeoisie would very much like to wipe out the memory of this abject crime," wrote the Ligue Trotskyste de France in a 1983 article. "But the working class will not forget its martyrs" (*Le Bolchévik* No. 42, October 1983).

On 17 October 1961, French authorities systematically organized and carried out an anti-Algerian pogrom in the heart of Paris, slaughtering hundreds of men, women and children participating in a peaceful protest. Many were shot on the spot; others were beaten unconscious and drowned in the Seine, coldbloodedly executed in police stations or lynched from trees in the Bois de Vincennes park. Days after the massacre, corpses were still being pulled from the river. The "official" version was that only three people (including two Algerians) were killed, but leaked national police documents put the number of dead at 140. The Algerian National Liberation Front (FLN), after extensive investigations to identify the victims, put the total number of those who died or disappeared at 327.

L'Humanité

17 October 1961: Paris police terrorize Algerian immigrants as over 300 pro-independence protesters were slaughtered.

Amid a series of articles touting the Stalinists' supposed fight against the colonialist war in Algeria, an article on the October 1961 massacre recently appeared in *L'Humanité*, newspaper of the French Communist Party (PCF), implying that the PCF actively protested the bloodbath. This is a lie, and the PCF knows it. Indeed, when Algerian protesters fleeing the police attack sought refuge in the *L'Humanité* building, the gate was shut in their faces.

Following the pogrom, no demonstrations were called by the PCF or the Communist-led CGT trade-union federation. The Stalinist leaders did not visit the wounded Algerian victims in the hospitals or the suffering families of those killed; they mobilized no workers to honor the victims' burials. The only protest strikes were scattered half-hour stoppages in a few plants. The day after the massacre, the Socialists rushed to defend Papon, declaring: "No one can blame him" (quoted in *Territoires Contemporains: Cahiers de l'IHC* No. 2, 1995). For their part, PCF representatives sat alongside Papon at a meeting of the Paris Municipal Council one week after the massacre, lamely calling only for "sanctions against those responsible" (Michel Levine, *Les ratonnades d'octobre* [1985]). Years later, despite the scores of union members who disappeared that night, the CGT was still rehashing the cops' lie that only two Algerians had been killed (Jean Bruhat and Marc Piolot, *Esquisse d'une histoire de la C.G.T. (1895-1965)* [CGT publication, 1966])!

The massacre was preceded by months of atrocities against Algerian workers by the Paris police. Papon had been transferred from Algeria with orders to reproduce in Paris the mass torture and summary executions that were employed in the colony. According to official figures, more than 50 Algerians were killed by cops in France every month, and many more were brutalized in police torture chambers. There was a crying need for a demonstration of united action by French and Algerian workers against the racist terror. But the Stalinist leaders did nothing. Emboldened, Papon ordered a curfew selectively targeting Algerians, in words virtually identical to a decree against Jews during World War II. Still, there was no protest by the leaders of the French working class. Assured of the docility of the reformist misleaders, the regime of President Charles de Gaulle organized a carefully prepared bloodbath when the FLN called a demonstration against the racist curfew and for Algerian independence.

For years, the Stalinists helped the bourgeoisie blot out the memory of the October 1961 massacre by building up a myth around a subsequent PCF-led demonstration in which nine *French* people were killed in a police charge at the Charonne metro (subway) station in February 1962. While not a single French high-school history textbook deals with the 1961 pogrom, the Charonne demonstration is universally known—and proudly

fundamentalist attacks, even where these irregular militias were not initially created in collaboration with the army and police, they were soon placed under total government control. This has been codified in the past two years in a series of laws putting them under the command of the interior ministry. One type of militia, the "communal guards," is directly set up by the army, which trains and pays the members and provides them with light arms. The other type, the "self-defense groups" initiated by villagers, requires the authorization of the local prefect and the approval of the security services. These irregular militias, each comprising about 100,000 men, have more than doubled the size of the military forces available to the regime.

Like the PST/USec, the centrist Pouvoir Ouvrier in France, which is linked to Workers Power in Britain, tries to give a left cover to its capitulation before the Algerian military. Thus, *Pouvoir Ouvrier* (September-October 1997) pretends that it is possible to "take the leadership of the self-defense committees against the Islamist violence and the army special forces." But how, dear centrists, can you "take the leadership" when the leaders are named by the minister of the interior? Moreover, reflecting the backwardness of rural society, a number of these militias have simply become instruments for pursuing bloody vendettas among rival villages, clans and local emirs (potentates). Even Chawki delicately admits that the communal guards "seem to have been responsible for some other collective murders earlier this year."

Armed self-defense is a vital question in Algeria. But this must be predicated on and integrally linked to the mobilization of the proletariat independently from—and in opposition to—the bourgeois state. An example of this came in the summer of 1993, when dockers shut down the port of Algiers for more than a week, cutting off distribution of food supplies. We pointed out that the trade union should

Le Bolchévik

Signs carried by LTF contingent at 1993 Paris protest against deportations raised call for "Full Citizenship Rights for Immigrants!"

have organized the distribution of food—mobilizing women's support committees to help in this—showing in practice how the working class can carry out the necessary tasks of organizing society. Noting that the fundamentalists would have viewed such union-based action as a threat to their hold over the plebeian masses, the LTF wrote (*Le Bolchévik* No. 125, November-December 1993):

> "It would therefore be necessary to set up workers self-defense militias to give the reactionaries of the FIS a taste of what working-class power is. But such a mobilization would require ousting the *traitors* who lead the working class and keep the proletariat subordinated to the bourgeoisie."

The complete and unconditional independence of the proletariat, embodied in the leadership of a Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard party, is key to finding any way out of the terror and turmoil currently strangling Algeria. A victory for the fundamentalists would not only sound the death knell for unveiled women, ethnic minorities, militant workers and leftists in Algeria. It would also be an enormous impetus to the spread of Islamic reaction throughout North Africa, bolstering the Tunisian Al-Nahda movement and the five-year war of terror waged by the Egyptian Djamaa Islamiya (Islamic Group), which has targeted the Coptic Christian minority and foreign tourists (most recently, in the horrific massacre which left 62 dead in Luxor). As in Algeria, the imperialist-backed bourgeois regimes in Tunisia and Egypt have imposed draconian repression on the population while ramming through policies of austerity and immiseration.

On the other hand, a victorious socialist revolution in Algeria would not only usher in the emancipation of the oppressed of that country, but bring closer the day when all the despotic regimes of the region—whether Islamic, Arab nationalist or Zionist—are swept away by the working class. Key to *this* outcome is the formation of Bolshevik workers parties throughout the region as part of a reforged Trotskyist Fourth International. This is what the International Communist League fights for. ■

Sygma

1983 strike at Talbot auto plant highlighted role of combative North African workers in strategic French industries.

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promoted by the Stalinist leaders as the epitome of their supposed "combat" against French colonialism during the Algerian War. But the Charonne demonstration did not even call for Algerian independence! It was called to protest terrorist attacks by the OAS (Secret Army Organization), a fascist group led by former army officers who sought to head off de Gaulle's negotiations with the FLN. When a million people turned out for the burial of the Charonne protesters, PCF speakers did not so much as mention the massacre of Algerians which had taken place only four months earlier.

As far back as the 1930s, when it embarked on its class-collaborationist "people's front" policy, the PCF had *opposed* Algerian independence, calling instead for a more "democratic" French colonial empire in the form of a "free union" between "the colonial peoples and our people" (Jakob Moneta, *Le PCF et la question coloniale* [1971]). In May 1945, PCF ministers in the first postwar government stayed at their posts as the French bourgeoisie drowned in blood an incipient Algerian nationalist revolt in Sétif, killing tens of thousands. During the Algerian War, PCF leaders occasionally uttered the word "independence," but their real policy was to pressure successive bourgeois governments to "negotiate" a settlement which would preserve the French bourgeoisie's "vital interests." This was simply a call for a neocolonial regime in Algeria under the boot of French imperialism.

From the fall of 1955 to late spring 1956, France was swept by a wave of mutinies by soldiers refusing to be sent to Algeria. These revolts were often backed up by strikes, as thousands of French workers—joined by their Algerian class brothers—battled riot police in defense of protesting soldiers. In the midst of this unprecedented upsurge, Socialist leader Guy Mollet was elected prime minister at the head of a popular-front coalition including the PCF and the Radicals and other bourgeois parties. Mollet proceeded to pour hundreds of thousands of troops into Algeria. Though not formally part of the government, the PCF provided his firmest support, going so far as to vote for granting the regime "special powers" in Algeria.

The worker-soldier revolt in France came amid a series of strikes in Algeria—several of which shut the country down—centered on the highly combative dock workers. Far from seeking to mobilize solidarity in struggle among workers in France, the PCF fomented anti-immigrant chauvinism, pushing its line of closing the borders. In May 1956, at the height of the proletarian upsurge, the PCF denounced a government proposal to admit a thousand additional Algerian workers into France. In the face of such treachery, the wave of mutinies and strikes against the war dissipated.

France continued to witness militant strikes around economic demands—and Algerian workers there participated virtually to a man. In 1958, with the economy in shambles and the country swept by one of the most powerful strike movements in decades, the bourgeoisie turned to World War II "Resistance" idol General de Gaulle to resolve the crisis. The PCF's response was to pathetically embrace the discredited governing parties which were carrying out the Algerian War; the Stalinists campaigned in "defense of the republic" and even voted to renew the notorious Special Powers Act. As soon as the parliament voted him president, de Gaulle immediately cracked down on the working class and intensified the military terror in Algeria. Shortly thereafter, he proclaimed the semi-bonapartist Fifth Republic.

J.-P. Marais

Workers and soldiers defy cops to stop troop transport train during Algerian War, 1956.

Three years later, in April 1961, the social tensions tearing at the fabric of French capitalist society again exploded, as French troops in Algeria revolted against an attempted putsch by officers opposed to de Gaulle's negotiations with the FLN. Rank-and-file soldiers seized military bases, arrested their officers and sabotaged vehicles and communications. Instead of seizing the opportunity to mobilize the workers in struggle against the imperialist war, the PCF sought to unite with de Gaulle against the reactionary officers. When Gaullist prime minister Michel Debré issued a ludicrous call for the population to rush to the airports to prevent an (impossible) assault by the putschists, the Stalinists embraced the "national unity" fraud; they dispatched hundreds of workers to patrol the airports around Paris and cynically "called on the government to immediately arm the working class" (*L'Humanité*, 25 April 1961). Fully 12 million workers took to the streets at the call of the PCF, but the Stalinists kept the demonstrations directed solely against the putschist officers, so that even the Gaullists supported the protests.

The Algerian War provoked wave after wave of explosive working-class struggle by French and Algerian workers, which could have placed the perspective of socialist revolution on the order of the day. Yet the PCF repeatedly derailed this powerful working-class offensive through its treacherous class collaboration with the bourgeoisie. Throughout the war, the PCF leaders sought above all to avoid a humiliating defeat for French imperialism. Today, the PCF continues to serve as a loyal handmaiden to the imperialist bourgeoisie as part of the racist, anti-working-class popular-front government. ■

Letters

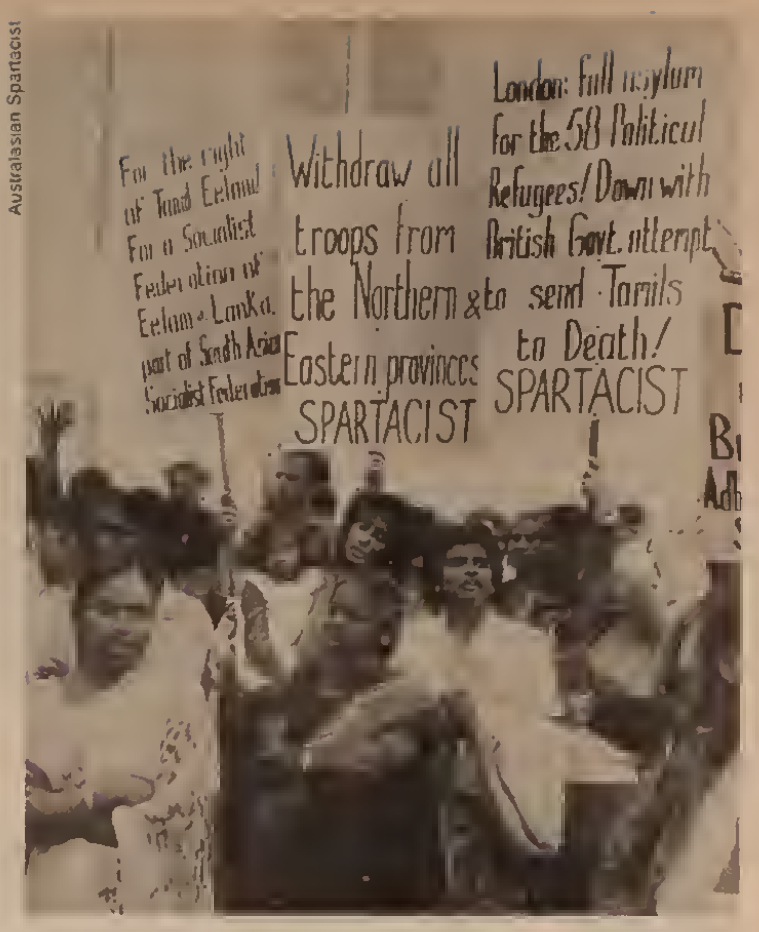
(continued from page 2)

"West" through the early bourgeois revolutions. The current rise in reaction, in the form of a more powerful and better-armed Muslim fundamentalism, is primarily fueled by the bankruptcy of Arab nationalism.

The murderous role of the Zionist rulers in the Occupied Territories has merely strengthened the resolve of the reactionaries, as the one thing Near East Muslim fundamentalists have in common is anti-Semitism. The primary blame, however, has to rest with the Arab bourgeoisies. I realize this was not the issue being dealt with in the article. Nonetheless, I think the way the sentence stands removes much of the responsibility from the hands of the Arab bourgeoisies.

As we've written before, what is absolutely essential is the building of Leninist-Trotskyist parties in the Near East that are conscious of the historical role of the proletariat in that part of the globe. The political independence of the working class and its mobilization for itself and all the oppressed under the banner of permanent revolution must be the hallmark of these parties. This will be the only way to defeat the reactionary fundamentalist danger, sweep away both the bloody Zionist rulers and the miserable (and bloody) Arab bourgeoisies and build a rational, socialist society. The real question is how to do that and overcome the many religious divisions entrenched in these countries.

Comradely,
Alan Wilde



1987 protest in Melbourne, Australia in defense of Tamil people against Sri Lankan army terror.

On Interpenetrated Peoples

New York City
21 November 1997

Dear Editor,

An article headlined "Israel Out of All Occupied Territories!" (*WV* No. 674, 19 September) states: "Like Cyprus, Northern Ireland, Sri Lanka and the former Yugoslavia, among other places, Israel/Palestine is a case of interpenetrated peoples, of two or more peoples claiming the same territory. In such situations, under capitalism—in which the state power is necessarily dominated by a single nation—the democratic right of national self-determination cannot be achieved for one people without violating the national rights of the other."

While this statement is true as a general historical observation, it ignores the particularities of the regions cited and the impact of events in recent years. Firstly, in some of these cases, relatively homogenous populations have coexisted alongside areas of interpenetration. In Israel/Palestine, with the exception of militarized Zionist "settlements," the Occupied Territories are inhabited by Palestinian Arabs. In Sri Lanka, where many Tamils were historically concentrated in the northern part of the island, we upheld the right of the minority Tamils to form their own state.

More importantly, these situations are inherently unstable; bloody, historic catastrophes can and do forcibly separate interpenetrated peoples, as has happened in several of the countries cited above. In the former Yugoslavia, nationalism was the motor force for the restoration of capitalism in the early 1990s. This counterrevolution was precipitated by and in turn fueled bloody communalist slaughters which have ripped apart the Serb, Croat and Bosnian Muslim populations, once intermingled in various areas including the old Croatian military frontier and Bosnia-Hercegovina, into distinct regions under the rule of mutually hostile and viciously anti-working-class nationalist forces.

The interpenetration of the Greek and Turkish populations of Cyprus was also "resolved" in a reactionary, antidemocratic manner in the wake of the 1974 Turkish army occupation. We wrote at the time that the compacting of distinct Greek and Turkish areas in Cyprus "would involve destructive forced mass population transfers and would contain within them the seeds of further bloody communal and national wars" (*WV* No. 50, 2 August 1974). This warning has been vindicated by subsequent events, as some 200,000 Greeks were driven from their homes in the Turkish-occupied northern area and the two communities effectively separated. This has set the stage for continuing bloody confrontations between Greek and Turkish nationalists, most recently in the summer of 1996.

Sri Lanka offers a particularly compelling example of the impact of nationalist bloodletting. After decades of "Sinhala only" chauvinist agitation pushed particularly by the "left"-nationalist Sri Lanka Freedom Party, in the early 1980s the rightist government of President J. R. Jayewardene unleashed an army of occupation in the overwhelmingly Tamil North centered on the Jaffna peninsula. In 1983, Jayewardene's United National Party instigated a wave of pogroms against the Tamil minority in the South, dispossessing much of the sizable Tamil merchant layer. We wrote at the time (*Spartacist* No. 35, Autumn 1983):

> "The massive atrocity taking place in Sri Lanka marks a watershed in that island's history. The bloodletting and the mass population transfers have set the economy back at least a decade and are forcing the separation of the peoples. J.R. has ripped the country apart, massacring many thousands and forcing the survivors into a virtual 'bantustan' in the barren North."

Noting that the bloodbath had "catastrophically altered for the foreseeable future the prospects for common class struggle between the Sinhalese working class and the oppressed Tamil minority," we raised the call for *the right of Tamil Eelam*—i.e., a separate Tamil state in the North—and for a federated socialist republic of Eelam and Lanka as part of a socialist federation of South Asia.

Now, even as war continues to rage in the North between Tamil nationalists and the occupying Sinhalese army, in the Eastern Province Tamil Muslims and some Sinhalese continue to live alongside the predominant Tamil Hindus. And the uplands plantation areas continue to be populated by hideously exploited Tamil tea pickers, descendants of low-caste Indians imported by the British imperialists before independence, whose labor accounts for a significant portion of the country's export earnings. Neither the ostensibly Marxist organizations on the island nor the Tamil nationalists have ever bestirred themselves to fight on behalf of these Tamil workers.

As we wrote about Lanka in 1983: "As Marxists, we are not in the business of revenge of one people (the prior oppressed) over another (the prior oppressor). Rather we believe the eradication of national oppression and true social progress will require a socialist revolution" (*WV* No. 336, 12 August 1983).

Communist greetings,
Helene Brosius

Wall Street...

(continued from page 7)

a return to the anti-labor "free market" environment of the 1920s, Galbraith advocated what in Europe and Latin America is termed a corporate state: a strong government exercising a high degree of direct control over the economy.

In his influential books of the 1950s—*American Capitalism: The Concept of Countervailing Power* and *The Affluent Society*—Galbraith set out the theme that big business and "big labor" were exploiting their monopoly position at the expense of the rest of American society. Under the expansionary conditions of the postwar period, he argued, strong industrial unions like the UAW could demand and extract ever-greater wages and benefits. U.S. Steel, General Motors et al. then passed along these higher costs, adding a bit extra to widen their profit margins, in the form of higher prices to consumers:

> "The wage, price and profit spiral originates in the part of the economy where firms with a strong (or oligopolistic) market position bargain with strong unions. These price movements work themselves through the economy with a highly diverse effect on different groups. Where firms are strong in their markets and unions are effective, no one is much hurt, if at all, by inflation....
>
> "At the other extreme are those who experience the rising costs but whose own prices remain largely unaffected because they are fixed by law or custom or, at a minimum, by someone else. This is the position, during inflation, of the teacher, preacher, public servant, of (in general) the salaried professional and white collar community and of those who, in effect, are reaping the reward of past services to society in the form of pensions or other such payments."
>
> —*The Affluent Society* (1958)

In other words, if a high-school teacher couldn't afford the new car he wanted, he should blame not only GM management but Walter Reuther's UAW as well. Indeed, in Galbraith's view there was little difference between the two. In *American Capitalism*, he wrote of "the full coalition between management and labor" which is "partly disguised by the conventional expressions of animosity."

Galbraith opposed the traditional right-wing program for combating inflation by depressing the economy through tight money policy, higher taxes and cuts in government spending, arguing: "Even though the unemployment necessary for price stability is not, as a national total, very great, it will never be uniformly distributed. Black and unskilled workers, often the same, lose their jobs first." Galbraith's alternative was "to combine fiscal policy with control over prices and wages." This prescription was followed in the early 1960s by Kennedy and his successor Lyndon B. Johnson, who sought to impose wage "guidelines" on the major labor unions, a policy finally broken by a strike of airline machinists in 1966.

Even more importantly, Galbraith was the first prominent liberal intellectual to maintain that the interests of unionized workers in the strategic core of the economy were counterposed to those of the black poor. This position would be developed in a more leftist form during the 1960s by young radicals who embraced the then-fashionable doctrines of Maoism and Guevarism. In the New Left view, white workers were seen as "junior partners" of American imperialism, benefiting from the exploitation and degradation of the impoverished toilers of Asia, Africa and Latin America as well as of the black ghetto poor at home. In this way the radical left helped produce a political vacuum which allowed racist demagogues like George Wallace to appeal to white workers who felt neither affluent nor economically secure.

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WORKERS VANGUARD

1997 SUBJECT INDEX

Issue No. 659 (10 January) through No. 680 (12 December)

GUIDE TO THE SUBJECT INDEX

- This subject index covers issues of *Workers Vanguard* published during 1997, from issue No. 659 (10 January) through the end-of-the-year issue No. 680 (12 December). During this time, *WV* was published biweekly, except skipping three alternate issues in June, July and August. This index includes a supplement to *WV* published on 27 August immediately following the Teamsters strike against UPS.
- The fullest listing is by SUBJECT. Subject headings are arranged alphabetically. Entries are listed chronologically with two exceptions: all entries constituting a series are listed together immediately following the first entry of the series; corrections immediately follow the relevant entry. An asterisk (*) after the page location of an entry indicates that a correction follows.
- Entries are listed under subject heads. In some cases, subject heads are broken down into subcategories. These subcategories are listed immediately after the initial subject head and preceded by a dot (•). The numbers following each entry headline give the issue number, date and page number(s) for the article. Thus:

  NYC "Workfare" Murder, #672, 8 Aug (16, 14)

  means the headline of the article, issue No. 672 dated 8 August 1997, beginning on page 16 and continuing on page 14
- No entry is listed twice, refer to cross references for guidance in locating the subject head for particular articles. Cross references are of two types: those following the word "see" deal centrally with the subject head; those following the words "see also" are related articles. Subject heads in cross references are separated by a semicolon while subcategories of subject heads are separated by a comma. Thus:

  Prisons—See **Abu-Jamal; Civil Liberties: General, Ji Jaga (Pratt)**. See also **Britain.**

  means that articles about prisons can be found by going to the subject head **ABU-JAMAL** and by going to the subject head **CIVIL LIBERTIES** and looking under the subcategories **General** and **Ji Jaga (Pratt)**. Related articles on prisons will also be found by going to the subject head **BRITAIN**.
- Individuals mentioned in articles are usually not listed separately unless the article is primarily about the given person. Foreign political organizations are generally listed under appropriate countries, while U.S. political organizations are listed under their organizational names. This year, articles on Partido Bolchevique por la Cuarta Internacional (PBCI) and Workers Power are listed under their organizational names.
- Articles relating to foreign countries are listed under geographical headings and not necessarily under any other subject heading. Articles which deal centrally with U.S. foreign policy and threats or acts of war involving the U.S. will be found under **U.S.: International Relations.**
- The periodic columns by death-row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal are listed under the subject heading **ABU-JAMAL** in the subcategory **Message from Death Row**; articles on his case and the campaign to free him are in the subcategory **Defense Campaign.**
- Abbreviations used in entries are:

  C: Correction — S: Series
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